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كلية الآداب

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موضوعات القسم العربى

من اين استقى محيي الدين بن العربي فلسفته التصوفية ؟

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يكاد يستحيل على الباحث فى المذهب الفلسفى التصوفى للشيخ محيى الدين ابن العربى أن يرجعه الى اصل واحد أو أصول معينه فلسفية كانت أو تصوفية أو مزيجا من الفلسفة والتصوف لأن هذا الرجل الغريب الذى يعد بحق أكبر فلاسفة المتصوفة فى الاسلام قد أخذ من كل أصل بطرف فلم يقتصر على مصدر واحد ولم يتبع أحداً بعينه بل غذى مذهبه فى «وحدة الوجود» (١) (Panthéism) بأنواع من المادة تشعبت طرقها واختلفت وتناقضت فى ظاهرها كل التناقض فلم يترك خيطا من خيوط التفكير الفلسفى أو الصوفى الا نسجه فى مذهبه الذى بالرغم من تعدد ألوان أجزائه واختلافها لا يزال يضمها جميعها وحدة تمتاز ببساطتها ووضوحها .

قد جمع ابن العربى حول الفكرة البسيطة التى يتألف منها مذهبه هذا عناصر لا يعجز الباحث ارجاعها او ارجاع أصولها الى مذاهب شتى لفلاسفة اليونان ومتقدمى المتصوفين والمتكلمين والفلاسفة فى الاسلام ، فترى فى هذا المزيج الغريب الافكار الفلسفية اليونانيه جنباً الى جنب مع الافكار الاسلامية البحته — وترى عبارات المتكلمين الى جانب اقوال الصوفيين وشطحياتهم على تفاوت طبقاتهم واختلاف نزعاتهم — وترى المؤلف يحشدها كلها حشدا فى

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(١) وليس مذهب « وحدة الوجود » Panthéism هو مذهب الحلول (Incarnation) لأن الأول يقول بوحدة ذاتية تجمع الأشياء مع تعدد صورها فى الظاهر : أما الثانى فيقول بوجود حقيقتين مختلفتين — الألهية والبشرية وقيام الأولى بالثانية تحت ظروف خاصة . فالمذهب الأول مذهب واحدى Monistic والثانى اثنينى Dualistic — وسيأتى شرح ذلك فى الكلام عن الفرق بين ابن العربى والحلاج .

صعيد واحد من غير ما تفرقة ولا تمييز يحاول اساغتها جميعا ثم تمثيلها وصوغها فى مذهبه — ولم يأل ابن العربى جهدا فى اختيار اصطلاحاته من هؤلاء ومن غيرهم فان كتبه حافلة بما استعار من الفاظ انباذقليس وافلاطون وارسطو وأفلوطين وفورفوريوس وفيلون — وبما استعار من الفاظ المتصوفين قبله والفاظ المعتزلة والاشاعرة ومن الفاظ القرآن والحديث — بل أنه تعدى هؤلاء الى الفقهاء [١] والنحاة [٢] والرياضيين فاخذ من اصطلاحاتهم ما راق فى نظره وقرأ فى هذه الاصطلاحات من المعانى التصوفية أو الفلسفية ما شاء — وليس هذا مقام البحث فى الفاظ أبن العربى وارجاعها الى أصولها فانه مما يصح أن تفرد له مقالة خاصة

أما مقالتنا هذه فنرمى منها الى غرضين : (الاول) أن نبين ان نظرية الاستاذ Asin Palacios المستشرق الاسبانى الكبير [٣] فى تأثر مذهب ابن العربى بمذهب محمد بن عبد الله بن مسره ومن أتى بعده من متصوفى الاندلس ، دعوى مبالغ فيها وقول لا مبرر له : (ثانيا) أن نوضح بقدر المستطاع المصادر التى تعتقد انها أثرت فى مذهب ابن العربى فى نواحيه المختلفة مع الاشارة فى كل موضع الى رأيه الخاص والأصل الذى أثر فيه ثم نختتمها بكلمة عن القرآن الكريم والحديث وكيف استخدمهما أبن العربى فى تعزيز مذهبه.

غير أننا قبل أن نبدأ بالكلام عن نظرية الاستاذ بلاسيوس يجدر بنا أن نقدم لذلك بموجز مختصر عن تاريخ التصوف الفلسفى فى بلاد الاندلس فى خلال القرن الذى تقدم ميلاد ابن العربى مباشرة لانه لم يكن للأندلسيين ولا لأهل المغرب تصوف فلسفى بالمعنى الصحيح قبل هذا القرن — بل كل ما كان حتى منتصف القرن الخامس الهجرى لا يعدو ضروبا من الزهد والمجاهدة عرفتها طائفة من النساك ليس لهم الالمام ما بالفلسفة وان كان لبعضهم شىء من الالمام بمذاهب المتكلمين والثقافة الاسلامية العامة .

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(١) راجع الفتوحات المكية ج ١ ص ٤٣٠ — ٩٦٠ كذلك ج ٢ ص ٢١٩ حيث يشرح ابن العربى « القياس » « والاجماع » وغيرها شرحا تصوفيا .

(٢) راجع الفتوحات ج ٢ ص ١٩٢ .

(٣) كما هو ظاهر من كتابه "Abenmasarra y Su Escuela"

قد عرف المسلمون فى الاندلس منذ نشأتهم بالكراهية الشديدة للفلسفة والتفكير الحر أيا كان نوعه واشتهروا بمحافظتهم وجمودهم : وقد ملىء تاريخهم بمختلف الحوادث التى فيها صادروا الكتب الفلسفية واحرقوها أو مزقوها ومثلوا بالمشتغلين بها وعاقبوهم بالابعاد أو السجن أو القتل ، ولقد بلغ بهم جمودهم الى حد أن صادروا واحرقوا كتب الغزالى ومن على شاكلته وعدوا كل من يعنى بها أو يمثلها زنديقا — فى حين كثر اعجابهم وتقديسهم للبسطاء العاميين من النساك والزهاد الذين احلتهم العامة وكثير من كبار الفقهاء والحكام المنزلة الرفيعة من نفوسهم . ولقد استمر حالهم كذلك الى زمن صاحب كتاب طبقات الأمم صاعد بن أحمد الاندلسى (١) الذى يحدثنا أنه الى عهده لم يظهر فى الاندلس ـ ولا فى بلاد المغرب —من عنى بالفلسفة الا نفر قليل ولم ينبغ فيها الى عهده أحد بالرغم من نبوغ الكثيرين منهم فى العلوم الاسلامية كالفقه والحديث والتفسير وعلوم اللغة والرياضة —وخاصة الهندسة — والفلك والمنطق والطب .

أما التصوف فقد ظهرت طائفة جديدة فيه نسجوا على منوال المتصوفين الشرقيين حوالى سنة ٥٤٠ ه فى مدينة المرية التى كانت فى ذلك العهد اعظم مركز للتصوف فى الغرب — ومن المرية يظهر ان هذا النوع الجديد من التصوف قد انتشر فى جميع أنحاء أندلوسيا وخاصة اشبيلية وقرطبه وغرب البرتقال : فقد ظهر فى أشبيلية المتصوف الكبير أبو الحكم بن برجان المتوفى سنة ٥٣٦ ه وفى المرية ابو العباس بن العريف الذى كان شيخ الصوفيه هناك وهو صوفى باطنى مات فى السنة التى مات فيها ابن برجان (٢) ودفن بجواره : وكان فى قرطبة الشيخ أبو بكر المايورقى الذى كان اماما فى الحديث والفقه وزاهدا وصوفيا كبيرا .

استمر التصوف أكثر من قرن أى من سنة ٤٥٠ الى سنة ٥٦٠ يمر بدور انتقالى ظهر فى أثنائه ابن برجان وابن العريف الآنفا الذكر والشيخ ابو القاسم ابن قسى رئيس طائفة المريدين وظهر فى تمامه وجنى كل ثماره الشيخ الاكبر

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(١) توفى فى سنة ٤٦٢ ه أو ١٠٧٠ م .

(٢) راجع تكملة لابن الابار ترجمة رقم ٦٠٨ .

محيى الدين بن العربى الذى نحن بصدد الكلام عن أصول مذهبه

لم تلبث الفلسفة طويلا بعد منتصف القرن الخامس حتى أقبل عليها الأندلسيون وعنوا بدراستها ولم يمض على هذه الحركة الا جيل واحد حتى انجبت الاندلس — على الرغم من محافظة فقهائها وجمود عامتها وحكامها — أمثال ابن باجه (توفى ٥٣٣ / ١١٣٨) وابن طفيل (توفى ٥٣١ / ١١٣٦) وفيلسوف الأندلس الكبير أبو الوليد بن رشد (توفى ٥٩٥ / ١١٩٨) — الا أن الفلسفة لم تكن بعد قد مزجت بالتصوف — بل درسها هؤلاء وألفوا فيها وشرحوها كما وصلت اليهم من المشرق (وربما استثنى من هذه القاعدة ابن طفيل الذى حاول مزج التصوف بالفلسفة الى حد ما) — والذين حاولوا ادخال عنصر الفلسفة الى التصوف هم الصوفيون من طبقة ابن برجان وابن قسى فقد نحوا منحى الغزالى واتخذوه اماما لهم فى هذا السبيل وعكفوا على قراءة كتبه وتدريسها وشرحها .

وقد غنيت مكتبات الأندلس بعد اجدابها بكتب الفلسفة القديمة التى ادخلها الى هذه البلاد من رحل من الاندلسيين الى المشرق والتى ابتاعها بعض أمرائهم ممن كان لهم ولوع خاص بهذه العلوم [1] وعرفت فلسفة افلاطون وارسطو والافلاطونية الجديدة عن طريق الكتب التى نقلها تراجمة المشرق الى اللغة العربية وعن طريق الكتب التى ألفها بعض فلاسفة الاندلس أنفسهم أمثال ابن باجه وابن طفيل والشروح التى عملها ابن رشد .

وقد شاع فى ذلك العهد أيضا كثير من كتب الفرق والمذاهب الفلسفية والكلامية مثل كتاب الشهرستانى وألف فى هذا الموضوع بعض كتاب

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(١) وقد بدأت حركة تشجيع العلوم الفلسفية وابتياع كتبها على يد الأمير الحكم (المستنصر بالله) بن عبد الرحمن الناصر « الذى انتدب العلماء واستجلب من بغداد ومصر وغيرهما من بلاد الشرق عيون التآليف والمصنفات » حاكيا فى ذلك الصدر الأول من خلفاء بنى العباس . راجع طبقات الأمم (بيروت سنة ١٩١٢) ص ٦٥ — ٦٦ .

الاندلسيين مثل ابن حزم ـ وشاع استعمال رسائل اخوان الصفا [١] بنوع خاص وهى كما لا يخفى أكبر الموسوعات التى تمثل أصول الفلسفة اليونانيه كما تركبها العرب وكما فهموها : واستمر علم الكلام ـ الذى عرفه الاندلسيون قبل الفلسفة والتصوف بقرون ـ وخاصة مذهب المعتزلة ـ له منزلته وشرفه فى نفوس كثير منهم ـ وهكذا ظهر فيهم الفلاسفة والمتكلمون والمتصوفون والفقهاء والمحدثون كل قاصر همه على موضوعه لا يتعداه ولا يحاول التوفيق بينه و بين غيره ـ فلما أتى ابن العربى لم يدع شيئا اسلاميا أو غير اسلامى حتى وفق بينه و بين مذهبه : ومن الغريب أن يقوم بمثل هذا الأمر نفسه — مستقلا عنه — رجل من معاصريه ومواطنيه هو عبد الحق بن سبعين المتوفى سنة ٦٦٨ / ١٢٦٩ .

هذه بالاجمال هى البيئة العقلية التى ولد فيها ابن العربى وهذه حال البلد التى نشأ فيها وقضى فيها ثلاثين سنه من عمره . فهل لنا أن نقول ـ كما هو الظاهر من كلام بلاسيوس — أن ابن العربى وليد عصره كما هو الحال فى كثير من الفلاسفة والمفكرين — وهل ينتمى ابن العربى حقا الى طائفة المتصوفين الذين اشرنا اليهم ؟ نعم أن ابن العربى قضى الثلاثين سنة الاولى من عمره فى الاندلس وخاصة فى اشبيلية وكانت كما ذكرنا موطن ابن برجان ومركز تعليمه، ولكن يفصل بين الرجلين أكثر من قرن من السنين فهل استمرت تعاليم ابن برجان حتى ورثها ابن العربى أو هل تأثر ابن العربى بكتب ابن برجان ؟ سيأتى ذكر ذلك بالتفصيل . ومن الثابت أيضا أن ابن العربى فى رحلة له الى تونس قابل ابن الشيخ ابى القاسم بن قسى ودرس معه كتاب ابيه المسمى بخلع النعلين الذى يقال أن ابن العربى كتب شرحا عليه [٢] وانه كذلك قابل فى المريه بعض

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(١) يقول صاعد صاحب كتاب طبقات الأمم « ان أول من أدخل رسائل اخوان الصفا » الى الأندلس هو ابو الحكم بن عبد الرحمن الكرمانى القرطبى المتوفى سنة ٤٥٨ هـ سنة ١٠٦٦ م : راجع الطبقات ص ٧١ .

(٢) يذكر ابن العربى هذا الكتاب فى فتوحاته ج ٤ ص ١٣٦ س ٦ ويشير الى قراءته مع ابن أبى القاسم بن قسى ولكنه لا يذكر شيئا عن شرح له

اتباع الشيخ ابن العريف مثل أبى عبد الله الغزال وأبى الربيع الكفيف ولكن لا يعدو ذكره لهم مجرد اسمائهم (١) .

* وهو يشير الى ابن برجان (٢) وابن قسى (٣) وابن العريف (٤) فى مواضع متعددة من كتاب « الفتوحات المكية » « وفصوص الحكم » « ومواقع النجوم » ويقتبس من أقوالهم تارة موافقا لهم وطورا مخالفا : ويظهر من عباراته أنه كان على اطلاع تام بما ألفوه من الكتب وما كان لهم من الآراء ولكنه لا يخبرنا بمقدار أثر هؤلاء الصوفيين فى تصوفه أو نظرياته الفلسفية وان كان يعترف بالفضل لكثير من متصوفى الأندلس الذين كانوا أقل من هؤلاء شأنا كما يعترف لغيرهم من متصوفة المشرق . فان كان لابن برجان وابن قسى وابن العريف أثر فى فلسفة ابن العربى التصوفيه فانما ذلك الأثر قطرة من بحر استقى قطراته من ينابيع أخرى وان هم عدوا اساتذة له فى الطريق فهم قليل من كثير ممن يعد ابن العربى تلميذا لهم

وقد دل البحث على أنه لم يبق من مؤلفات أولئك المتصوفين الاندلسيين الا القليل فى مخطوطات نادرة مشتتة فى مكتبات أوروبيه وفى مكتبة القسطنطنيه ومكتبة القاهره — أما ابن قسى فيوجد لكتابه « خلع النعلين » مخطوطان

— وقد عثرت على مخطوطين منه أحدهما بالمكتبة الملكية المصرية والأخرى (بشرح لابن العربى) فى مكتبة القسطنطينية وسأجد فى دراستهما .

(١) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٢٩٧ و ص ٧٢٤ — ٧٢٥ .

(٢) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٧٥ ، ٣٨٨ ، ج ٢ ص ٧٩ ، ١٣٦ ، ٧٦٢ ، ٨٥٩ ، ج ٣ ص ١٠١ ، ج ٤ ص ٢٨٧ .

(٣) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ص ١٧٦ ، ٣٨٨ ، ٤٠٧ ، ٩٤٣ ، ج٢ ص ٦٨ ، ٧٩ ، ٢١١ ، ٣٤٠ ، ٩٠٧ ، ج ٣ ص ٨ — ٩ ، ٣١ ، ٢١٨ ، ٤٢٨ ، ٤٦٥ ، ج ٤ ص ١٦٤ ، الفصوص ص ١١١ ، ٣٥٥ .

(٤) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ١١٩ ، ١٤٥ ، ٢٢٧ ، ٢٩٧ ، ٣٦٣ ، ج ٢ ص ١٢٨ ، ١٨٩ ، ٣٨٤ ، ٤٢١ ، ٤٢٩ ، ٨١١ ، ج ٣ ص ٥٢٠ ، ٦٣٧ ، ج ٤ ص ١٠٥ ، ١١٧ ، ٧١٤ .

سبقت الاشارة اليهما، ويوجد لابن العريف كتاب « محاسن المجالس » فى مخطوطين أحدهما فى مكتبة الأسكوريال والآخر بمكتبة الجامعه المصريه [١] ويوجد ثلاثة مخطوطات لثلاثة كتب لابن برجان وهى (ا) شرح أسماء الله الحسنى [٢] (ب) لسان الحق المبثوث فى الأمر والخلق [٣] (ج) تفسير القرآن لم يتمه ويوجد منه الجزء الثانى [٤]. وقد كان لى الحظ أن قرأت كتب ابن برجان جميعها وكتاب ابن قسى فى مخطوطه الموجود بالقاهرة فلم أجد بين هذين الصوفيين وابن العربى وجه مشابهة وخاصة فيما يتعلق بعقيدة « وحدة الوجود » التى تصبغ فلسفته التصوفيه جميعها ولكننى وجدت أن ابن برجن على الخصوص كان أميل فى تصوفه الى النزعة الفلسفية وأن طريقته فى تفسير القرآن طريقة تصوفيه مبتكره ربما كانت المثال الذى نسج ابن العربى على منواله فيما بعد فى تفسيره القرآن وشرحه للحديث.

أما ما يحدثنا به ابن العربى عن هؤلاء الصوفيين وآرائهم وعقائدهم فقليل ومقتضب لا يتبين منه الانسان مذهبا لهم واضحا. وهو غالبا لا يعدو ذكر رأى لأحدهم فى مسألة من المسائل يدخل هذا الرأى فى مذهبه الخاص بعد تحوير وتبديل يتناسبان مع روح عقيدته كما يفعل بمئات الآراء والنظريات التى لغيرهم من المتصوفين والفلاسفة — وهانذا أذكر لك بعض النقط الهامة التى أشار اليها ابن العربى فى فتوحاته وشرح فيها بعض الآراء لهؤلاء الصوفيين :

(١) رأى ابن العريف فى الفرق بين العلم والمعرفه [٥] وهو فرق يقول به ابن العربى نفسه

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(١) فى مجموعة طنعت .

(٢) Brit. Mus. M.S. Or. 411

(٣) Paris (Arabe 2642); والظاهر أن هذا المخطوط نسخة أخرى من الكتاب الأول بالرغم من اختلاف العنوان .

(٤) Munich (Cod. 83)

(٥) راجع الفتوحات ج ٢ ص ٤٢١ سطر ١٢ .

(٢) رأى ابن برجان فيما يسميه « الحق المخلوق به » [١] وهو بالخص في أن « الحق المخلوق به » انما يراد به الله كما وصف نفسه لنا في كتابه العزيز وكما نعلمه عن طريق النظر في خلقه أي أنه هو الله الخالق المصور المدبر للكون وليس هو الله كما هو عليه في ذاته وحقيقته منزها عن كل علم ومعرفه . « فالحق المخلوق به » أذن هو الله المتجلي لنا في أسمائه وصفاته وافعاله في كل ما تظهر فيه آثارها من مظاهر الكون في هذا العالم وما ستظهر فيه آثارها من مظاهر العالم الآخروى — وان هذه الاسماء والصفات والافعال انما هي القوانين الالهية التي يظهر أثرها في كل شيء وفي كل زمان ومكان والتي بها تنكشف حقائق الاشياء كما قدرها الله ازلا — وهذه لا شك عقيدة اسلامية لا غبار عليها ؛ والظاهر أن ابن برجان قد استعار هذا الاصطلاح (الحق المخلوق به) الذي كان أول مسلم استعمله — من بعض آيات القرآن الكريم مثل قوله تعالى «وماخلقنا السموات والأرض وما بينهما لاعبين ما خلقناهما الا بالحق » [٢] وقوله تعالى « وهو الذي جعل الشمس ضياء والقمر نورا وقدره منازل لتعلموا عدد السنين والحساب ما خلق ذلك الا بالحق » [٣] اما ابن العربي فيستعمل هذا الاصطلاح (الحق المخلوق به) كرادف « للكلمة » The Logos أو مايسميه ” بالحقيقة المحمدية“ « أو العقل الأول » الذي له مكانة خاصة في مذهبه في « وحدة الوجود » لأنه يقصد به الحق المتجلي لنفسه في نفسه في صور أعيان الممكنات قبل ظهورها في عالم الوجود الخارجي أي أنه العالم المعقول كما هو في ذات الله العاقلة له ، والعاقل والمعقول والعقل في مذهبه شيء واحد

(٣) وهو يذكر ابن العريف بمناسبة رأيه في الفناء [٤] ورأيه في أن

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(١) راجع الفتوحات ج ٣ ص ١٠١ سطر ١٢ من الأسفل .

(٢) قرآن س ٤٤ آية ٣٨ .

(٣) قرآن س ١٠ آية ٥ .

(٤) الفتوحات ج ٣ ص ٥٢٠ س ٨ من أسفل .

الله اصل كل شيء.[١] الا أننا لا نتبين من الجملة القصيرة التي اقتبسها ابن العربي من كتاب محاسن المجالس لابن العريف ما قصده ابن العريف بقوله أن الله أصل كل شيء — أما ابن العربي فيؤول هذه العبارة بما يتناسب مع مذهبه العام.

(٤) وهو يذكر ابن قسي بمناسبة رأيه في وحدة الأسماء الالهية [٢]

هذه هي اهم المواضع التي يذكر فيها ابن العربي هؤلاء الصوفيين الثلاثة ويناقش آراءهم مناقشه نظرية فلسفية مصبوغة بصبغة تصوفية يقرأ في كل منها معنى خاصا من معاني « وحدة الوجود » مع أنها ليست من وحدة الوجود في شيء.

ننتقل الآن الى طائفة أخرى من الصوفيين الاندلسيين الذين ينتمون الى طبقة مختلفة كل الاختلاف عن طبقة سابقيهم فنجد أن ابن العربي يذكرهم في كثير من الأجلال والاعظام ويعترف لهم بكثير من الفضل في حياته التصوفية الأولى من الناحية العملية البحتة وها نحن أولاء نذكر بعض أسمائهم ليكون القارىء على بينة من أمرهم.

(١) — يوسف بن خلف الكومي المتوفى سنة ٥٧٦/١١٨٠ [٣]. كان من تلامذة الشيخ أبي مدين شيخ الصوفية في بجاية وقد قابله ابن العربي في أشبيلية ووصفه بأنه زاهد كبير ملامتي. (ولابن العربي رأي خاص في معنى اللامتي) وقال انه مدين له بالشيء الكثير في نشأته التصوفية الأولى لأن الكومي كان أول من عرّفه معنى التصوف وحببه في رسالة القشيري.

(٢) — صالح العدوي وهو زاهد آخر قابله ابن العربي في أشبيليه ووصفه بأنه من أكبر أساتذته الروحانيين ومن أكمل الصوفيين.

(٣) — أبو عمران المرطلي: ويقول ان هذا الصوفي اتبع في تصوفه طريقة

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(١) الفتوحات ج ٣ ص ١١٧.

(٢) فصوص ص ١١١.

(٣) الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٣٢٧.

الحارث المحاسبي البغدادي، وانه كان كثير المجاهدات كثير الزهد والتقشف .

وذكر غير هؤلاء كثيرين من طبقة الزهاد الذين اشتهروا في زمانهم بالصلاح والتقوى والمجاهدة النفسية من غير أن يكون لهم آراء فلسفية أو أي أثر فلسفي . الا أن وصف ابن العربي لهم لا يعطينا الا صورة غير كاملة عن حياتهم وسلوكهم وكراماتهم وما الى ذلك ولا يشرح لنا شيئا عن مذاهبهم اذ الظاهر أنه لم يكن لهم مذاهب خاصة بهم .

ابن العربي وابن مسرة — والآن نذكر لك محمد بن عبد الله بن مسرة الذي هو أهم من هؤلاء جميعا لعلاقته المباشرة بموضوع بحثنا لأن الأستاذ اسين بلاسيوس يعتقد كما هو ظاهر من كتابه « Abenmassara y su Escuela » (ابن مسرة ومدرسته) أن هناك علاقة تاريخية بين متصوفي المريه الذين سبق ذكرهم وطائفة صوفية أخرى أقدم منها على رأسها محمد بن عبد الله بن مسرة هذا، ثم هو يستدل من ذلك على ان ابن العربي الذي تأثر (في نظر الأستاذ بلاسيوس) بافكار الصوفيين من الطبقة الأولى انما هو متأثر في الواقع بافكار الطبقة الثانية — أو بعبارة أخرى أننا يجب أن نبحث عن الجراثيم الأولى لمذهب ابن العربي في مذهب ابن مسرة الذي توفي قبله بأكثر من ثلاثة قرون (توفي سنة ٣١٩ هـ) لأن متصوفي المرية كانوا حلقة الاتصال بين الرجلين — ولكن هذه دعوى من الأستاذ بلاسيوس لا تبررها حججه ولا يعضدها ما لدينا من المعلومات حتى الآن عن ابن مسرة واتباعه وعن متصوفي المرية وأتباعهم — وأقول أنها دعوى من الأستاذ لا تبررها حججه للاعتبارات الآتية

(١) — أننا لا نعرف علاقة تاريخية أيا كان نوعها بين متصوفي المريه وابن مسرة أو أي واحد من اتباعه ولا بين ابن مسرة وابن العربي .

(٢) — اننا لا نعلم — ولا يعلم الاستاذ بلاسيوس — بأحد من اتباع ابن مسرة له أهمية خاصة في التصوف أو الفلسفة .

(٣) انه لا يوجد بين أيدينا مؤلفات مخطوطة أو مطبوعة ولا أجزاء من مؤلفات لابن مسرة ولا لأحد من أتباعه .

(٤) ان كل ما نعمه عن ابن مسرة مستمد من المراجع الآتية :

(أ) من كتاب الفصل لابن حزم (ج ٢ ص ١٢٦ ، ج ٤ ص ٨٠ ، ص ١٩٨ – ٢٠٠) حيث يشرح ابن حزم رأى ابن مسرة فى القدر ويقول : انه كان على مذهب المعتزلة فيه . ثم يذكر بعد ذلك أن ابن مسرة كان يعتقد أن علم الله على نوعين علم بالحقائق الكلية وعلم بالأمور الجزئية .

(ب) كتاب الفتوحات لابن العربى (ج ١ ص ١٩١ ، ١٩٤ ؛ ج ٢ ص ٧٦٧ — وكتاب الفصوص له (ص ١٢٥) حيث يشير ابن العربى الى وصف ابن مسرة للعرش .

(ج) كتاب تاريخ الحكماء للقفطى (ص ١٥ – ١٦) وطبقات الأمم لصاعد بن احمد الأندلسى (بيروت ص ٢١) حيث يصفه صاعد بأنه كان كلفا بفلسفة انباذقليس دؤوبا على دراستها .

(د) ترجمات فى مطمح الأنفس لابن خاقان (القسطنطينية ص ٥٨) حيث يوصف بالزهد والالحاد فى آن واحد — وفى تاريخ علماء الأندلس للفرضى (ج ١ ص ٣٣٧) حيث يوصف بالزندقة والتواء العقيدة ، وانه كان يقول بالاستطاعة وانفاذ الوعيد ويحرف التأويل فى كثير من القرآن الخ الخ — وفى بغية الملتمس للضبى (ص ٧٨) . وكل هؤلاء المؤلفين مجمعون على أن ابن مسرة كان متصوفا مبتدعا فى التصوف على غير عادة الاندلسيين وأنه كان حاذقا لمذهب المعتزلة ، يقول بكثير من آرائهم ، وأنه كان دقيق العبارة كثير الرموز .

(هـ) أما عن أتباع ابن مسره فهم رجال لانعلم عنهم سوى أسمائهم ، وربما استثنى منهم فى هذا اسماعيل الرعينى ، والقاضى منذر بن سعيد البلوطى [1] .

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(١) راجع ترجمة البلوطي في نفح الطيب ج ١ ص ٣٣٢ .
وترجمة الرعينى في فصل ابن حزم ج ٤ ص ٨٠ ، ١٩٨ — ٢٠٠ .
راجع كذلك :
ترجمة الفنى وهو من اتباع ابن مسرة : تاريخ علماء الأندلس ترجمة ١٣٢٩ .

وربما كان أقرب اتباع ابن مسرة جميعهم منزعا الى الفلسفة اسماعيل الرعينى الذى يقول فيه ابن حزم أنه كان يقول بالقدر كشيخه ابن مسرة وبقدم العالم — وأنه أنكر بعث الأجسام وقال ان العرش هو المدبر للعالم (قارن ابن العربى حيث يقول ان عرش الرحمن هو العقل الأول المدبر للكون) . ومن الآراء التى اشتهر بها الرعينى أيضا قوله أن الله سبحانه لا يدبر العالم تدبيرا مباشرا بنفسه بل هو يدبره بواسطة العرش وهو قول نسب أيضا الى شيخه ابن مسرة .

هذا كل ما لدينا من المعلومات عن ابن مسرة وأتباعه وهى لا تكفى فى أن نستخلص منها فكرة واضحة عن مذهبهم — اذا كان لهم مذهب خاص عرفوا به — ولكن الأستاذ « بلاسيوس » أبى الا أن ينسب اليهم مذهبا سماه « بمذهب ابن مسرة ومدرسته » مستندا فى هذا الى مصدرين — الأول — ما ذكره ابن العربى عن ابن مسرة فى الفتوحات المكية وفصوص الحكم وهو قليل مقتضب؛ وبالرغم من هذا فان ابن العربى قد أول كل شىء فيه كما أول كثيرا غيره بما يتلاءم وروح مذهبه — الثانى — فلسفة انباذ قليس التى قيل أن ابن مسرة كان كلفا بها دءوبا على دراستها : وعمدتنا فى هذا صاعد بن احمد الأندلسى صاحب طبقات الأمم الذى استقى منه القفطى وابن أبى أصيبعة كل ما عرفاه عن انباذ قليس وابن مسرة .

وها هى فلسفة انباذقليس كما فهمها هؤلاء الكتاب وكما فهمها أيضـــا الشهرستانى والشهرزورى نلخصها فيما يأتى :

أولا — يقولون أن انباذقليس كان أول من ذهب الى الجمع بين معانى صفات الله تعالى وقال انها كلها تؤدى الى شىء واحد — وأنه تعالى ان وصف بالعلم والجود والقدرة فليس هو ذا معان متميزة تختص بهذه الأسماء المختلفة — بل

وترجمة السطاح القرطبى وهو من اتباع ابن مسرة : تاريخ علماء الأندلس ترجمة ٤٣٧ .

• وترجمة أبان بن سعيد وهو من اتباع ابن مسرة : تاريخ علماء الأندلس ترجمة ٥٤ .

هو الواحد بالحقيقة التي لا تتكثر بوجه ما أصلا[١] وهو رأى للمعتزلة كان من أكبر المدافعين عنه فيهم أبو الهذيل العلاف المتوفى سنة ٢٢٦ ﻫ .

ثانيا — أن الله خلق العالم ولكنه لم يخلقه من مادة شريكة له فى الأزل — بل خلق « العنصر الأول » أولا ومن العنصر الأول خلق كل شيء[٢] ، وهذا لا شك رأى اغريقى الأصل ولكنه ليس من انباذقليس بشىء بل هو مستمد من الأفلاطونية الجديدة المصبوغة بصبغة اسلامية .

نقول انه ليس من انباذ قليس بشىء ، لأن انباذقليس كان يقول بالتعدد أى كان يعتقد كما اعتقد بارمينيديس بوجود «الفلك» (The sphere) لا كوحدة متجانسة الأجزاء بل كمزيج من أربعة عناصر أو جواهر مستقلة مختلفة كما هو معروف .

ثالثا — ينسب هؤلاء الكتاب الى انباذقليس كذلك أنه قال ان معرفة النفس الانسانية أساس كل معرفة بالأمور المادية والمعنوية (العالم الأسفل والعالم الأعلى) : وأنه قال ان محاولة ادراك العنصر الأول على ما هو عليه عبث محض — وأن ادراكه عن طريق العالم المحسوس عبث ومستحيل : وان النفس الانسانية وحدها هى حلقة الاتصال بين العالمين ، وأن من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه[٣] .

يقول انباذقليسهم هذا أن الروح جوهر بسيط جميل غير مادى وأن أولئك الذين ينكرون جمال الروح انما ينظرون اليها من ناحية علاقتها بالبدن : وأن بساطة الروح بساطة معنويه غيرمادية — فهى أشبه ببساطة النور منها ببساطة النار — بل هى أشبه ببساطة الضياء منها ببساطة النور[٤] — وان النفس

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(١) راجع طبقات الأمم ص ٢١ — ٢٢ والقفطى ص ١٥ — ١٦ .

(٢) راجع الشهرستانى ج ٢ ص ٢٦٠ .

(٣) راجع الشهرزورى مقتبس من كتاب الأستاذ بلاسيوس « Abenmasara » ص ١٤٦ .

(٤) راجع الشهرزورى مقتبس من كتاب الأستاذ بلاسيوس « Abenmasarra » ص ١٤٧ .

الانسانية ليست سوى مظهر خاص من مظاهر النفس الكلية : وأن منتهى غايتها أن تعود الى أصلها : وأن فى مقدورها أن تصعد الى أرقى درجات الكمال الروحى ولذلك يجدر بنا أن نسعى دائما الى ابلاغها هذه الغاية [١] . وأن أكمل تعينات النفس الكلية نفوس الأنبياء الذين يرسلون فى أدوار وأزمنة مختلفة ليذكروا النفوس الجزئية بما قد نسيته من أنواع المعارف التى هى فى أصل نشأتها [٢].

وهذه الآراء جميعها التى زعموا أنها لأنباذقليس فى طبيعة النفس، هى برمتها من آراء المذهب الأفلاطونى الحديث Neo-platonism وخاصة كما تفهمه فرقة الاسماعيلية الباطنية من أمثال أخوان الصفا ومن على شاكلتهم — وليس منها رأى واحد لانباذقليس كما سنرى بعد

أما الشهرستانى فقد بلغت به جرأته الى حد أن نسب الى انباذقليس نظرية أرسطو فى النفوس الثلاث : النباتية والحيوانية والناطقة بعد أن مزجها بشىء من الافلاطونية الجديدة حيث قال . . . وأن كل واحدة من هذه النفوس انما هى كالقشرة التى تليها فى السفل كما أن العقل (و يظهر أنه يعنى به العقل الأول الذى يقول به افلوطين) قشرة العنصر الأول وكما أن النفس (الكلية) قشرة العقل وكما أن الطبيعة قشرة النفس وهكذا الى آخر فيوضات افلوطين The plotinian Emanations ؛ فالاعلى (وهو الاب) روح للادنى (وهو القشرة) والادنى يعكس صورة الأعلى ويظهر كماله [٣] وهذه افلاطونية جديدة بحته تكاد توجد حرفيا فى رسائل اخوان الصفا

والظاهر أن هؤلاء الكتاب لم يعرفوا من فلسفة انباذقليس الحقيقية سوى أمرين

أولهما . رأيه فى الحب والكراهية [٤]

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(١) راجع الشهرستانى جـ ٢ ص ٢٦٥ c. f. Enneads of Plotinus IV 3. 1.

(٢) » » جـ ٢ ص ٢٦٣ .

(٣) » » جـ ٢ ص ٢٦٢ .

(٤) » » جـ ٢ ص ٢٦١ .

ثانيهما نظريته فى الأركان الأربعة أو العناصر والفلك (sphere) وهذا أيضا نراه فى رسائل اخوان الصفا ممزوجا الى حد ما بفيوضات الأفلاطونية الجديدة .

أما النقطة الأولى فيشيرون اليها من آن لآخر ولكنها ليس لها كبير أهمية فى فلسفتهم ولا فلسفة ابن العربى — لأن فكرة وجود مبدأين مستقلين مختلفين هما أصل كل ما هو موجود كما يقول انبادقليس ليس لها وجود فى مذهب ابن العربى .

هذا بالأجمال ما فهمه كتاب الاسلام الى أواخر القرن السابع الهجرى من فلسفة انباذقليس ؛ ومنها نتبين كيف خلط هؤلاء الكتاب وكيف تخبطوا ولم يفرقوا بين ما هو لانباذقليس وما هو لغير انباذقليس كما خلطوا وتخبطوا فى فهم الفلسفة الهللينية (Hellenistic) فى كثير من مسائلها فنسبوا مذاهب برمتها أو بعض مذاهب لفلاسفة فرق بينهم وبين القائلين بها قرون من الزمن ؛ ومنها يظهر أيضا كيف مزجوا الى حد كبير أصول تلك الفلسفة بعقائدهم الدينية وكيف حاولوا التوفيق بين الاثنين .

والآن يحق لنا أن نتساءل عما اذا كان ابن مسره من اتباع فلسفة انباذقليس حقا ومن المغرمين بها والمدافعين عنها — وعما اذا كان ابن العربى — على افتراض أننا نجد فى غضون مذهبه بعض الافكار التى يعزوها أولئك الكتاب لانباذقليس — قد استقى أفكاره هذه من ابن مسره أو أحد من أتباعه ولم يستمدها من مصدر آخر ؟ أما عن السؤال الأول فلا أرى سبيلا للاجابة وأما عن الثانى فأكبر اليقين عندى أن ابن العربى قد عرف ما عرفه من فلسفته الأفلاطونية الجديدة — المنسوبة خطأ الى انباذقليس — من رسائل اخوان الصفا كما سنرى بعد — لا من ابن مسره . لا ، بل أننى أذهب الى أبعد من هذا فأقول :

أولا أن ذلك النوع من الفلسفة الذى عزاه صاعد بن احمد الأندلسى ومن اخذوا عنه الى انباذقليس خطأ وقالوا ان ابن مسره كان من الكلفين به

ليس الا مجموعة مهوشة من أفكار الأفلاطونية الجديدة وانه ملخص لما عرفه صاعد وأتباعه وما فهموه من فلسفة انباذقليس لا ما عرفه أو فهمه ابن مسرة منها .

ثانيا أن صاعدا نفسه قد أخذ ما أخذ مما سماه فلسفة انباذقليس من رسائل اخوان الصفا لسببين جوهريين .

(١) انه يوجد تشابه عظيم بين ما يسميه صاعد واتباعه بفلسفة انباذقليس وما نجده فى رسائل اخوان الصفا (وليس منسوبا الى انباذقليس) حرفا بحرف ولا سيما فيما يتعلق بمسألة النفس .

(٢) ان من المحقق أن صاعدا والقفطى وابن أبى اصيبعه لم يكن لهم علم بفلسفة انباذقليس فى أصلها الأغريقى لأننا لا نعرف لهذا الفيلسوف مؤلفات مطلقا .

ثالثا ان هذا الجزء من الفلسفة الانباذقلية الموهومة شديد الارتباط بأجزاء أخرى من الفلسفة الافلاطونية الجديدة التى نجدها منتشرة فى انحاء شتى من مذهب ابن العربى ومن فلسفة اخوان الصفا الذين يكادون ينصون عليها حرفيا فى رسائلهم .

وربما جاز لنا بعد تقديم هذه المقدمات أن نصل الى النتائج الآتية:

أولا انا لا نزال نجهل كل الجهل الفلسفة التصوفية لابن مسرة — هذا على افتراض انه كان له فلسفة تصوفية خاصة .

ثانيا — ان الحجج التى يدلى بها الأستاذ بلاسيوس للبرهنة على أن ابن العربى كان فى فلسفته التصوفية تحت تأثير ابن مسرة واتباعه حجج واهية وغير كافية لأثبات دعواه .

ثالثا — أن كل ما يدين به ابن العربى لابن مسرة هو انه استعار منه « وصفه للعرش » وأن كان قد أول هذا الوصف تأويلا خاصا يتفق وروح مذهبه كما أسلفنا .

رابعا — ان دعوى الأستاذ بلاسيوس أنه وجدت بالفعل علاقة بين المدرسة الصوفية بالمرية ومدرسة ابن مسرة دعوى افتراضية بحته لم يعززها بأدلة تاريخية .

خامساً — أننا حتى لو سلمنا بأن ابن العربى كان متأثرا الى حد ما بالروح الفلسفية التى أوجدها متصوفو المرية فى تصوفهم فان هذا ليس معناه أننا نسلم أن ابن العربى كان متأثرا بفلسفة ابن مسرة واتباعه الا ان يثبت وجود علاقة تاريخية بين الطائفتين وهو لم يقم عليه دليل بعد .

الشطر الثانى من المقالة

وهو المصادر التى اعتقد ان لها تأثيرا فى مذهب ابن العربى

يستحيل علينا فى عجالة كهذه أن نستقصى كل المصادر التى كان لها أثر فى الفلسفة التصوفية لابن العربى وأن نقرر بالتفصيل العلاقة — حيثما وجدت — بين كل رأى من آرائه وما يشابهه من نظريات الفلاسفة أو أقوال المتصوفين — فان ذلك يستدعى شرح مذهبه ومذاهب غيره ويخرجنا عن موضوع بحثنا — ولكنا سنجمل القول إجمالا فنقسم هذه المصادر الى قسمين كبيرين .

القسم الأول — مصادر اسلامية ويدخل تحتها .

(ا) القرآن الكريم ومجموعة من الأحاديث اعتاد الصوفيون نسبتها الى النبى عليه السلام .

(ب) بعض متقدمى الصوفيين ممن تشير عباراتهم الى « وحدة الوجود » وان لم يكن لهم مذهب فلسفى خاص فيها ، وذلك مثل أبى يزيد البسطامى والجنيد والحسين بن منصور الحلاج .

(ج) بعض متصوفى الاسلام ممن ليس لهم مذهب فلسفى خاص ولا فى عباراتهم ما يشعر بوحدة الوجود مثل من ذكرنا من متصوفة الأندلس ومثل أبى طالب المكى وأبى بكر الشبلى وأبى سعيد الخراز وغيرهم من متصوفى المشرق .

(د) المتكلمون الأشاعرة منهم والمعتزلة .

(ه) القرامطة والاسماعيلية الباطنية وخاصة اخوان الصفا .

(و) الفلاسفة الاسلاميون ممن انتحلوا مذهب ارسطوطاليس ممزوجاً بالافلاطونية الجديدة لاسيما الفارابى وابن سينا .

(ز) الاشراقيون ،

القسم الثانى — مصادر غير اسلامية — وهى الفلسفة الهلينية (Hellenistic Philosophy) وخاصة . (ا) الافلاطونية الجديدة (Neo-Platonism)

(ب) فلسفة فيلون (Philo Judaeus) والرواقيين (The Stoics) فيما يتعلق بنظرية ابن العربى فى الكلمة (The Logos) وسنتناول بالبحث الاجمالى بعض هذه المصادر لأهميتها فنقول .

ان مذهب ابن العربى يمكن أن ينظر اليه من ناحيتين ناحيته الفلسفية البحتة وناحيته التصوفية : أما فى الناحية الفلسفية فهو لاشك من اتباع المذهب الافلاطونى الجديد الذى عرفه لافى أصله بل عن طريق اخوان الصفا — وأما فى الناحية التصوفية فهو يشارك الحلاج فى أسلوبه ومنهجه ويختلف عنه فى عاطفته لان ابن العربى يغلب عليه النظر والتفكير العميق ، وتعوزه العاطفة القوية العنيفة ، التى كانت من أهم ميزات الحلاج ، وهو فوق هذا متأثر فى الناحية المنطقية الشكلية بأساليب المتكلمين ومناهجهم .

اخوان الصفا ومن نحا نحوهم من فلاسفة المسلمين

من أتباع الأفلاطونية الجديدة (Neo-Platonism)

لا حرج علينا اذن أن نقرر أن ابن العربى ومن على شاكلته من متصوفى الاسلام الذين صبغوا تصوفهم صبغة فلسفية -- أو بالأحرى صبغوا فلسفتهم صبغة تصوفية — قد استمد الشىء الكثير من مادة مذهبه من رسائل اخوان الصفا — لاسيما الأجزاء التى أصلها من الافلاطونية الجديدة والتى أدخل عليها « الاخوان » عناصر غريبة من مذاهب أخرى اغريقية أو مسيحية أو فارسية الأصل — فاننا نجد من هذه الرسائل طائفة كبيرة من المذاهب الفلسفية المختلفة الأصل والنزعة يؤلف اخوان الصفا بينها أو يحاولون التأليف والوصول منها الى مذهب عام واحد — فنجد فيها مذاهب الأغريق على اختلاف طبقاتهم يتخللها عناصر مستمدة من المذهب المانوى أو الزرادشتى ممزوجة بشىء من التصوف الاسلامى وآراء

المتكلمين مضافا اليها قليل أو كثير من آى القرآن أو الحديث بحسب ما تتطلبه الحاجة — والناظر فى مؤلفات ابن العربى لا يعجزه أن يرى صورة مصغرة لكل ذلك — الا أنه لم يقف عند حد النقل عن اخوان الصفا بل أوّل ما نقل عنهم — كما أول غيره — وحور فيه وبدل وقرأ فيه من معانى مذهبه فى وحدة الوجود ما قرأ . وقد كانت رسائل اخوان الصفا الى عهد ابن العربى أكبر الموسوعات الفلسفية عند المسلمين وأكبر مصدر رجعوا اليه ليستمدوا منه العون فى أى موضوع فلسفى كان — ولم يكن ابن العربى أول ولا آخر من تأثر بفلسفتهم ، فهناك كثيرون من فلاسفة الاسلام ومتصوفيه مثل شهاب الدين السهروردى الحلبى المقتول وعبد الحق بن سبعين الاندلسى وغيرهما تنطق فلسفتهم التصوفية بما « لاخوان الصفا » من أثر بين فيها — ولا غرابة اذن فى أن تتفق فلسفة السهروردى وابن سبعين فى الروح والمنحى مع فلسفة ابن العربى ، فان العلل المتشابهة أو المتحدة تنتج المعلولات المتشابهة أو المتحدة. نعم ان ابن العربى يظهر أنه كان يعلم من الفلسفة الأغريقية ما كان يعلمه اخوان الصفا وفوق ما علموه؛ فاننا نجده متأثرا فى نظريته فى « الكلمة » (the Logos) بفلسفة فيلون اليهودى الاسكندرى وفلسفة الرواقيين — ولا نعلم حتى اليوم كيف تسنى لابن العربى الوصول الى هذا الجزء من فلسفته — غير أننا يجب الا ننسى أنه قضى الجزء الاكبر من حياته فى الشرق حيث الفلسفة الهلينية — ولا سيما المذاهب الاسكندرية بما فيها فلسفة فليون — تكاد تمتزج بالهواء الذى كان يتنفس فيه — وحيث الرهبان والفلاسفة المسيحيون يتناقلون هذه الفلسفة مشافهة جيلا عن جيل فيعرفها عن طريقهم فلاسفة الاسلام ومتصوفوه الذين كانو يعيشون فى ديارهم وبين ظهرانيهم .

ويظهر أيضا أن ابن العربى قد تعلم كثيرا من فلاسفة الاسلام مثل الفارابى وابن سينا — وعن الأول أخذ طريقته فى استعمال الالفاظ القرآنية مثل القلم واللوح المحفوظ والعرش ونحوها كمرادفات للاصطلاحات الافلوطينية مثل العقل الأول والنفس الكلية والجسم الكلى وهكذا .

ومن المحقق أيضا ان ابن العربى لم يكن فى يوم من أيام حياته اسماعيلى المذهب

(واخوان الصفا من الاسماعيلية) فنقول أنه تلقى علمه وطريقته عنهم رأسا — الا أن هذا لم يمنعه من قراءة كتبهم والتأثر بما فيها — وهو كأبي حامد الغزالى ينقم على الاسماعيلية و ينقدهم نقدا مرا ثم ينسى أو يتناسى فضلهم وما هو مدين لهم به من مادة ومنهج فان طريقة ابن العربي فى شرح مذهبه — أعنى البدء بأصل اسلامى بحت كآية قرآنية أو حديث ثم تأويل هذا الأصل بطريقة تدريجية تأويلا فلسفيا يخرجه عن معناه و يدخل فيه أى معنى آخر يريده من معانى الفلسفة أو التصوف ، هى بعينها طريقة الاسماعيلية وخاصة ,, اخوان الصفا ،، الذين ينتمون الى فرقتهم. نعم ربما كان الباعثان فى الحالين مختلفين ولكن النتيجة التى أدت اليها تلك الطريقة واحدة — أما تأويل ,, اخوان الصفا ،، لآيات القرآن والحديث ولا سيما ما يتعلق منها بأمور الآخرة من جنة ونار و بعث وحشر الخ فقد اتخذوه وسيلة لتحقيق مآربهم وهو قلب الاسلام وهدم عقائده ومبادئه من أساسها — وهذا النوع من التأويل نسمع صداه فيما نقرؤه من تفسير ابن العربي لكثير من آيات القرآن والحديث — ألا ان غايته من هذا التفسير لاشك غير غايتهم ؛ اذ غايته تدعيم مذهب فلسفى له وتشييده على أصول ظاهرها اسلامى و باطنها « وحدة الوجود » خالصة لا شائبة فيها .

والآن أوضح لك مواضع التشابه بين فلسفة ابن العربي وفلسفة ,, اخوان الصفا ،، مرتبة بحسب ورودها فى مذهب الأول ليتبين لك شدة الاتصال بين الاثنين .

(١) فى الناحية الميتافيزيقية .

لم يكن اخوان الصفا ممن يعتنقون مذهب « وحدة الوجود » Pantheism كما كان ابن العربي ولكن كانت لهم آراء أخذوها عن فلسفة الأغريق وحوروا فيها وأخذها ابن العربي عنهم ليغذى بها مذهبه نذكر منها ما يأتى :

أولا — فيوضات افلوطين (Emanations of Plotinus) ومراتب الوجود — ولو أن اخوان الصفا كانوا فى هذه المسألة أقرب الى المذهب الافلوطينى من ابن العربي لأنه لم يعتقد — كما اعتقدوا — أن الفيوضات تكون سلسلة من

الوجودات كل منها يصدر عن الفيض المتقدم عليه ويظهر كمالاته — بل يقول ان هذه الفيوضات ان هى الا أسماء لجهات مختلفة من الوحدة المطلقة — أى الذات الالهية الواحدة التى لا تقبل التكثر بحال. فالواحد (The One) ليس سوى هذه الذات فى اطلاقها وتجردها — والعقل الأول (The First Intellect) ليس سوى هذه الذات ظاهرة بصورة القوة الناطقة المنبثة فى جميع الأشياء: والنفس الكلية (The Universal Soul) ليست سوى هذه الذات ظاهرة بصورة القوة المدبرة لسائر الكون، والجسم الكلى (The Universal Body) ليس سوى هذه الذات ظاهرة بصورة العالم المادى وهكذا ـ بعبارة أخرى ـ يدخل ابن العربى فكرة الفيوضات الى مذهبه فى وحدة الوجود — آخذا هذه الفكرة عن ,, اخوان الصفا،، — ويحلها من هذا المذهب محلا خاصا مع أنها فى أصلها ليست من وحدة الوجود فى شىء.

ثانيا — فى تعريفهم للحق (الله) بأنه أصل الوجود وقولهم بأن هذا الأصل فى نفسه ليس له صفات أو أسماء، وأن طبيعته لا تقبل التناقض الخ مما ينطبق تمام الانطباق على الذات الالهية المتقدمة الذكر فى مذهب ابن العربى. نعم ان الفرق جوهرى بين مذهبه ومذهبهم لأنه يعتبر الذات أو العين الواحدة جهة خاصة من جهات « الحق » كما يعتبر العالم المحسوس الذى تظهر فيه الذات فى أعيان الممكنات جهة أخرى فى حين أن الحق والعالم فى رأى ,, اخوان الصفا،، منفصلان (١).

ويتلخص مذهبهم فى أنهم ينظرون الى الحق (الله) نظرة أفلوطين الى ,,الواحد،، أى يعتبرونه العلة فى كل شىء لا انه « عين الوجود » الذى منه نشأ الوجود وليس هو خارجا عنه (٢).

ويقولون ان الله ليس بجسم كما يقوله بعضهم وليس بصورة روحانية أو بنور عام فى جميع الأشياء كما يقول البعض الآخر بل هوية وحدانية ذو قوة واحدة وأفعال كثيرة وصنائع عجيبة لايعلم أحد من خلقه ما هو وأين هو وكيف هو

(١) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ١ ص ٣٧، ج ٤ ص ٨١.
(٢) « الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٥١٩.

وهو الفائض منه وجود الممكنات وهو المظهر صور الكائنات فى الهيولى المبدع جميع الكيفيات بلا زمان ولا مكان بل فى كن فكان [١] فالله فى نظرهم هو هو الخالق المبدع للعالم لا كما يبدع البناء الدار. بل ان الموجودات تفيض منه أو تصدر عنه فيضان أو صدور الأعداد عن الواحد : والعالم ليس هو الله ولا جزءا منه ولا صورة له — بل هو فيض منه خلقه بفضله وعنايته [٢] وكل هذه أفكار من الأفلاطونية الجديدة حور فيها ‹‹ اخوان الصفا ›› الى حد قليل وأخذها عنهم ابن العربى برمتها وأفسح لها مكانا فى مذهبه معتبرا الفيوضات بما فيها العالم أمورا اعتبارية محضة فى ذاتها : ليس لها وجود الا كمظاهر للذات الواحدة التى هى أصل كل شىء كما أسلفنا .

رابعا — فيما يتعلق بالزمان وقولهم أن الزمان لا حقيقة له الا فى العالم المحسوس : وفى هذا يتفق معهم ابن العربى مرة أخرى . فالحق (الله) فى نظرهم متقدم عن العالم تقدما عقليا (أو منطقيا — أى بالمرتبة) لا تقدما زمانيا — أما تقدم الأفلاك على العناصر مثلا فتقدم زمانى حقيقى — فالبارى متقدم الوجود على الكل كتقدم الواحد على جميع الأعداد [٣] .

خامسا — وقد بنوا نظريتهم فى الفيوضات (Emanations) على ما كان يخيل اليهم (والى فلاسفة الاسلام جميعا) أنه بديهية فلسفية وهو « أنه لا يصدر عن الواحد الا الواحد » (قول عزوه لارسطوطاليس) وعبارة نقلها ابن العربى عنهم وناقشها فى فتوحاته [٤] ذاكرا الفيوضات الأفلوطينية كما ذكرها اخوان الصفا وواصفا لها بما وصفوها به [٥] : فهم مثلا يطلقون على العقل الأول (الافلوطينى)

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(١) رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ٤ ص ٨١ .

(٢) راجع « « « ج ٣ ص ١٠٩ — قارن كذلك رسائل ج ٣ ص ١١٩ .

(٣) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ٣ ص ١٢٠ .

(٤) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٥٢ .

(٥) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ٤ ص ٢٣٠ — ٢٣١ ، ج ٣ ص ١٢٢

اسم « المخلوق الابداعى » وأداة الخلق و « الفيض الأول » و « صورة الحق » وغير ذلك وهى كلها اصطلاحات نجد ابن العربى يستعملها فى وصف ، يسميه « بالحقيقة المحمدية » و« بالكلمة »(Logos)(١) .

سادسا — وأنك لتجد وجه الشبه ظاهرا كذلك بين اخوان الصفا وابن العربى فى شرح العلاقة بين النفس الكلية والنفوس الجزئية التى هى تعينات خاصة للنفس الكلية (٢) .

سابعا — يدخل اخوان الصفا — ويتبعهم فى هذا ابن العربى — « الفلك المحيط » والأركان الأربعة الأنباذقلية فى عداد الفيوضات الأفلوطينية — ولكنهم لا يعنون بالفلك المحيط أو الكل (الذى يسميه انباذ قليس σφαίρος) مايعنيه انباذقليس وانما يقصدون به فلك الكواكب الذى مركزه الشمس ـ وفوقها المريخ والمشترى وزحل — وأسفلها الزهرة وعطارد والقمر ـ ذاكرين الأركان الأربعة الأنباذقلية بعد القمر فى الترتيب (٣) — وهذا الخلط بين فيوضات أفلوطين وفلك بطليموس وأركان انباذ قليس نجده كذلك فى فلسفة ابن العربى .

٢ — فيما يتعلق بالنفس والمعرفة — والانسان والعالم (The Microcosm and the Macrocosm) وهنا نجد العلاقة بين اخوان الصفا وابن العربى أقوى وأخذه عنهم أظهر وتحويره فيما أخذ أقل وسنذكر التشابه بينهما فى نظريات النفس والمعرفة بضرب من الاجمال كما فعلنا فى الموضوع السابق .

أولا — فى تعريفهم للنفس الانسانية بأنها جوهر حى بسيط طبيعتها الفعل

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(١) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ٣ ص ١٢٢ ، ج ١ ص ٣٧ وراجع فيما يتعلق بوصفهم للفيوضات الاخرى رسائل ج ٣ ص ٤ ، ٧ ، ١٨ ، ج ٤ ص ٢٣٤ — ٢٣٥ ، ج ٣ ص ٦ .

(٢) راجع رسائل ج ٣ ص ٩ ، ٤٣ — ٤٤ : قارن السهروردى فى مذهبه

(٣) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ١ ص ٧٨ ، ج ٣ ص ٢٣ اما عن آثار الأفلاك فراجع ج ٤ ص ٢٤٣ ، ٢٤٧ .

والمعرفة [١] — وقولهم

ثانيا — ان ما يراد « بأنا » و « أنت » انما هو كل ما نعنيه بالنفس وأنه لا دليل على وجودها سوى المعرفة بديهية كانت أو نظرية [٢] وقولهم

ثالثا — ان النفس الانسانية هى تعين خاص النفس الكلية [٣] .

رابعا — ورأيهم فى أن أرقى درجات الحياة الروحية وأقصى غاية النفس الانسانية انما هو فى رجوعها (ويظهر أنهم يريدون رجوعا حقيقيا) الى النفس الكلية — وأن هذا هو الطريق الى تحريرها تماما من جميع ادران العلائق البدنية [٤] — وهم وابن العربى متفقون على أن حياة النفس الانسانية (بعد الموت) فى النفس الكلية هى كل ما يقصد بالحياة الأخروية [٥] وأن الجنة والنار ليسا سوى ماتشعر به النفس من سعادة أو شقاء فى الحياة الأخروية (بالمعنى الذى يفهمونها به) .

ألا أنهم يختلفون عن ابن العربى فى أنهم يبالغون فى تحقير العالم المادى والدعوة الى الزهد فيه وفى كل ما يتعلق به كوسيلة لتحقيق معنى السعادة النفسية [٦] — أما ابن العربى فيقول أن الطريق الى السعادة النفسية هى المعرفة الحقة وهو أميل فى رأيه الى المذهب الافلاطونى كما ان اخوان الصفا أقرب فى رأيهم الى وجهة النظر المسيحية .

خامسا — رأيهم فى خلود الروح والعالم الروحى [٧] وفى هذا يتفق ابن العربى معهم .

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(١) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا جـ ٣ ص ٧٨ — قارن جـ ١ ص ١٧
(٢) » » » » جـ ٤ ص ٢٢٦
(٣) » » » » جـ ٣ ص ٤٣ — ٤٤
(٤) » » » » جـ ٣ ص ١٢٠
(٥) » » » » جـ ٣ ص ٧٢ — ٧٣ ، جـ ٤ ص ١٨٩
(٦) » » » » جـ ٤ ص ١٩٠ ، ٢٢١ — ٢٢٢
(٧) » » » » جـ ٤ ص ١٠٧ — ١١٧ ، ١٢٠

سادسا — رأيهم فى أن أعلى مرتبة انسانية تصل اليها النفس هى مرتبة الوحى وهى مرتبة الأنبياء والورثة [١] وهو الأساس الذى بنوا عليه مذهبهم المعروف فى الامامة والامام المعصوم وهو يظهر بكل وضوح فى نظرية ابن العربى فى « الانسان الكامل » التى كان له فضل السبق فى وضعها

ورأيهم فى « الانسان المطلق » وهو الأصل الذى استمد منه ابن العربى فكرته عن الانسان الكامل وكذلك رأيهم فى سرية العلم الباطنى الذى هو من خصائص الامام المعصوم وورثته وهو كلام يردده ابن العربى فيما يقوله عن الولاية وخاتم الأولياء الذى يعنى به نفسه .

أضف الى ذلك ما يذكره « اخوان الصفا » من المقارنة بين الانسان والعالم « The Microcosm and the Macrocosm » مما انتفع به ابن العربى فى وصفه للانسان الكامل بأنه « صورة مصغرة جمعت فيها حقائق العالم أعلاه وأسفله » وغير ذلك مثل وصفهم الانسان بأنه « خليقة الله » أو « الخليفة » أو « الصورة » وهكذا .

سابعا — فى كل ما يقولونه فى علم النفس — فى الحواس والقوى العقلية ووظيفة كل وأنواع المعرفة الذوقى منها والتجريبى والنظرى وغير ذلك مما نجده بنصه وفصه فى كتب ابن العربى [٢] .

ابن العربي والحلاج :

والآن ننتقل الى الناحية التصوفية لمذهب ابن العربى فنناقش المصادر التى أثرت فيها كما فعلنا بالناحية الفلسفية التى ذكرنا اجمالا أنها هلينية الأصل عليها مسحة اسلامية خاصة طبعها بها « اخوان الصفا » . أما من الناحية التصوفية فأكبر متصوفى الاسلام تأثيرا فى مذهبه هو الحسين بن منصور الحلاج الذى استشهد

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(١) راجع رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ٤ ص ١٥٣ ، ١٧٨ ، ١٨٠ .

(٢) قارن مثلا فتوحات ابن العربى ج ٣ ص ٣١٣ — ٣١٥ برسائل اخوان الصفا ج ٤ ص ١٢ وما يليها

ببغداد سنة ٣٥٩ لتقرب الرجلين فى النزعة مع تفاوت بينهما فى العاطفة كما أسلفنا .

لم يكن الحلاج فيلسوفا بأى معنى من معانى الكلمة ولم تكن شطحياته المأثورة عنه صادرة عن عقيدة فلسفية فى وحدة الوحدة Pantheism بل كانت تعبيرا عن وجدان عميق عنيف وصورا لمعان نفسية خاصة به لا بغيره؛ شعر بها حينما تغلغل فى نفسه حب من يهواه فصاح كالمجنون الذى أفقده حبه صوابه وأصبح لا يدرى الفرق بين المحبّ والمحبوب ونطق بتلك العبارة التى من أجلها لقى حتفه — « أنا الحق » — ولم يكن الحلاج ليستطيع أن يدلى ببرهان أو حجة على ما كان يقول من هذه الشطحيات ولا أن يزيد عليها بأكثر من أنه شعر بمعانيها فى نفسه — ولكن هذه العبارات البسيطة الساذجة الصادرة عن مجرد العاطفة قد وقعت من نفس خلفه فيلسوف متصوفى الاسلام محيى الدين ابن العربى موقعا خاصا فأولها كما شاءت عقيدته الفلسفية أن يؤولها وقرأ فيها من معانى ,, وحدة الوجود ،، ما قرأ ولم يعان كبير مشقة فى هذا الصدد لما يشعره ظاهر عبارات الحلاج من ,, وحدة الوجود ،، .

والظاهر من كلام ابن العربى عن الحلاج ومن اشاراته العديدة اليه فى الفتوحات [1] أنه كان على علم كبير بسيرته وأقواله وأنه عنى به عناية خاصة من بين متصوفى المشرق فألف كتابا يفسر فيه رموز الحلاج واصطلاحاته سماه ,, السراج الوهاج فى شرح كلام الحلاج [2] ،، .

ولا يتسع المقام هنا لأكثر من سرد اجمالى للنقط التى يظهر فيها تشابه وعلاقة واضحة بين الحلاج وابن العربى — بل أننى سأقتصر على ذكر المسائل الهامة التى هى فى صلب مذهب ابن العربى والتى لا شك عندى أنه أخذ جرثيمها الأولى عن الحلاج وهى :

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(١) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٢١٩ و ج ٢ ص ١٥ و ١٦٥ و ٤٤٥ و ٤٧٨ و ٧٢٠ و ج ٣ ص ٢٢ و ٥١ و ١٥٥ و ج ٤ ص ١٠٥ و ٣٠٩

(٢) Massignon's Passion del Hallaj

أولا — مسألة « الواحد والكثرة » أو « الحق والخلق » التي تأثرت في ناحية من نواحيها بما يقوله الحلاج عن « اللاهوت والناسوت » أو ما يسميه أحيانا « بالطول والعرض »[1] وهذه المسألة هي المحور الذي تدور حوله فلسفة ابن العربي جميعا ولا يكاد يخلو من التأثر بها جزء من أجزاء مذهبه — إلا أننا يجدر بنا أن نوضح الفرق الجوهري بين وجهتي نظر هذين الصوفيين بالرغم من تقاربهما. فاننا بينا نرى الحلاج ينظر الى اللاهوت والناسوت (أو الطول والعرض) أو الله والعالم كشيئين مختلفين ذاتا وطبيعة ويعتقد أن اللاهوت يمكنه أن يحل في الناسوت اذا بلغ الناسوت درجة خاصة من الصفاء الروحي — نرى ابن العربي يقول أن اللاهوت والناسوت أمران اعتباريان يقرر العقل وجودهما لعجزه عن ادراك وحدتهما. نعم قد يسترسل ابن العربي في ذكر الفرق بين الواحد والكثير أو بين الحق والخلق أو اللاهوت والناسوت على أساس منطقي أو ديني فيصف الواحد بأنه واجب الوجود قائم بذاته وأنه « رب »، ويصف الكثرة بأنها ممكنة الوجود متوقفة في وجودها على وجود غيرها وبأنها « عبد » الخ ولكنه يقول ان هذه فروق يقضي بها العقل البشري القاصر ولا تقرها الحقيقة والواقع اذ الواحد في الواقع هو الكثرة والحق هو الخلق. يقول ابن العربي « والعين واحدة من المجموع في المجموع »[2].

ويقول:

يا خالق الأشياء في نفسه   أنت لما تخلقه جامع
تخلق ما لا ينتهي كونه   فيك فأنت الضيق الواسع[3]

ويقول:

فالحق خلق بهذا الوجه فاعتبروا   وليس خلقا بهذا الوجه فادكروا ...

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(١) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٢١٩ وقارنه بطواسين الحلاج ص ١٤١

(٢) فصوص ص ١٠١

(٣) فصوص ص ١٣٩

جمع وفرق فان العين واحدة وهى الكثيرة لا تبقى ولا تذر (١)

وهكذا :

فالحلاج اثنيني المذهب وابن العربى واحديه؛وأنه بالرغم من أن ابن العربى يستعمل لفظتى الصورة والذات أو الخلق والحق كمرادفين لكلمتى الحلاج الناسوت واللاهوت — وأحيانا يستعمل كلمتى الحلاج نفسهما (٢) فان الفرق بين وجهتى نظرهما لا يزال جوهريا . نعم ان الحلاج كان له الفضل فى تمهيد الطريق لابن العربى فى هذا الموضوع فانه عن طريق الحلاج دخلت النظرية الحلينية القائلة باثنينية العالم (وهما العنصران اللذان سماهما الحلاج باللاهوت والناسوت أو الطول والعرض أى الروحى والمادى) الى مذهب ابن العربى وان كان لم يبقها كما كانت بل حورها الى نظرية فى وحدة الوجود كما رأينا — وما هذه الأسماء الكثيرة التى يستعملها ابن العربى مثل عالم الأمر وعالم الغيب وعالم الأرواح وعالم المعانى وغيرها ألا مرادفات لكلمتى الطول واللاهوت اللتين يستعملها الحلاج — وما عالم الخلق وعالم الطبيعة وعالم الأجساد الخ سوى مرادفات لما يسميه الحلاج بالعرض أو الناسوت .

ثانيا — فى نظرية ابن العربى فى "الانسان الكامل" التى استمد عناصرها مما يقوله الحلاج عما يسميه "هو هو" ، فان الحلاج كان أول من علم ابن العربى المعنى الفلسفى للاثر اليهودى المعروف وهو "خلق الله آدم على صورته" ، فآدم هنا هو الذى يعنيه ابن العربى "بالانسان الكامل" ، الذى هو أرقى مجلى تظهر فيه الكمالات الالهية وهو الذى يسميه الحلاج "هو هو" ؛ ويكفى لايضاح مقدار تأثر ابن العربى فى هذه الناحية بنظرية الحلاج أن نقارن ما قاله فى مطلع الفص الأول من كتابه فصوص الحكم وهو « لما شاء الحق سبحانه من حيث أسماؤه التى لا يبلغها الاحصاء أن يرى أعيانها،وان شئت قلت أن يرى

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(١) فصوص ص ١١١

(٢) فصوص ص ٢٦٠ و ٤٠٠

عينه فى كون جامع يحصر الأمر كله (وهو الانسان الكامل) لكونه متصفا بالوجود ، و يظهر به سره اليه ، فان رؤية الشيء نفسه بنفسه ما هى مثل رؤيته نفسه فى أمر آخر يكون له كالمرآة . . . . . . وقد كان الحق أوجد العالم كله وجود شبح مسوّى لا روح فيه وكان كمرآة غير مجلوة . . . . . . فكان آدم (الانسان الكامل) عين جلاء تلك المرآة و روح تلك الصورة . . . . . فسمى هذا المذكور انسانا وخليفة فاما انسانيته فلعموم نشأته وحصره الحقائق كلها وهو للحق بمنزلة انسان العين للعين . . . فهو الانسان الحادث الأزلى والنشء الدائم الأبدى والكلمة الفاصلة الجامعة » . . . [1] . . . .

بما يقوله الحلاج من أن الله تعالى قبل الخلق وقبل علمه بالخلق تجلى لنفسه فى نفسه فى ذاته المطلقة عن كل تعين المنزهة عن كل وصف فأحب أن يظهر عظمته وجلاله فى شيء خارج عنه فخلق صورة أودع فيها كل صفاته (كمالاته) وهذه الصورة هى آدم . . . . . . وقد لخص الحلاج نظريته هذه فى أبيات له مشهورة وهى :

سبحان من أظهر ناسوته ... سر سنا لاهوته الثاقب
ثم بدا لخلقه ظاهرا ... فى صورة الآكل والشارب
حتى لقد عاينه خلقه ... كلحظة الحاجب بالحاجب [2]

ومن قرأ طاسين السراج للحلاج لا يعجزه أن يرى الجراثيم الأولى التى استمد منها ابن العربى كثيرا من مادته فيما يقوله عن أزلية محمد (روح محمد) أو " الحقيقة المحمدية " التى هى اسم آخر لما يسميه « بالانسان الكامل » .

ثالثا — فى طبيعة العلم الباطن وأنه منبعث من نور محمد الذى من مشكاته أخذ الأنبياء والورثة (الأولياء) علومهم [3] .

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(١) فصوص ص ١٢ — ٢٠

(٢) طواسين ص ١٣٠

(٣) راجع الطواسين (طاسين السراج) والفصوص (الفص الشيثى)

رابعا — فى الفرق بين الذات الالهيـة على ما هى عليه والذات كما ندركها ونصفها — فابن العربى مثلا يفرق بين نوعين من التنزيه — التنزيه الذى للحق فى ذاته وهذا لا سبيل للعقل الى ادراكه — والتنزيه الذى نصف به الحق لنفرق بينه و بين الممكنات وهـذا النوع من التنزيه فى نظره عين التشـبيه لأنه تقييد والتقييد تشبيه . يقول ابن العربى فى فصوصه « اعلم أن التنزيه عند أهل الحقائق فى الجناب الالهى عين التحـديد والتقييـد » (١) لأنه يقتضى على الأقل وجود شخص منزّه وهذا تحديد للحق الذى المنزه صورة له ؛ هذا من جهة ومن جهـة أخرى فان اطلاق أى صفة على موصوف (حتى ولو كانت الصفة هى التنزيه) تقييد للشىء الموصوف (٢) وهو بمثل هذا يفرق بين الوحدة التى عليها الحق فى ذاته والتوحيد الذى يصف الانسان به الحق متبعا فى ذلك رأى الحلاج الذى يقول ،، التوحيد صفة الموحّد لا صفة الموحَّد ،، (٣) ويقصد بالتوحيد هنا التوحيد الذى يحمله العقل على الحق لا التوحيد الذاتى للحق — وابن العربى يستعمل التنزيه ويريد به التوحيد هذا — فالله منزه تنزيها حقيقيا على هذا الاعتبار أى ان له ذاتا واحدة مطلقة هى بطبيعتها وحـدة غير متـكثرة — أما التنزيه الذى يقول به الفلاسفة كصفة يصفون بهـا الحق فهو عين التقييد والتحـديد وشر من التقييد والتحديد وهـذا هو الذى يعنيه الحلاج بقوله أنه صفة للموحّد لا للموحَّد أى انه لا يشرح ماهية الموحَّد وانما يظهر لنا عقلية الموحِّد .

خامسا — فى العالم المحسوس (بما فيه الانسان) وأنه عين الحجاب على نفسه وهى مسألة يظهر ان ابن العربى أخذها عن الحلاج برمتها . يقول الحلاج ،، سبحان من حجبهم بالاسم والرسم والوسم . . . . الخ (٤) ويقول .

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(١) فصوص ص ٧٠
(٢) فصوص ص ١٩٣
(٣) طواسين ص ٥٨
(٤) طواسين ٧٣

بيني وبينك انى ينازعنى فارفع بفضلك اني من البين (١)

وهو يعنى بالان هنا الوجود الظاهرى الذى يعده عقبة بينه و بين ربه لأن الشعور به معناه اثبات وجودين وجوده و وجود الحق وهو لا يريد أن يشعر الا بوجود واحد هو وجود الحق — لذلك كان الانّ حجابا يطلب من الله رفعه وازالته — وهذه حالة يمكن تحليلها تحليلا نفسيا ولا دخل لعقيدة وحدة الوجود فيها — فالحلاج محب يغالبه الشعور بنفسه وشخصيته وهو يريد أن تفنى شخصيته عند مناجاته لمحبوبه بحيث لا يصبح له شعور الا بهذا المحبوب — فهو يغار على محبوبه حتى من نفسه .

أما ابن العربى فيأخذ هذا المعنى و يصبغه بصبغة وحدة الوجود كعادته لأنه لا يتألم من وجود الشعور بالانّ و يعده حائلا بينه و بين الشعور بالحق كما فعل الحلاج بل يقول ان الانّ عين الحجاب لأنه يخفى الذات التى الانّ (الصورة الظاهرة) مظهر لها — فلا يجب أن ننظر الى الخلق ونلهو به عن الحق أو الى الحق ونلهو به عن الخلق اذ الحق والخلق — الذات والانّ — شىء واحد والانّ يخفى الذات كما تخفى الصورةُ الهيولى.

سادسا — فى نظريتها فى الحب الالهى الذى هو أصل كل حب — وهو الحب القديم المشار اليه فى الأثر الذى أجمع متصوفوا الاسلام على عده حديثا نبويا وهو قوله تعالى ,, كنت كنزا مخفيا فأحببت أن أعرف فخلقت الخلق فبه عرفونى ,, :ألا ان الفرق كبير بين وجهتى نظر الحلاج وابن العربى : اذ الحلاج حلولى متأثر الى حد بعيد بالفلسفة المسيحية يعتقد باثنينية المحب والمحبوب — الناسوت واللاهوت — ولكنه يعتقد أيضا أن اللاهوت يمكن حلوله (من غير امتزاج) فى الناسوت تحت ظروف خاصة و يشير الى ذلك فى أبياته المأثورة عنه .

أنا من أهوى ومن أهوى أنا نحن روحان حللنا بدنا

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(١) Quatre Textes Relatif à Al Hallaj. ed. Massignon P. 80.

فاذا أبصرتنى أبصرته واذا أبصرته أبصرتنا [1]

وهذه هى حالة «الفناء» التى فيها ينخلع عن العبد صفات العبودية و يحل محلها صفات الربوبية من غير مزج . يقول الحلاج « من ظن أن الالهية تمتزج بالبشرية والبشرية بالالهية فقد كفر فان الله تعالى تفرد بذاته وصفاته عن ذوات الخلق وصفاتهم ولا يشبههم بوجه من الوجوه ولا يشبهونه » [2] و يقول فى موضع آخر « مع أن ناسوتيتى مستهلكة فى لاهوتيتك غير ممازجة » [3] .

أما ابن العربى فيعتقد بوحدة المحب والمحب و يتفق مع الحلوليين فى أساليبهم ولكنه يختلف عنهم فى تأويل ظاهرة الاتحاد — فليس فى نظره فرق بين اللاهوت والناسوت الا بالاعتبار لأنه لا ينظر اليهما كوعاءين يصب أحدهما فى الآخر من غير مزج بل كحقيقة واحدة اذا نظرت اليها من وجه سميتها لاهوتا وربا ومحبوبا ، ومن وجه آخر سميتها ناسوتا وعبدا ومحبا — وهو يشير فى كثير من المواضع فى فتوحاته الى نظرية الحلاج و يقتبس من اشعاره [4] ولكنه يؤولها بما يتفق مع روح مذهبه كما أسلفنا . فهو اذن متأثر بالحلاج فى أسلوبه ونزعته لا فى عقيدته وهو أشبه باسبنوزا الذى يقول فى هذا المعنى « اننا نحب الله حبا أزليا لأن حبنا لله انما هو حبه لنفسه فى صورتنا ؛ كما أن معرفتنا بالله أزلية لأن ادراكنا له انما هو ادراكه لنفسه فى صورتنا » [5] .

سابعا — فى الفرق بين المشيئة والارادة :

يفرق ابن العربى بين المشيئة الالهية والارادة الالهية — فالمشيئة عنده شىء أشبه «بالعقل» الموجود فى جميع الأشياء أو القوة الالهية التى يقضى الله بها على

(١) طواسين ص ١٣٤

(٢) Quatre Textes Relatif A. Hallaj P. 69

(٣) Quatre Textes Relatif A. Hallaj P. 51

(٤) راجع مثلا الفتوحات ج ٢ ص ٤٤٥ و حـ ٣ ص ١٥٥

(٥) Joachim's Study in Spinoza's Ethics P. 305

الأشياء أن تكون على ما هي عليه — فهي بلغة التوحيد ,, القدر ,, وربما وصفها بعض العلماء الحديثين بأنها مجموعة القوانين الكامنة في طبيعة الأشياء والتي يصدر عنها جميع الظواهر في العالم الخارجي . فالمشيئة عنده ليست ضربا من الارادة أو اسما آخر لها — بل هي الذات الالهية نفسها لأنه يطلق عليها اسم ,, الوجود ,, [1] ويوافق أبا طالب المكي على تسميتها ,, عرش الذات ,, [2] أما الارادة فهي القوة الالهية التي هي اداة الخلق — ومعنى الخلق عنده خروج أعيان الممكنات من عالم الثبوت الى عالم الظهور : أو من القوة الى الفعل — فكون الشيء له وجود (بالقوة أو الفعل) من عمل المشيئة — ولكن كونه موجودا في العالم الخارجي أو غير موجود من عمل الارادة — أي ان ظهور بعض الأشياء والأفعال في العالم الخارجي وعدم ظهور البعض الآخر يتوقف على أن الله يريد هذا الظهور أو لا يريده وهذا هو المشار اليه « بالزيادة » «والنقص» في قول ابن العربي :

يريد زيادة ويريد نقصا   وليس مشاؤه الا المشاء [3]

وقد أخذ ابن العربي هذه التفرقة بين الارادة والمشيئة من الحلاج ولو أن تصور الحلاج للمشيئة يختلف بعض الاختلاف عن تصور ابن العربي لها لأنها عنده أشبه بالعقل الأول في مذهب أفلوطين .

وهو متأثر بالحلاج أيضا في شرحه للعلاقة التي بين الارادة (بهذا المعنى) والأمر الالهي (الأمر التكليفي) لأنه يعتقد أن الأشياء توجد والأفعال (الانسانية وغير الانسانية) تصدر عن الارادة الالهية بالرغم من أن بعضها — وهي أفعال الشر — يخالف الأمر الالهي — وهذا نص عبارته في الفصوص : « فيجري الأمر من العبد بحسب ما تقتضيه ارادة الحق وتتعلق ارادة الحق به

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(١) فتوحات ج ٤ ص ٥٥ س ٦ من أسفل

(٢) فتوحات ج ٢ ص ٥١ س ٣ من أسفل ؛ قارن فتوحات ج ٣ ص ٦٢ وج ٤ ص ٥٥

(٣) فصوص ص ٣٧٤

بحسب ما يقتضى به علم الحق ويتعلق علم الحق به على حسب ما أعطاه المعلوم من ذاته فما ظهر — أى المعلوم — الا بصورته . . . . . . فينظر فى أمره تعالى (الأمر التكليفى) وينظر فى ارادته تعالى فيراه قد أمره بما يخالف ارادته ولا يكون ألا ما يريد . . . . فأراد الأمر فوقع وما أراد وقوع ما أمر به بالمأمور فلا يقع من المأمور فسمى مخالفة ومعصية » [1] أى ان المعصية واقعة بحسب « الأمر التكوينى » (وهو الارادة الالهية) وان خالفت « الأمر التكليفى » الذى يأتى به الشرع ولا مناص من وقوعها وكذلك الامور التى تواضع الناس على تسميتها شرا — ولذلك يعتقد كل من ابن العربى والحلاج ان معصية ابليس وفرعون (اللذين يقول الحلاج فيهما أنهما كانا من أهل الفتوه) كانت بمقتضى الارادة الالهية بالرغم من مخالفتها الأمر الالهى — وأن دعوى فرعون فى قوله ,, أنا ربكم الأعلى ،، [2] أتت مطابقة لارادة الله كدعوى الحلاج فى قوله ,, أنا الحق ،، .

يقول الحلاج تناظرت مع ابليس وفرعون فى الفتوة فقال ابليس ,, أن سجدت سقط عنى اسم الفتوة ،، وقال فرعون ,, ان آمنت برسوله سقطت من منزلة الفتوة ،، وقلت أنا (الحلاج) ان رجعت عن دعواى وقولى (وهو أنا الحق) سقطت من بساط الفتوة ،، [3] .

ثامنا — فى استحالة معرفة الحق على ما هو عليه — مع فرق بينهما فى ماهية الحق [4] .

تاسعا — فى أن القرآن ظاهرا و باطنا وهو رأى يقول به كل الباطنية ألا ان الذى يلفت نظرنا هنا اتفاق ابن العربى والحلاج فى تفسير معظم الآيات القرآنية واستعمالهما اصطلاحات خاصة لا أعرفها لغيرهما : مثلا .

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(١) فصوص ص ١٦٤
(٢) قرآن كريم سورة ٧٩ آية ٢٤
(٣) طواسين ص ٥٠
(٤) راجع طواسين ص ٧٠ ـــ ٧٢

(ا) الآية "فتوبوا الى بارئكم فاقتلوا أنفسكم" [1] يقول الحلاج معنى قتل النفس هنا الفناء عنها وعن كل ما عدا الحق حتى يرجع المعدوم (الانسان) الى عدمه ويبقى الحق وحده [2] .

وهذه الآية نفسها يؤولها ابن العربى بمثل هذا المعنى غير انه يشرح الفناء شرحا يتمشى مع مذهبه فى وحدة الوجود .

(ب) الآية "الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم الخ" [3] فانهما يتفقان فى شرح كلمة قيوم .

(ج) الآية "انا عرضنا الامانة على السموات والأرض والجبال الخ" [4] فان الحلاج يفسر الأمانة هنا بالناحية الالهية من الانسان [5] ويفسرها ابن العربى بالصفات الالهية التى تتجلى فى الأنسان الكامل والتى من أجلها سمى الانسان الكامل بخليفة الله .

(د) الآية "ان الذين يبايعونك انما يبايعون الله" [6] . يقول الحلاج هذه اشارة الى مقام الجمع [7] وهو بعينه ما يعنيه ابن العربى بقوله "ان الحقيقة المحمدية من مقام الجمع" الخ الخ .

ويكفى هذا القدر فى ايضاح العلاقة الروحية بين ابن العربى والحلاج ومقدار تأثره به . نعم ليس هناك من شك فى أن الحلاج ينتمى الى طبقة من الصوفية غير تلك التى ينتمى اليها ابن العربى ولكنه وجد فى كثير من عبارات الحلاج تربة خصبة صالحة استنبت فيها بذور مذهبه فى وحدة الوجود — فهو يغير ويحور

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(١) قرآن كريم سورة ٢ آية ٥١

(٢) Hallajian Texts ed. Massignon in his Lexique de la Mystique P. 24.

(٣) قرآن كريم س ٢ آية ٢٥٦

(٤) « « « ٢٣ آية ٧٢

(٥) Hallajian Texts, op. cit. P. 55-6.

(٦) قرآن كريم س ٤٨ آية ١٠

(٧) Hallajian Texts, op. cit. P. 61.

من عبارات الحلاج - التى لا تكلفه كبير عناء فى التغيير والتحوير - حتى تظهر له فى صورة خاصة فيأخذها ويحكيها فى مذهبه كأنه أول قائل بها .

ولا أعنى بهذا أن ابن العربى كان من اتباع الحلاج ولا على طريقته أو مذهبه الفلسفى - ان كان للحلاج مذهب فلسفى - ولكنى أقول ان الحلاج كان من أكبر المصادر التى انتفع بها ابن العربى فى تغذية مذهبه

وهناك طائفة أخرى من متصوفى الاسلام غير الحلاج كان لهم بعض الأثر فى تصوف ابن العربى وفلسفته - ألا انهم لبعد نزعتهم من نزعته لم يكن بينه و بينهم ذلك الاتصال الروحى الذى كان بينه وبين الحلاج - لذلك هو يكتفى بذكر أسمائهم أو الاشارة الى بعض أقوالهم اشارة قصيرة غير شافية ولا موضحة لآرائهم وغالبا لا يعدو ذكره لهم شرح بعض الفاظهم ومن هؤلاء أبو يزيد البسطامى الذى يذكره ابن العربى فى أكثر من مائة موضع فى الفتوحات المكية والجنيد البغدادى والشبلى والتسترى وعبد القادر الجيلانى وتلميذه أبو السعود بن الشبل ومحمد بن عبد الجبار النفرى وأبو حامد الغزالى وغيرهم .

تأثير المتكلمين فى مذهب ابن العربى :

سبق ان ذكرنا ان مذهب ابن العربى متأثر فى ناحيته الشكلية (المنطقية) بأسلوب المتكلمين كما انه متأثر فى ناحيته الصوفية بعبارات الحلاج وفى ناحيته الفلسفية بالأفلاطونية الجديدة (Neo-platonism) التى عرفها عن طريق اخوان الصفا وقد شرحنا علاقة هذا الفيلسوف المتصوف بالمصدرين الأخيرين ونشرع الآن فى شرح علاقته بالمصدر الأول : ويظهر انه كان على علم تام بمذاهب المتكلمين وأساليبهم وطرق جدلهم كما هو واضح من مناقشته لآرائهم[1]

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(١) راجع الفتوحات ج ١ ص ٤٩ و ٥٠ - ٥٨ و ١٠٠ و ١٥٥ - ١٥٦ و ٢٠٧ و ٢٤٦ و ٢٦٠ و ٢٦٦ و ٣٤١ و ٣٧١ و ٣٩٠ و ٤٤٥ و ٦٧٥ و ٧٤٧ و ٧٤٩ ج ٢ ص ٥ و ١٠ و ١٣ و ٢٤٣ و ٣٠٦ و ٣٢٣ و ٥٢٧ و ٥٧٠ و ٦٢٩ و ٦٧٦ و ٦٨٩ و ٧٠٣ و ٨١٨ و ٨٤٥ و ٨٤٩ و ٨٥٣ و ٨٨١ و ٨٨٦

الا انه لا يتبع فرقة خاصة من فرقهم بل يأخذ برأى الأشاعرة فى مسألة ويرى رأى المعتزلة فى مسألة أخرى وأحيانا يأخذ بطرف من الاثنين محاولا التوفيق بينهما وهكذا. وربما كان تأثره بأساليب المتكلمين وطريقتهم فى عرض المسائل أعظم من تأثره بمذاهبهم وآرائهم — الا انه لا يستعمل هذه الأساليب وهذه الطرق الجدلية كما يستعملها المتكلمون بل يمزجها الى حد كبير بشىء من التصوف كعادته ويدخل عليها عناصر خيالية غريبة تعطيها لونا خاصا.

واننا لو نظرنا الى رأيه فى الوحدة والكثرة الذى هو لب مذهبه فى « وحدة الوحدة » لالفيناه فى ناحية من نواحيه صورة أخرى لمذهب الأشاعرة فى الجوهر والاعراض — فان الأشاعرة كانوا يقولون أن العالم كله واحد بالجوهر كثير بالأعراض وأنه مؤلف من جواهر بسيطة أو أجزاء لا تتجزأ (وهو رأى قال به من قدماء اليونان ديموقريطس آخر الفلاسفة الطبيعيين) ويقولون أن الجواهر لا وجود لها ألا بالأعراض (كما أن الأعراض لا قوام لها بدون الجواهر) وهى فى حالة تغير وتبدل مستمرين بحيث اذا عدمت عدم بعدمها الجواهر — وليس للجواهر والأعراض وجود الا فى لحظات متجددة. فأصل جميع ظواهر الكون (سواء أكانت مادية أو عقلية) فى نظرهم هو هذه الجواهر الفردة التى هى أشبه شىء بما يسميه ليبنتز « Monads »

ويجب أن نتذكر دائما أن نظرية الأشاعرة هذه انما هى نظرية لهم فى العالم — أو فى الأجسام وأنها لم تدفع بهم الى انكار خالق للعالم مخالف له فى ذاته وصفاته.

أما ابن العربى فيتفق معهم فى جميع تفصيلات مذهبهم تقريبا ألا أنه يخالفهم فى ناحية جوهرية هى بيت القصيد وذلك أنه يسمى الجوهر العام الذى تتألف

جـ ٣ ص ٢٢ و ٦١ و ١٠٨ و ٢٨٠ و ٣٦٤ و ٥٢٧ و ٦١١ و ٦٤٢ و ٧٠١
جـ ٤ ص ٢٦٩ — ٢٧٠ الخ الخ
راجع أيضا الفصوص ٢٢٧ — ٢٣٠

منه سائر الجواهر والذى هو أصل جميع المظاهر الكونية بالذات الألهية ويطلق على المظاهر الكونية التى هى الممكنات الوجودية اسم الأعراض ويسمى التغير الدائم المستمر الذى ينتاب الجوهر لاختلاف الأعراض عليه باسم الخلق الجديد فهو أخذ من الأشاعرة صورة لمذهبهم الأغريقى الأصل وملأ تلك الصورة بمادة من عنده تلائم روح مذهبه هو [١] .

ثانيا — ومن آراء المتكلمين التى تأثر بها ابن العربى قول المعتزلة فى الصفات وأنها عين الذات وهو قول أخذ تفاصيله عن ابن قسِيّ صاحب كتاب خلع النعلين فهو لا يوافق الأشاعرة على قولهم ان الصفات الألهية ليست بالذات ولا غيرها .

ثالثا — وهو يميل فى مسألة القدر الى رأى الأشاعرة الذين يقولون ان الانسان فى استطاعته أن يفعل الفعل ولكنه لا يفعله لأن الله هو الخالق للانسان وجميع أفعاله — وقد شرحنا معنى الخلق والخالق فى نظر ابن العربى فلا داعى لاعادته — أما الاستطاعة التى يتكلم عنها فهى استطاعة معطلة أذ ليس للانسان ولا لله نفسه فى نظره أن يغير مما عليه الأشياء .

والآن نختتم هذا الموضوع بذكر عنصرى القرآن والحديث اللذين أدخلهما ابن العربى الى مذهبه تتمة لصورته وشكله وان كان مذهبه فى الحقيقة فى غنى عنهما .

عنصرا القرآن والحديث فى مذهب ابن العربى :

لا يكاد الانسان يقرأ لابن العربى موضوعا من الموضوعات من غير أن يجد فيه استنادا الى آية من آيات القرآن أو حديث من الأحاديث سواء أكان لها علاقة بموضوعه أم لم يكن ولم أجد من بين فلاسفة الاسلام ولا متصوفيهم من وثب موثبته فى التحايل على فهم نصوص القرآن والحديث وقلب معانيها

(١) راجع مناقشته لمذهب الأشاعرة والحسبانية (السوفسطائيين) فى الفصوص ص ٢٢٧ — ٢٣٠ .

وتوجيهها أى جهة يريدها — فهو يذكرنا بفيلون (Philo) فى محاولته تفسير نصوص التوراة تفسيرا فسفيا لا تحتمله الفاظها .

ومن الغريب أن ابن العربى ينكر التأويل ولا يقول به ولكن انكاره هذا نظرى محض لأنه بالفعل يؤول كغيره الا أن طريقته فى تأويل القرآن وفهم آياته شر على القرآن من أى نوع من التأويل نعهده — اللهم الا تأويل ابن حزم الظاهرى الذى يعد بحق أستاذ ابن العربى فى هذه الطريقة — فانه لا يألوا جهدا فى فهم القرآن كما يريد وكما توحى اليه عقيدته فى وحدة الوجود ولو كلفه ذلك شططا وخروجا على أبسط القواعد اللغوية وأظهر العقائد الدينية — واننا غالبا ما نجد نصوص القرآن الكريم قد تحولت أمام أعيننا الى نصوص فى الفلسفة الارسطاطاليسية أو الأفلاطونية الجديدة أو نصوص فى المذاهب الكلامية أو غيرها ولا نكاد نجد فيها شيئا من القرآن كما نعلمه ونفهمه . والحق أن ابن العربى كان يستطيع الوصول الى النتيجة التى وصل اليها لو كان شرح التوراة أو الانجيل أو أى كتاب آخر سماوى أو غير سماوى واستعمل هذه الطريقة التى بها شرح نصوص القرآن — ولكنه لجأ الى القرآن والحديث ففسرهما بهذه الطريقة ولم يجهر بعقائده عارية مجردة عن أى استناد اليهما ليقنع مذهبه بقناع اسلامى ظاهرى يتقى به لعنات الذين كانوا يتهمونه بالكفر والزندقة ولئلا يلقى حتفه على أيديهم ويصير أمره الى ماصار اليه أمر الحلاج والسهروردى وغيرهم . يحاول ابن العربى أن يجد مبررا لما يقول فى القرآن أو الحديث ليؤيد به مذهبه فى وحدة الوجود — فان أسعفه ظاهر اللفظ أخذ به والا أوله بطريقته الخاصة — ولا شك أن القرآن يجمع بين دفتيه نوعين من الآيات — الأولى ما يشعر ظاهرها بالتشبيه أو التجسيم لو أخذت على ظاهرها كما هى والثانية ما تدل على التنزيه — لأن القرآن بينا تراه يصف الله تعالى بأنه مخالف للحوادث منزه عن صفاتها — ليس كمثله شىء الخ — تراه يصفه بأنه السميع البصير وبأن له يدا ووجها وبأنه فى السموات وفى الأرض وفى كل مكان وبأنه معنا أينما كنا وأنه

أقرب الينا من حبل الوريد وأنه الخالق لنا ولأفعالنا وأنه العلة فى كل ما كان أو هو كائن أو سيكون .

أما آيات التنزيه فيعتبرها ابن العربى وصفا لله من حيث هو فى ذاته الواحدة المطلقة التى لا تدركها الأفهام - أو بعبارة أخرى هى وصف للعين الواحدة التى هى أصل لجميع المظاهر الكونية فى العالم الخارجى .

وأما الآيات المشعرة بالتشبيه فيعتبرها وصفا لله لا من حيث ما هو عليه فى ذاته بل من حيث ظهوره فى صور الممكنات المتعددة الكثيرة - فهو سميع وبصير وهو له وجه ويدان ورجلان الخ لا بمعنى أن له سمعا وبصرا ووجها ويدين ورجلين مثل ما لنا كما قال المجسمون - ولا بمعنى أن له هذه كلها « بلا كيف » كما قال بعض المتكلمين ولكن بمعنى أنه الظاهر بصورة كل ما يسمع ويبصر وبصورة كل ما له وجه ويدان ورجلان الخ - أى أن التشبيه والتنزيه فى نظره صفتان تعبران عن جهتى حقيقة واحدة اذا نظرت اليها من وجه قلت بالتشبيه ومن وجه آخر قلت بالتنزيه .

والآن نذكر على سبيل الايضاح بعض الآيات القرآنية التى يستشهد بها ابن العربى فى تأييد آرائه والطريقة التى بها يؤول هذه الآيات فيخرجها عن معانيها الأصلية .

(١) الآية « سنريهم آياتنا فى الآفاق وفى أنفسهم حتى يتبين لهم أنه الحق » (١) فهو يفهم من الحق هنا الله أى حتى يظهر لهم أن مافى الآفاق وما فى أنفسهم من الآيات انما هى مظاهر وصور للحق (الله) (٢) .

(٢) الآية « الله نور السموات والأرض مثل نوره كمشكاة » الخ (٣) يفسر النور هنا بالذات وكذلك يفسر الوجه بالذات فى قوله تعالى « كل شىء

«١» قرآن س ٤١ آية ٥٣

«٢» فتوحات ج ٤ ص ١١٧

«٣» قرآن س ٢٤ آية ٣٥

هالك الا وجهه » [1] — وليس الهلاك الفناء والعدم بل تحول الصور وتغيرها على الذات (المشار اليها بالوجه) الباقية الدائمة .

(٣) الآية « وعلم آدم الأسماء كلها » [2] يقول المراد بآدم هو الانسان الكامل وعلم الله آدم الأسماء كلها أى أظهر فيه الصفات والكمالات الالهية التى من أجلها صحت له الخلافة .

(٤) الآية « اهدنا الصراط المستقيم ،، [3] . يقول المراد بالصراط المستقيم هنا صراط الذات الذى الكل فيه سواء — ولما كانت الذات الالهية هى الأصل الذى جميع المعبودات مظاهر له قال ابن العربى بوحدة الأديان جميعها لا فرق فيها بين وثنية وغيروثنية لأنه يقر الوثنى على عبادته على شريطة أن يعتقد أن معبوده من حجر أو شجر الخ انما هو مجلى أو مظهر للحق لا على أنه هو الحق وأن لاحق غيره — لذلك يعنى بالصراط المستقيم صراط الدين العام الذى هو أصل جميع الأديان — وهو فى الواقع دين ،، وحدة الوجود ،، .

(٥) الآية ،، فادخلى فى عبادى وادخلى جنتى ،، [4] . يقول المراد بجنتى هنا سترى أى ناسوتى فهى مشتقة فى نظره من جن بمعنى ستر أى ان الله يخاطب النفس الانسانية التى هى صورة من صور الذات الالهية أن تظهر فى صورة الانسان لتظهر كمالاته .

ومن هذا النوع من التعسف فى التفسير قوله أن جهنم معناها البعد أى بعد العبد من ربه باعتقاده ان هناك فرقا بين الذات والصورة أو بين الحق والخلق — هذا هو معنى جهنم — وقوله معنى الريح الراحة والعذاب العذوبة — ويوم الحسرة أى يوم الكشف من حسر بمعنى كشف أى اليوم الذى فيه تظهر

«١» قرآن س٢٨ آية ٨٨
«٢» قرآن س ٢ آية ٢٩
«٣» قرآن س ١ آية ٦
«٤» قرآن س ٨٩ آية ٣٠

الذات الالهية وتتجلى فى عموميتها وفيه تتبين كل صورة مكانها من هذه الذات وتفسيره الحشر بمعنى جمع الصور فى الذات الواحدة والمتقين بمعنى الواقين أى الذين يعدون الله وقاية لهم لأنه عين ذاتهم والذات وقاية للصورة وهكذا :

المراجع .

(١) كتاب الفتوحات المكية لمحيى الدين بن العربى ج ١ ، ٢ ، ٣ ، ٤ طبعة القاهرة سنة ١٢٩٣ هـ

(٢) كتاب الفصوص له شرح القاشانى القاهرة سنة ١٣٠٩ هـ

(٣) شرح أسماء الله الحسنى لابى الحكم بن برجان
M.S. Brit. Mus. Or 411

(٤) لسان الحق المبثوث فى الأمر والخلق لابن برجان
M.S. Paris (Arabe 2642)

ويظهر أن هذا الكتاب هو بعينه شرح أسماء الله الحسنى المتقدم الذكر وان كان بروكلمان يذكرها ككتابين مستقلين (١) .

(٥) تفسير للقرآن — لابن برجان الموجود منه الجزء الثانى .
M.S. Munich Cod. 83

(٦) رسالة لابن سبعين كتبها للامبراطور فردريك الثانى .
(Jour. Asiatique Series VII Vol. 14, year 1879).

(٧) رسائل اخوان الصفا ج ١ و ٢ و ٣ و ٤ طبعة بومباى سنة ١٣٠٥ هـ .

(٨) روضة الافراح للشهرزورى
(Extracts pub. by A. Palacios in his "Abenmasarra". Append IV P. 146.

(٩) حكمة الاشراق للسهروردى طبعة الهند سنة ١٣١٥ هـ .

(١) Brock. Vol. I, p. 434.

(١٠) بغية الملتمس للضبي
(١١) التكملة لابن الأبار
(١٢) الصلة لابن بشكوال
(١٣) تاريخ علماء الأندلس للفرضي
} ed Codera

(١٤) الفصل لابن حزم ج ١ و ٢ و ٣ و ٤ .

(١٥) الملل والنحل للشهرستاني ج ١ و ٢ ed Cureton

(١٦) طبقات الأطباء لابن أبي أصيبعه .

(١٧) تاريخ الحكماء للقفطي .

(١٨) وفيات الأعيان لابن خلكان .

(١٩) مطمح الانفس لابن خاقان : القسطنطينية سنة ١٣٠٢ هـ .

(٢٠) قلائد العقيان " "

(٢١) نفح الطيب للمقرى ج ١ .

(٢٢) Almoravides en Espana
(٢٣) Tawasin by Hallaj ed. Massignon
(٢٤) Passion del Hallaj by Massignon
(٢٥) Lexique de la Mystique by Massignon
(٢٦) Quatre Textes Relatif A. Hallaj ed. Massignon
(٢٧) Studies in Islamic Mysticism by R.A. Nichalson.
(٢٨) Abenmasarra y su Escuela by Palacios
(٢٩) Translations into Spanish of autobiographical notes from Ibnul Arabi's رسالة القدس
(٣٠) Burnet's Early Greek Philosophy
(٣١) Christian Platonists of Alexandria by C. Bigg.
(٣٢) The Philosophy of Plotinus by Dean Inge vol. I v II
(٣٣) Ethical Treatises translated from Plotinus' Emeads vol. I to IV by S. Mackenna
(٣٤) The Works of Philo Judaeus vol. I to IV translated by C.D. Yonge.

عكاظ والمربد

لأحمد أمين

من أبعد الأماكن أثرا فى الحياة العربية عكاظ والمربد : وقد كان أثرهما كبيرا من نواح متعددة : من الناحية الاقتصادية ومن الناحية الاجتماعية ومن الناحية الأدبية ، ودراستهما تضىء لنا أشياء كثيرة فى تاريخ العرب .

ولكن يظهر لى أنه لم يعن بهما العناية اللائقة ، فلا نرى فيما بين أيدينا — الا كلمات قليلة منثورة فى الكتب يصعب على الباحث أن يصور منها صورة تامة أو شبهها ، ومع هذا فسنبدأ فى هذه الكلمة بشىء من المحاولة فى توضيح أثرهما وخاصة من الناحية الأدبية .

عكاظ

فى الجنوب الشرقى من مكة ،وعلى بعد نحو عشرة أميال من الطائف ، ونحو ثلاثين ميلا من مكة :مكان منبسط فى واد فسيح به نخل وبه ماء وبه صخور ، يسمى هذا المكان «عكاظ» ، وكانت تقام به سوق سنوية تسمى سوق عكاظ ، وقد اختلف اللغويون فى اشتقاق الكلمة ، فقال بعضهم : اشتقت من "تعكظ القوم" ، اذا تحبسوا لينظروا فى أمورهم ، وقال غيرهم : سميت عكاظا لأن العرب كانت تجتمع فيها فيعكظ بعضهم بعضا بالمفاخرة أى يعركه ويقهره ، كما اختلفت القبائل فى صرفها وعدم صرفها ؛ فالحجازيون يصرفونها وتميم لا تصرفها ، وعلى اللغتين ورد الشعر :

قال دريد بن الصمة "تغيبت عن يومى عكاظ كليهما"

وقال أبو ذؤيب :

اذا بنى القباب على عكاظ ... وقام البيع واجتمع الألوف

* * *

وكان للعرب أسواق كثيرة محلية كسوق صنعاء ، وسوق حضرموت ،

وسوق صحار ، وسوق الشحر ، انما يجتمع فيها — غالبا — أهلها وأقرب الناس اليها .

و بجانب هذه الأسواق الخاصة أسواق عامة لقبائل العرب جميعا . أهمها : سوق عكاظ ، وسبب عمومها وأهميتها على ما يظهر :

(١) أن موعد انعقادها كان قبيل الحج ، وهي قريبة من مكة و بها الكعبة ، فمن أراد الحج من جميع قبائل العرب سهل عليه أن يجمع بين الغرض التجارى والاجتماعى بغشيانه عكاظ قبل الحج ، و بين الغرض الدينى بالحج .

(٢) ان موسم السوق كان فى شهر من الأشهر الحرم — على قول أكثر المؤرخين [١] ،، والعرب كانت (فى الشهر الحرام) لا تقرع الأسنة ، فيلقى الرجل قاتل أبيه أو أخيه فيه فلا يهيجه تعظما له ، وتسمى مضر الشهر الحرام الأصم لسكون أصوات السلاح وقعقعته فيه [٢] ،، وفى انعقاد السوق فى الشهر الحرام مزية واضحة ، وهى أن يأمن التجار فيه على أرواحهم ، وان كانوا أحيانا قد انتهكوا حرمة الشهر الحرام فاقتتلوا كالذى روى فى الأخبار عن حروب الفجار كما سيجىء ، ولكن على العموم كان القتل فى هذا الشهر مستهجنا ، قال ابن هشام : « أتى آت قريشا فقال : ان البراض قد قتل عروة وهم فى الشهر الحرام بعكاظ ، الخ [٣] وقد قال ذلك استعظاما لقتله .

« فكان يأتى عكاظ قريش وهوازن وغطفان والأحابيش وطوائف من أفناء العرب » [٤] وكانت كل قبيلة تنزل فى مكان خاص من السوق ، ففى الخبر أن رسول الله ذهب مع عمه العباس الى عكاظ ليريه العباس منازل الأحياء فيها [٥]

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(١) الأشهر الحرم هى رجب وذو القعدة وذو الحجة والمحرم .

(٢) تفسير الطبرى ٢ : ٢٠١ واشتدة تعظيمها له قيل له رجب مضر ولم يكن يستحله الاحيان خثعم وطىء — الازمنة والأمكنة ١ : ٩٠ .

(٣) سيرة ابن هشام طبع اوربا ١١٨ .

(٤) الأزمنة والأمكنة طبع الهند للمرزوقى ٢ : ١٦٥ .

(٥) دلائل النبوة لأبى نعيم طبع الهند ص ١٠٥ .

ويروى كذلك أن رسول الله جاء كندة فى منازلهم بعكاظ (١) .

بل كان يشترك فى سوق عكاظ اليمنيون والحيريون ، يقول المرزوقى « كان فى عكاظ أشياء ليست فى أسواق العرب : كان الملك من ملوك اليمن يبعث بالسيف الجيد والحلة الحسنة والمركوب الفارة فيقف بها وينادى عليه ليأخذه أعز العرب ، يراد بذلك معرفة الشريف والسيد فيأمره بالوفادة عليه ويحسن صلته وجائزته (٢) » . ويروى ابن الأثير عن أبى عبيدة « ان النعمان بن المنذر لما ملكه كسرى أبرويز على الحيرة كان النعمان يجهز كل عام لطيمة — وهى التجارة — لتباع بعكاظ » .

فترى من هذا أن بلاد العرب من أقصاها الى أقصاها كانت تشترك فى سوق عكاظ .

واختلفت الأقوال فى موعد انعقادها ، وأكثرها على أنه فى ذى القعدة من أوله الى عشرين منه ، أو من نصفه الى آخره ، قال الأزرقى فى تاريخ مكة « فاذا كان الحج . . . . خرج الناس الى مواسمهم فيصبحون بعكاظ يوم هلال ذى القعدة فيقيمون به عشرين ليلة تقوم فيها أسواقهم بعكاظ والناس على مداعيهم وراياتهم منحازين فى المنازل تضبط كل قبيلة أشرافها وقادتها ، ويدخل بعضهم فى بعض للبيع والشراء ويجتمعون فى بطن السوق فاذا مضت العشرون انصرفوا الى مجنة فأقاموا بها عشرا ، أسواقهم قائمة فاذا رأوا هلال ذى الحجة انصرفوا الى ذى المجاز ثم الى عرفة وكانت قريش وغيرها من العرب تقول لا تحضروا سوق عكاظ والمجنة وذى المجاز الا محرمين بالحج ، وكانوا يعظمون أن يأتوا شيئا من المحارم أو يعدوا بعضهم على بعض فى الأشهر الحرم وفى الحرم (٣) .

* * *

(١) دلائل النبوة ١٠١ ، ١٠٢ (٢) الأزمنة والأمكنة ٢ : ١٦٥ .
(٣) أخبار مكة للازرقى ص ١٣٢ .

وظيفته : — كان سوق عكاظ يقوم بوظائف شتى فهو — أول كل شيء — متجر تعرض فيه السلع على اختلاف أنواعها، يعرض فيه الأدم والحرير والوكاء والحذاء والبرود من العصب والوشي والمسير والعدني (١) ويباع به الرقيق (٢) ويعرض فيه كل سلعة عزيزة وغير عزيزة ، فما يهديه الملوك يباع بسوق عكاظ (٣) ويتقاتل ابن الخمس مع الحارث بن ظالم فيقتله ابن الخمس ويأخذ سيف الحارث يعرضه للبيع فى عكاظ (٤) وعبلة بنت عبيد ابن خالد يبعثها زوجها بأنحاء سمن تبيعها له بعكاظ (٥).

ونسبوا الى عكاظ فقالوا أديم عكاظى أى مما يباع فى عكاظ (٦).

ولم تكن العروض التى تعرض فى سوق عكاظ قاصرة على منتجات جزيرة العرب ، فالنعمان يبعث الى سوق عكاظ بمتجر من حاصلات الحيرة وفارس لتباع به ويشترى بثمنها حاصلات أخرى (٧) بل كان يباع فى عكاظ سلع من مصر والشام والعراق ، فيروى المرزوقى أنه قبل المبعث بخمس سنين حضر السوق من نزار واليمن مالم يروا أنه حضر مثله فى سائر السنين فباع الناس ما كان معهم من ابل و بقر ونقد وابتاعوا أمتعة مصر والشام والعراق (٨).

وكان السوق يقوم بأعمال مختلفة اجتماعية ، فمن كانت له خصومة عظيمة انتظر موسم عكاظ « كانوا اذا غدر الرجل أو جنى جناية عظيمة انطلق أحدهم حتى

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(١) الاغانى ١٩ : ٧٣ ـ ٨٢
(٢) تاريخ الطبرى جزء ٣ ص ٢٢٩٨
(٣) الاغانى ١٠ : ٩
(٤) الاغانى ١٠ ص ٢٩
(٥) الاغانى ؟ : ٨٤
(٦) ما يعول عليه في المضاف والمضاف اليه نسخة خطية بدار الكتب المصرية رقم ٧٨ أدب
(٧) الاغاني ١٩ ص ٧٣ ـ ٨٢
(٨) الازمنة والأمكنة ٢ :١٦٨

يرفع له راية غدر بعكاظ فيقوم رجل فيخطب بذلك الغدر فيقول : الا أن فلان ابن فلان غدر فاعرفوا وجهه ولا تصاهروه ولا تجالسوه ولا تسمعوا منه قولا ، فان أعتب والا جعل له مثل مثاله فى رمح فنصب بعكاظ فلعن ورجم ، وهو قول الشماخ .

ذعرت به القطا ونفيت عنه   مقام الذئب كالرجل اللعين

ومن كان له دين على آخر أنظره الى عكاظ [1] .

ومن كان له حاجة استصرخ القبائل بعكاظ كالذى حكى الأصفهانى أن رجلا من هوازن أسر فاستغاث أخوه بقوم فلم يغيثوه فركب الى موسم عكاظ وأتى منازل مذحج يستصرخهم [2] .

وكثيرا ما يتخذ السوق وسيلة للخطبة والزواج فيروى الأغانى انه اجتمع يزيد بن عبد المدان وعامر بن الطفيل بموسم عكاظ وقدم أمية بن الأسكر الكنانى وتبعته ابنة له من أجمل أهل زمانها فخطبها يزيد وعامر فتردد أبو هاشم ففخر كل منهما بقومه وعدد فعالها فى قصائد ذكرها [3] .

. ومن كان صعلوكا فاجرا خلعته قبيلته — ان شاءت — بسوق عكاظ وتبرأت منه ومن فعاله ، كالذى فعلت خزاعة ، خلعت قيس بن منقذ بسوق عكاظ ، واشهدت على نفسها بخلعها اياه ، وانها لا تحتمل له جريرة ، ولا تطالب بجريرة يجرها أحد عليه [4] .

وقد يتفاخر الرجل من قبيلتين فيفخر كل بقبيلته ومكارمها فيتحاكما الى حكم عكاظ ، كما فعل رجل من قضاعة نافر رجلا من اليمن فتحاكما الى حكم عكاظ [5] .

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(١) الكامل لابن الأثير ١ : ٢٤٦

(٢) الأغانى ١٠ / ١٤٨ وما بعدها

(٣) انظر الحكاية بطولها فى الأغانى ١٠ / ١٤٥

(٤) الأغانى ١٣ ص ٢ وما بعدها .

(٥) أمثال الضبى ص ١٨

ومن كان داعيا الى اصلاح اجتماعى أو داعيا دينيا كان يرى أن خير فر[illegible]
له سوق عكاظ ، والقبائل من أنحاء الجزيرة مجتمعة . فمن قبل الدعوة كان من ال[illegible]
أن يكون داعيا فى قومه اذا عاد اليهم ؛ فنرى قس بن ساعدة يقف بسوق عكاظ
يدعو دعوته ويخطب فيها خطبته المشهورة على جمل له أو رق فيرغب و يرهب
و يحذر و ينذر .

و لما بعث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اتجه الى دعوة الناس بعكاظ لأنها مجمع القبائل ، روى الواقدى أن رسول الله أقام ثلاث سنين من نبوته مستخفيا ثم أعلن فى الرابعة فدعا عشر سنين ، يوافى الموسم ، يتبع الحاج فى منازلهم بعكاظ والمجنة وذى المجاز ، يدعوهم الى أن يمنعوه حتى يبلغ رسالة ربه ولهم الجنة ، فلا يجد أحدا ينصره حتى انه يسأل عن القبائل ومنازلهم قبيلة قبيلة ، حتى انتهى الى بنى عامر بن صعصعة فلم يلق من أحد من الأذى ما لقى منهم [1] وفى خبر آخر أنه أتى كندة فى منازلهم بعكاظ فلم يأت حيا من العرب كان ألين منهم [2] وعن على بن أبى طالب أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يخرج فى الموسم فيدعو القبائل فما أحد من الناس يستجيب له و يقبل منه دعاءه ، فقد كان يأتى القبائل بمجنة وعكاظ ومنى حتى يستقبل القبائل ، يعود اليهم سنة بعد سنة ، حتى ان القبائل منهم من قال ما آن لك أن تيأس منا ، من طول ما يعرض نفسه عليهم ، حتى استجاب هذا الحى من الأنصار [3] .

وروى اليعقوبى أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قام بسوق عكاظ عليه جبة حمراء فقال : يا أيها الناس قولوا لا اله الا الله تفلحوا وتنجحوا و يتبعه رجل يكذبه وهو أبو لهب بن عبد المطلب [4] .

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(١) دلائل النبوة ١٠١ ، ١٠٢ .
(٢) ص ١٠٣ .
(٣) ص ١٠٥ .
(٤) اليعقوبى ١ ص ٢٣ و ٢٤ .

كذلك كان لعكاظ أثر كبير لغوى وأدبى فقد رأينا قبائل العرب على اختلافها من قحطانيين وعدنانيين تنزل بها ، وملك الحيرة يبعث تجارته اليها ويأتى التجار من مصر والشام والعراق [١] فكان ذلك وسيلة من وسائل تفاهم القبائل وتقارب اللهجات واختيار القبائل بعضها من بعض ما ترى أنه اليق بها وأنسب لها ، كما أن التجار من البلدان المتمدنة كالشام ومصر والعراق كانوا يطلعون العرب على شىء مما رأوا من أحوال تلك الأمم الاجتماعية. وفوق هذا كانت عكاظ معرضا للبلاغة ومدرسة بدوية يلقى فيها الشعر والخطب وينقد ذلك كله ويهذب ، قال أبو المنذر « كانت بعكاظ منابر فى الجاهلية يقوم عليها الخطيب بخطبته وفعاله وعد مآثره وأيام قومه من عام الى عام فيما أخذت العرب أيامها وفخرها ، وكانت المنابر قديمة يقول فيها حسان :

أولاء بنو ماء السماء توارثوا دمشق بملك كابرا بعد كابر
يؤمون ملك الشام حتى تمكنوا ملوكا بأرض الشام فوق المنابر [٢]

فيقف اشراف العرب يفخرون بمناقبهم ومناقب قومهم . . فبدر بن معشر الغفارى . . . . كان رجلا منيعا مستطيلا بمنعته على من ورد عكاظ فاتخذ مجلسا بسوق عكاظ وقعد فيه وجعل يبرح على الناس ويقول :

نحن بنو مدركة بن خندف من يطعنوا فى عينه لا يطرف
ومن يكونوا قومه يغطرف كأنهم لجة بحر مسدف

فيقوم رجل من هوازن فيقول :

أنا ابن همدان ذو التغطرف بحر بحور زاخر لم ينزف
نحن ضربنا ركبة المخندف اذ مدها فى أشهر المعرف [٣]

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(١) يروون أن عبد الله بن جدعان أتى مصر فباع ما معه وعاد الى سوق عكاظ : انظر الاكليل للهمدانى جزء ٨ ص ١٨٤ وما بعدها .

(٢) الأزمنة والأمكنة ٢ : ١٧٠

(٣) الأغانى ١٩ ص ٧٤

وعمرو بن كلثوم يقوم خطيبا بسوق عكاظ وينشد قصيدته المشهورة :

ألا هبي بصحنك فاصبحينا [1]

والأعشى يوافى سوق عكاظ كل سنة ، ويأتى مرة فاذا هو بسرحة قد اجتمع الناس عليه فينشدهم الاعشى فى مدح المحلق [2] والنابغة الذبيانى تضرب له قبة أدم بسوق عكاظ يجتمع اليه فيها الشعراء فيدخل اليه حسان بن ثابت وعنده الأعشى والخنساء، فينشدونه جميعا ويفاضل بينهم وينقد قول حسان؛ .

لنا الجفنات الغر يلمعن فى الضحى

فيقول لحسان قللت العدد ولو قلت الجفان لكان أكثر . وقلت يلمعن بالضحى ولو قلت يبرقن بالدجى لكان أبلغ فى المديح ، لأن الضيف بالليل أكثر طروقا [3] .

ودريد بن الصمة يمدح عبد الله بن جدعان بعد أن هجاه فيقول :

اليك ابن جدعان أعملتها   محففة للسرى والنصب [4] الخ

وقس بن ساعدة يخطب الناس فيذكرهم بالله والموت خطبته المشهورة ورسول الله يسمع له [5] والخنساء تسوم هودجها براية وتشهد الموسم بعكاظ وتعاظم العرب بمصيبتها فى أبيها عمرو بن الشريد وأخويها صخر ومعاوية وتنشد فى ذلك القصائد . فلما وقعت وقعة بدر وقتل فيها عتبة بن ربيعة وشيبة بن ربيعة والوليد بن عتبة أقبلت هند بنت عتبة الى عكاظ ، وفعلت كما فعلت الخنساء ، وقالت اقرنوا جملى بجمل الخنساء ففعلوا ، فعاظمت هند الخنساء فى مصيبتها وتناشدتا الأشعار تقول احداهما قصيدة فى عظم مصيبتها وترد الأخرى عليها [6] . وعلى الجملة

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(١) الأغانى ٩ ص ١٨٢
(٢) الأغانى ٨ ص ٧٩ ، ٨٠
(٣) أغانى ٨ ص ١٩٤ ، ١٩٥
(٤) أغاني ٩ ص ١٠
(٥) أغانى ١٤ ص ٤١ و ٤٢
(٦) صفة جزيرة العرب ص ٢٦٣

فكانوا فى عكاظ يتبايعون ويتماكظون ويتفاخرون ويتحاجون وتنشد الشعراء ما تجدد لهم وفى ذلك يقول حسان :

سأنشر ما حييت لهم كلاما　　ينشر فى المجامع من عكاظ

فمن هذا كله نرى كيف كانت عكاظ مركزا لحركة أدبية ولغوية واسعة النطاق كما كانت مركزا لحركة اجتماعية واقتصادية .

نظام سوق عكاظ :

كانت القبائل — كما أسلفنا — تنزل كل قبيلة منها فى مكان خاص بها ، ثم تتلاقى أفراد القبائل عند البيع والشراء أو فى الحلقات المختلفة . كالذى حكينا أن الأعشى رأى الناس يجتمعون على سرحة ، أو حول الخطيب يخطب على منبر ، أو فى قباب من أدم تقام هنا وهناك ، ويختلط الرجال بالنساء فى المجامع ، وقد يكون ذلك سببا فى خطبة أو زواج أو تنادر [1] وكانت تحضر الأسواق — وخاصة سوق عكاظ — أشراف القبائل « وكان اشراف القبائل يتوافون بتلك الأسواق مع التجار من أجل ان الملوك كانت ترضخ للأشراف لكل شريف بسهم من الأرباح فكان شريف كل بلد يحضر سوق بلده ، الا عكاظ فانهم كانوا يتوافون بها من كل أوب » [2] .

والظاهر أن المراد بالملوك هم الأمراء ورؤساء القبائل الذين يرسلون بضائعهم لبيعها فى أسواق العرب كملك الحيرة والغساسنة وأمراء اليمن ونحوهم — وكانت القبائل تؤتى لرؤسائها اتاوة فى نظير اقامتهم بالسوق ، فقد ذكر اليعقوبى فى تاريخه أخبار أسواق كثيرة كان يعشرها أشرافها — أى يأخذون العشر [3] وفى عكاظ كانت القبائل تدفع لأشرافها هذه الاتاوة « فهوازن كانت تؤتى زهير بن جذيمة

«١» أنظر الأغانى ج ١٠ ص ١٤٥ وما بعدها و ج ١٣ ص ١٤٠ وما بعدها

«٢» الازمنة والأمكنة ٢ ص ١٦٦

«٣» اليعقوبى جزء ٢ ص ٣١٣ وما بعدها

الاتاوة كل سنة بعكاظ ، وهو يسومها الخسف وفى أنفسها منه غيظ وحقد »[1] وكانت الاتاوة سمنا وأقطا وغنما[2] « وكان عبد الله بن جعدة سيدا مطاعا وكانت له اتاوة بعكاظ يؤتى بها ، ويأتى بها هذا الحى من الازد وغيرهم ، ومن هذه الاتاوة ثياب[3] .

وكانت الاشراف تمشى فى هذه الأسواق ملثمة » ولا يوافيها (عكاظ) شريف الا وعلى وجهه برقع مخافة أن يؤسر يوما فيكبر فداؤه ، فكان أول من كشف طريف العنبرى ، لما رآهم يطلعون فى وجهه و يتفرسون فى شمائله ،قال قبح من وطن نفسه الا على شرفه ، وحسر عن وجهه وقال :

أو كلما وردت عكاظ قبيلة بعثوا الى عريفهم يتوسم
فتوسمونى اننى أنا ذلكم شاكى السلاح وفى الحوادث معلم فى أبيات[4]

وكان على سوق عكاظ كلها رئيس اليه أمر الموسم واليه القضاء بين المتخاصمين ،قال أبو المنذر وتزعم مضر أن أمر الموسم وقضاء عكاظ كان فى بنى تميم . . . . وكان من اجتمع له ذلك منهم بعد عامر بن الظرب العدوانى سعد بن زيد بن مناة من تميم وقد فخر المخبل بذلك فى شعره :

ليالى سعد فى عكاظ يسوقها له كل شرق من عكاظ ومغرب

حتى جاء الاسلام فكان يقضى بعكاظ محمد بن سفيان بن مجاشع[5]

تاريخ عكاظ : —

من العسير جدا أن نحدد بدء عكاظ ، فلم نجد فى ذلك خبرا يصح التعويل عليه ، يقول الألوسى فى بلوغ الأرب « انها اتخذت سوقا بعد الفيل بخمس عشرة

«١» الكامل لابن الأثير ١ ص ٢٢٩
«٢» أغاني ١٠ ص ١٢
«٣» أغانى ٤ ص ١٣٦ وما بعدها
«٤» الازمنة والأمكنة ٢ ص ١٦٦
«٥» أنظر تعداد من ولى عكاظ فى الأزمنة والأمكنة ٢ ص ١٦٧

سنة » ولكن اذا بحثنا فى الأحداث التى رويت فى عكاظ وجدنا ذلك غير صحيح فهم يروون — كما قدمنا — أن عمرو بن كلثوم أنشد قصيدته فى عكاظ وعمرو بن كلثوم كان على وجه التقريب حول سنة ٥٠٠ م .

كذلك اذا عدنا الى ما رواه المرزوقى فى الأزمنة والأمكنة عن رؤساء عكاظ وجدنا أنه عدهم قبل الاسلام عشرة أولهم عامر بن الظرب العدوانى . وهذا — من غير شك — يجعل تاريخ عكاظ أبعد مما يحكى الألوسى بزمان طويل ، كذلك يروى الأغانى أن عبلة زوجة عبد شمس بن عبد مناف باعت أنحاء سمن بعكاظ [1] .

وظل سوق عكاظ يقوم كل سنة ، وكانت فيه قبيل الاسلام حروب الفجار ، وهى حروب أربع ، وكان سبب الأولى على ما يروى : المفاخرة فى سوق عكاظ . وسبب الثانية تعرض فتية من قريش لامرأة من بنى عامر بن صعصعة بسوق عكاظ . وسبب الثالثة مقاضاة دائن لمدينه مع اذلاله فى سوق عكاظ ، وسبب الأخيرة أن عروة الرحال ضمن أن تصل تجارة النعمان بن المنذر الى سوق عكاظ آمنة فقتله البراض فى الطريق [2] .

فكلها تدور حول سوق عكاظ ، وهذه الحروب كانت قبل مبعث النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم بست وعشرين سنة ، وشهدها النبى وهو ابن أربع عشرة سنة مع أعمامه ، وقال : كنت يوم الفجار أنبل على عمومتى [3] .

واستمرت هذه الحروب نحو أربع سنوات . وقد كانت هناك نزعتان عند أشراف العرب نزعة قوم يقصدون الى السلب والنهب وسفك الدماء لا يصدهم صاد ، ولا يرعون حتى ولا الأشهر الحرم . ويتحرشون بالناس : فيمد أحدهم رجله فى سوق عكاظ ويتحدى الأشراف منهم أن يضربوها فتثور من ذلك الثائرة [4] .

«١» أغانى ١ ص ٨٤ .

«٢» انظر العقد الفريد ٣ ص ١٠٨ والأغانى .

«٣» النهاية لابن الأثير مادة فجر .

«٤» الأغانى ٤ ص ١٣٦ .

وفريق يميل الى السلم ودرء أسباب الحروب وحماية التجارة والأسواق بتأمين السالكين وعدم التعرض لهم بأذى ، جاء فى تاريخ اليعقوبى « أنه كان فى العرب قوم يستحلون المظالم اذا حضروا هذه الأسواق فسموا « المحلون » وكان فيهم من ينكر ذلك وينصب نفسه لنصرة المظلوم والمنع من سفك الدماء وارتكاب المنكر فيسمون الذادة « المحرمون » فأما المحلون فكانوا قبائل من أسد وطيء وبنى بكر بن عبد مناة وقوم من بنى عامر بن صعصعة — وأما الذادة المحرمون فكانوا من بنى عمرو بن تميم وبنى حنظلة بن زيد مناة وقوم من هذيل وقوم من بنى شيبان ... فكان هؤلاء يلبسون السلاح لدفعهم عن الناس[1] — .

وكان من أشهر الداعين للسلم عبد الله بن جدعان . فقد كان اذا اجتمعت العرب فى سوق عكاظ دفعت أسلحتها الى ابن جدعان ، ثم يردها عليهم اذا ظعنوا وكان سيدا حكيما مثريا[2] .

ويظهر أن أصحاب هذه النزعة الثانية وهم الذادة هم الذين سموا هذه الحروب حرب الفجار ، لما ارتكب فيها من الفجور وسفك الدماء ، وهم الذين تغلبوا فيها بعد ونجحوا فى وقف هذه الحروب «ودعوا الناس أن يعدوا القتلى فيدوا من فضل ، وأن يتعاقدوا على الصلح فلا يعرض بعضهم لبعض » وربما كان من أثر ذلك حلف الفضول ، وقد عقد فى بيت عبد الله بن جدعان هذا .

واستمرت عكاظ فى الاسلام ، وكان يعين فيها من يقضى بين الناس فعين محمد بن سفيان بن مجاشع قاضيا لعكاظ ؛ وكان أبوه يقضى بينهم فى الجاهلية وصار ذلك ميراثا لهم[3] .

ولكن يظهر أن هذه الأسواق ضعف شأنها بعد الفتوح ، فأصبحت البلاد المفتوحة أسواقا للعرب خيرا من سوق عكاظ ؛ وصار العرب يغشون المدن الكبيرة

«١» اليعقوبى ٢ : ٣١٣ وما بعدها .

«٢» انظر الأغانى ١٩ ص ٧٣ وما بعدها .

«٣» الأزمنة والأمكنة ج ٢ ص ١٦٧ وما بعدها.

لقضاء أغراضهم فضعفت أسواق العرب ومنها عكاظ . ومع ذلك ظلت قائمة وكان آخر العهد بها قبيل سقوط الدولة الأموية قال الكلبي « وكانت هذه الأسواق بعكاظ ومجنة وذى المجاز قائمة فى الاسلام حتى كان حديثا من الدهر ، فأما عكاظ فانما تركت عام خرجت الحرورية بمكة مع أبى حمزة المختار بن عوف الأزدى الأباضى فى سنة تسع وعشرين ومائة ، خاف الناس أن ينهبوا وخافوا الفتنة فتركت حتى الآن ، ثم تركت مجنة وذو المجاز بعد ذلك واستغنوا بالأسواق بمكة وبمنى و بعرفة . . . . وآخر سوق خربت سوق حباشة خربت سنة ١٩٧ أشار فقهاء أهل مكة على داود بن عيسى بتخريبها فخربها وتركت الى اليوم (١) .

فعكاظ عاصرت العصر الجاهلى الذى كان فيه ما وصل الينا من شعر وأدب، وجرت فيها أحداث تتصل بحياة النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم قبيل مبعثه ، ومهدت السبيل قبيل الاسلام لتوحيد اللغة والأدب ، وعملت على ازالة الفوارق بين عقليات القبائل ، وقصدها النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم يبث فيها دعوته ، وعاصرت الاسلام فى عهد الخلفاء الراشدين والعهد الأموى ولكن كانت حياتها فى الاسلام أضعف من حياتها قبله ، وبدأ ضعفها من وقت الهجرة لما كان من غزوات وحروب بين مكة والمدينة أو بين المؤمنين والمشركين ، فلما فتحت الفتوح رأى العرب فى أسواق المدن المتحضرة فى فارس والشام والعراق ومصر عوضا عنها ، ثم كانت ثورة أبى حمزة الخارجى بمكة فلم يأمن الناس على أموالهم فخربت السوق ، وختمت صحيفة لحياة حافلة ذات أثر سياسى واجتماعى وأدبى .

«١» أخبار مكة للأزرقي ص ١٣١ و ١٢٣ .

المربد

أما المربد — على وزن منبر — فضاحية من ضواحي البصرة ، فى الجهة الغربية منها مما يلى البادية ، بينه وبين البصرة نحو ثلاثة أميال . كان سوقا للابل قال الأصمعى « المربد كل شىء حبست به الابل والغنم . . . . وبه سميت مربد البصرة ، وانما كان موضع سوق الابل [١] » وهو واقع على طريق من ورد البصرة من البادية ومن خرج من البصرة اليها . ويظهر أنه نشأ سوقا للابل ، أنشأه العرب على طرف البادية يقضون فيه شؤونهم قبل أن يدخلوا الحضر أو يخرجوا منه .

وقد كان العرب فى بادية العراق قبل الفتح الاسلامى ، ونزلت فيه قبائل من بكر وربيعة ، وكونوا فيه امارة المناذرة فى الحيرة ، فكان هذا الاقليم معروفا لهم قبل الاسلام ، وكانت الرحلات من البادية الى العراق ومن العراق الى البادية فى حركة مستمرة — ومعلوم أن البصرة انما خططت فى الاسلام فى عهد عمر ابن الخطاب ونزل بها العرب على منازلهم من يمنية ومضرية — ولكن يظهر أن المربد كان قبل أن تخطط البصرة ، وكان قبل الاسلام وربما فهم ذلك من قول الطبرى « بعث عمر بن الخطاب عتبة بن غزوان فقال له انطلق أنت ومن معك حتى اذا كنتم فى أقصى أرض العرب وأدنى أرض العجم فأقيموا . فأقبلوا حتى اذا كان بالمربد وجدوا هذا الكذان قالوا ما هذه البصرة » [٢] .

وقال فى اللسان — فى مادة ب ص ر — وقال ابن شميل البصرة أرض كأنها جبل من جص وهى التى بنيت بالمربد وانما سميت البصرة بصرة بها » .

ولكن أخباره فى الجاهلية منقطعة أو معدومة مما يدل على قلة أهميته اذ ذاك ، انما كانت له الأهمية بعد ان فتح العرب العراق وسكنوه وخططوا البصرة ، فقد أنشئت فيه المساكن بعد ان كان مربدا للابل فقط ، واتصلت العمارة بينه وبين

«١» لسان العرب فى ر ب د ومعجم ياقوت فى مربد

«٢» تاريخ الطبرى ١ : ١١٦٦

البصرة [١] حتى قالوا فيه « العراق عين الدنيا والبصرة عين العراق والمربد عين البصرة ودارين عين المربد» [٢] .

وقد كان المربد فى الاسلام صورة معدلة لعكاظ . كان سوقا للتجارة ، وكان سوقا للدعوات السياسية . وكان سوقا للأدب — جاء فى كتاب ” ما يعول عليه ،، المربد كل موضع حبست فيه الابل . . . ومنه سمى مربد البصرة لاجتماع الناس وحبسهم النعم فيه — كان مجتمع العرب من الأقطار ، يتناشدون فيه الأشعار ، و يبيعون و يشترون وهو ” كسوق عكاظ ،، وقال العينى ” مربدالبصرة . . . . محلة عظيمة فيها (فى البصرة) من جهة البرية كان يجتمع العرب من الأقطار ، و يتناشدون الأشعار و يبيعون و يشترون ،، [٣] .

وليس يهمنا هنا أثره التجارى وانما يهمنا الشئون السياسية والأدبية وهما مرتبطان بعضهما ببعض أشد الارتباط ، فلا داعى للتفريق بينهما ، فقد كانت الأحزاب السياسية تنتج أدبا من خطب وشعر وكانت الخطب والشعر تقوى الأحزاب السياسية وتساعد فى تكوينها والحروب بينهما .

المربد فى عصر الخلفاء الراشدين —

كانت أهم أخبار المربد فى ذلك العصر ما كان بعد قتل عثمان بن عفان من سير عائشة أم المؤمنين الى البصرة ، فانها نزلت بفناء البصرة ورأت أن تبقى خارجها حتى ترسل الى أهلها تدعوهم بدعوتها ، وهى المطالبة بدم عثمان ، و بعبارة أخرى الخروج على على . وكان معها طلحة والزبير ثم سارت الى المربد معهما وخرج اليها من قبل دعوتها ، وخرج الى المربد كذلك عامل على على البصرة ، وهو عثمان بن حنيف ومن يؤيده ، وأصبح المربد وهو يموج بمن أتى من الحجاز ومن خرج من البصرة حتى ضاق المربد بمن فيه ، ورأينا المربد مجالا للخطباء ممن

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(١) معجم ياقوت فى مادة مربد
(٢) عيون الأخبار ٢ . ٢٢٢
(٣) عقد الجمان مخطوط بدار الكتب جزء ٤ / ٩٣

يؤيد عائشة ومن معها ، ومن يؤيد عليا . وعامله . أصحاب عائشة فى ميمنة المربد وأصحاب على فى ميسرته ؛ويخطب فى المربد طلحة و يمدح عثمان بن عفان ، و يعظم ما جنى عليه ويدعو الى الطلب بدمه ، و يخطب الزبير كذلك وتخطب عائشة أم المؤمنين بصوتها الجهورى و يؤيدهم من فى ميمنة المربد ، و يقولون صدقوا و بروا وقالوا الحق وأمروا بالحق ، و يؤثر قول عائشة فى أهل الميسرة فينحاز بعضهم اليها و يبقى الآخرون على رأيهم وعلى رأسهم عثمان بن حنيف ، و يخطبون كذلك يبينون خطأ هذه الدعوة وأن طلحة والزبير بايعا عليا فلا حق لهما فى الخروج عليه ،ويؤيدهم أبو الأسود الدؤلى وأمثاله (١).

وهكذا ينتقل المربد الى مجمع حافل فيه الدعوات السياسية مؤيدة بالحجج والبراهين وفيه معرض البلاغة من خطب طويلة وجمل قصيرة متينة ، وفيه الجدل والمناظرة و بحث أهم الاحداث فى ذلك العصر ، وهو مقتل عثمان بن عفان، وتحديد المسئولية فى قتله — ولم تنفد هذه الحرب اللسانية فانتقلت الى حرب بالسلاح وأصبح المربد ساحة للقتال .

المربد فى عهد بنى أمية —

كان العصر الأموى ازهى عصور المربد؛ذلك لأن العرب كانوا قد هدءوا من الفتح واستقرت الممالك فى أيديهم ، وأصبح العراق مقصد العرب يؤمه من أراد الغنى وخاصة البصرة جاء فى الطبرى « ان عمر بن الخطاب سأل أنس بن حجية وكان رسولا الى عمر من العراق فقال له عمر كيف رأيت المسلمين ؟ فقال انثالت عليهم الدنيا فهم يهيلون الذهب والفضة ، فرغب الناس فى البصرة فأتوها » وكان المربد باب البصرة يمر به من أرادها من البادية . و يمر به من خرج من البصرة الى البادية . و يقطنه قوم من العرب كرهوا معيشة المدن .ويقصده سكان البصرة يستنشقون منه هواء البدية . فكان ملتقى العرب ؛ وكانوا يحيون فيه حياة

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(١) انظر القصة بطولها فى الطبرى جزء ١ ص ٢٥٣١ طبع أوروبا وفيه بعض ما قيل من الخطب فى المربد فى ذلك اليوم

تشبه حياة الجاهلية من مفاخرة بالأنساب وتعاظم بالكرم والشجاعة ، وذكر لما كان بين القبائل من احن ، فالفرزدق يقف فى المربد ينهب أمواله فعال كرماء الجاهلية « حكى فى النقائض أن زياد بن أبى سفيان كن ينهى أن ينهب أحد مال نفسه ، وأن الفرزدق أنهب أمواله بالمربد ، وذلك أن أباه بعث معه ابلا ليبيعها فباعها وأخذ ثمنها فعقد عليه مطرف خز كان عليه ، فقال قائل لشد ما عقدت على دراهمك هذه أما والله لو كان غالب ما فعل هذا الفعل فحلها ثم أنهبها وقال من أخذ شيئا فهو له وبلغ ذلك زيادا فبالغ فى طلبه فهرب .... فلم يزل فى هربه يطوف فى القبائل والبلاد حتى مات زياد [1] .

وكان الأمويون على وجه العموم — يعيشون عيشة عربية ويحتفظون بعربيتهم ، ان أخذوا شيئا من الحضارة صبغوه بصبغتهم وحولوه الى ذوقهم وكذلك فعل عرب البصرة ؛ أرادوا أن يكون لهم من مربد البصرة ما كان لهم من سوق عكاظ فى الحجاز فبلغوا غايتهم ، وأحيوا العصبية الجاهلية، وساعد الخلفاء الأمويون أنفسهم على احيائها لما كانوا يستفيدون منها سياسيا ، فرأينا ظل ذلك فى الأدب والشعر ورأينا المربد فى العصر الأموى يزخر بالشعراء يتهاجون ويتفاخرون ، ويعلى كل شاعر من شأن قبيلته ومذهبه السياسى ؛ ويضع من شأن غيره من الشعراء ومذاهبهم السياسية .

ومن أجل هذا خلف لنا المربد أجل شعر أموى من هذا النوع — فكثير من نقائض جرير والفرزدق والأخطل كانت أثرا من أثار المربد قيلت فيه وصدرت عما كان بينهم من منافرة وخصومة ، يروى الأغانى أن جريرا والفرزدق اجتمعا فى المربد فتنافرا وتهاجيا وحضرهما العجاج والأخطل وكعب بن جعيل فى خبر طويل [2] .

كان كل من جرير والفرزدق يلبس لباسا خاصا ويخرج الى المربد ويقول

«١» النقائض ٦٠٧ ، ٦٠٨ .
«٢» الأغانى ٤/ ١٣٢ .

قصائده فى الفخر والهجاء ، والرواة يحملون الى كليهما ما قاله الآخر فيرد عليه ، قال أبو عبيدة « وقف جرير بالمربد وقد لبس درعا وسلاحا تاما وركب فرسا أعاره اياه أبو جهضم عباد بن حصين، فبلغ ذلك الفرزدق فلبس ثياب وشى وسوارا وقام فى مقبرة بنى حصن ينشد بجرير والناس يسعون فيما بينهما باشعارهما فلما بلغ الفرزدق لباس جرير السلاح والدرع قال :

عجبت لراعى الضأن فى حطمية ... وفى الدرع عبد قد أصيبت مقاتله

ولما بلغ جريرا أن الفرزدق فى ثياب وشى قال :

لبست سلاحى والفرزدق لعبة ... عليه وشاحا كرج وجلاجله (١)

وما زالا كذلك يتهاجيان ويقولان القصائد الطويلة الكثيرة حتى ضج والى البصرة فهدم منازلهما بالمربد فقال جرير :

فما فى كتاب الله تهديم دارنا ... بتهديم ماخور خبيث مداخله (٢)

وكان لكل شاعر من شعراء المربد حلقة ينشد فيها شعره وحوله الناس يسمعون منه ، جاء فى الأغانى ,, وكان لراعى الابل والفرزدق وجلسائهما حلقة بأعلى المربد بالبصرة ،، (٣) .

وكان الناس يخرجون كل يوم الى المربد يعرف كل فريق مكانه فيجلس فيه ينتظر شاعره ، فقد روى الأغانى أيضا أن جريرا بات يشرب باطية من نبيذ ويهمهم بالشعر فى هجاء الفرزدق والراعى فما زال كذلك حتى كان السحر وقد قالها ثمانين بيتا فى بنى نمير فلما ختمها بقوله .

فغض الطرف انك من نمير ... فلا كعبا بلغت ولا كلابا

كبر ثم أصبح حتى اذا عرف أن الناس قد جلسوا فى مجالسهم بالمربد —

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(١) النقائض ٦٢٤

(٢) النقائض ٦٨٣

(٣) أغانى ٧ / ٤٩

وكان يعرف مجلسه ومجلس الفرزدق دعا فادهن وكف رأسه ودعا غلامه فأسرج له حصانا وقصد مجلسهم وأنشدها فنكس الفرزدق وراعى الابل(١)

ونرى بجانب هؤلاء الفحول أعنى جريرا والفرزدق والأخطل طائفة أخرى من كبار الرجاز يقصدون المربد وينشدون رجزهم ، فالعجاج الراجز يخرج الى المربد عليه جبة خز وعمامة خز على ناقة له قد أجاد رحلها ويقف بالمربد على الناس مجتمعين ، ويقول رجزه المشهور :

« قد جبر الدين الاله فجبر »

ويهجو ربيعة فيأتى رجل من بكر بن وائل الى أبى النجم ويستحثه على الرد عليه فيخرج أبو النجم الى المربد ويقول رجزه :

« تذكر القلب وجهلا ما ذكر »

ورؤبة الرجاز ينشد رجزه :

« وقاتم الأعماق خاوى المخترق »

ويجتمع حوله فتيان من تميم فيرد عليه أبو النجم فى رجزه

« إذا اصطبحت أربعا عرفتنى » (٢)

كذلك نرى ذا الرمة يقف بالمربد وعليه جماعة مجتمعة وهو قائم وعليه برد قيمته مائتا دينار ، وينشد ودموعه تجرى على لحيته :

« ما بال عينك منها الماء ينسكب » (٣)

وينشد كذلك بعض قصائده فيقف خياط فينقد شعره نقدا شديدا ويسخف بعض تشبيهاته فيمتنع ذو الرمة عن الذهاب الى المربد حتى يموت الخياط (٤) .

والأمراء والولاة قد يتدخلون فيسكتون بعض الشعراء ، وقد يهيجون بعضهم على بعض خدمة لأغراض حزبية أو سياسية فعبد الملك بن مروان يأمر أبا النجم بالمفاخرة مع الفرزدق . وعباد بن حصين — وكان على أحداث البصرة — يعين جريرا على الفرزدق ويعير جريرا الدرع والفرس والسلاح (٥)

(١) أغانى ٧ / ٥٠ .

(٢) انظر الأغانى ٩ ص ٧٨ وما بعدها .

(٣) أغانى ١٦ / ١٢٢ .

(٤) أغانى ١٦ ١١٣ .

(٥) انظر الكامل للمبرد

وهكذا كان المربد فى العهد الأموي ممهـدا كبيرا أنتج أدبا غزيرا من جنس خاص ، وكاد هذا الشعر يكون امتدادا للشعر الجاهلى ، لاتحاد الأسباب والبواعث فأما الشعر الغزلى كشعر عمر بن أبى ربيعة وأمثاله فليس له كبير أثر فى المربد لأنه فوق النزال والمهاجاة والمفاخرة ، فليس مجاله حياة المربد التى وصفناها :

المربد فى العصر العباسى :

بقى المربد فى العصر العباسى ، ولـكنه كان يؤدى غرضا آخر غـير الذى كان يؤديه فى العهد الأموى ، ذلك أن العصبية القبلية ضعفت فى العصر العباسى بمهاجمة الفرس للعرب ، وأحس العرب بمـا هم فيه جميعا من خطر من حيث هم أمة لا فرق بين عدنانيهم وقحطانيهم ، فقوى نفوذ الفرس وغلبوا العرب على أمرهم ، وبدأ الناس فى المدن كالبصرة يحيون حياة اجتماعية هى أقرب الى حياة الفرس من حياة العرب ، وانصرف الخلفاء والأمراء عن مثـل النزاع الذى كان يتنـازعه جرير والفرزدق والأخطل وظهرت العلوم تزاحم الأدب والشعر ، وفشا اللحن بين الموالى الذين دخلوا فى الاسلام ، وأفسدوا حتى على العرب الخالصة لغتهم ، فتحول المربد يؤدى غرضا يتفق وهذه الحياة الجديدة .

أصبح المربد غرضا يقصده الشعراء لا ليتهاجوا ، ولـكن ليأخذوا عن أعراب المربد الملـكة الشعرية ، يحتذونهم ويسيرون على منوالهم ، فيخرج الى المربد بشـار وأبو نواس وأمثالهما ، ويخرج الى المربد اللغويون يأخذون اللغة عن أهله ويدونون ما يسـمعون ، روى القالى فى الأمالى عن الأصمعى قال : « جئت الى أبي عمرو ابن العلاء فقال لى من أين أقبلت يا أصمعى قال جئت من المربد ، قال هات ما معك ، فقرأت عليه ما كتبت فى ألواحى ، فمرت به ستة أحرف لم يعرفها ، فخرج يعدو فى الدرجة وقال « شمرت فى الغريب » أى غلبتنى » (١) .

والنحويون يخرجون الى المربد يسـمعون من أهله ما يصحح قواعدهم ويؤيد مذاهبهم ، فقد اشتد الخلف بين مدرسة البصرة ومدرسة الـكوفة فى النحو وتعصب كل لمذهبه ، وكان أهم مدد لمدرسة البصرة هو المربد ، وفي تراجم النحاة نجد كثيرا منهم من كان يذهب الى المربد يأخذ عن أهله . ويخرج الأدباء إلى المربد يأخذون الأدب ، من جمل بليغة وشعر بليغ وأمثال وحكم . مما خلفه عرب البادية وتوارثوه

(١) الامالى ٣ ص ١٨٢ .

عن آبائهم ، كما فعل الجاحظ ، يقول ياقوت : إن الجاحظ أخذ النحو عن الأخفش وأخذ الكلام عن النظام وتلقف الفصاحة من العرب شفاها بالمربد (١) .

وبذلك كان المربد مدرسة من نوع آخر تغير برنامجها في العصر العباسي عن برنامجها في العهد الأموي وأدت رسالة فى هذا العصر تخالف رسالتها فى العصر السابق

آخر الأخبار عن المربد :

في ثورة الزنج التى ظهرت فى فرات البصرة والتى بدأت سنة ٢٥٥ هـ حدث قتال بالمربد بين الزنج وجيش الخليفة ، فاحترق المربد ، روى الطبرى قال : يقول ابن سمعان : فاني يومئذ لفى المسجد الجامع اذ ارتفعت نيران ثلاث من ثلاثة أوجه: زهران والمربد وبنى حمان فى وقت واحد ، كأن موقديها كانوا على ميعاد ، وجل الخطب وأيقن أهل البصرة بالهلاك (٢) .

وتوالت فيه الحرائق وعوتب شاعر البصرة أبو الحسين بن المثنى على أنه لم يقل شيئا فى حريق المربد : مع أن المربد من أجل شوارعها ، وسوقه من أجل أسواقها فقال ارتجالا فى آخر حريق لها .

أتتكم شهود الهوى تشهد ... فما تستطيعون أن تجحدوا
فيامربديون ناشدتكم ... على أنني منكم مجهد
جرى نفسى صاعدا نحوكم ... فمن أجله احترق المربد
وهاجت رياح حنيني لكم ... وظلت به ناركم توقد
ولولا دموعى جرت لم يكن ... حريقكم أبدا يخمد (٣)

ويذكر ابن الأثير فى حوادث سنة ٤٩٩ أن سيف الدولة صدقة بن مزيد تقاتل مع اسماعيل فنهبت البصرة وغنم من معه من عرب البر . . . . ولم يسلم منهم الا المحلة المجاورة لقبر طلحة والمربد ، فان العباسيين دخلوا المدرسة النظامية وامتنعوا بها وحموا المربد وعمت المصيبة بأهل البلد سوى من ذكرنا (٤) .

(١) معجم الأدباء ٦ ص ٥٦ .
(٢) الطبرى ٣ ص ٢٥٧ وما بعدها طبعة أوربا .
(٣) معجم البلدان .
(٤) الكامل لابن الأثير جزء/ ١٠ ص ١٥١ طبع بولاق .

ويقول ياقوت « إن المربد كان سوقا للابل ، ثم صار محلة عظيمة سكنها الناس وهو الآن (عاش يا قوت حتى سنة ٦٢٦ ه) — بائن عن البصرة ، بينهما نحو ثلاثة أميال ، وكان ما بين ذلك كله عامرا وهو الآن خراب ، فصار المربد كالبلدة المفردة في وسط البرية » .

ثم عفا أثر المربد ، ولم نعد نجد له ذكرا ذا قيمة ، وأخنى عليه الذى أخنى على عكاظ ، ومات بموته معهدان أدبيان اتصلت حياة الثانى منهما بحياة الأول فقاما نحو ستة قرون يخرجان شعرا وأدبا ونقدا كان من خير تراث العرب .

بحث في نشأة النثر العربى

لابراهيم مصطفى

متى نشأ النثر فى اللغة العربية ؟ أكان فنا جاهليا عرفه العرب قبل الاسلام ومارسوه وخلفوا منه آثارا ؟ أم هو أدب أسلامى أحدثه الاسلام فيما أفاد العرب من أدب وحضارة ؟ . مسألة تناولتها أقلام الكتاب والناقدين في هذه الأيام وطال بحثهم واحتدم جدالهم ثم لم ينتهوا الى رأى ولم يتقاربوا فى حكم .

فأما علماء العربية المتقدمون فلا ننتظر أن نجد لهم فى هذه المسألة رأيا بينا أو بحثا وافيا لأنهم لم ينهجوا هذا السبيل من البحث التاريخى ولا قصدوا اليه . ولقد تتبعوا اللغة ودونوا معاجمها واستقروا القواعد وحرروا مسائلها وبالغوا فى ذلك وأفاضوا من غير أن يلتفتوا الى الوجهة التاريخية أو يعنوا بها — على أنا لا نعدم فى كلامهم اشارات دالة قيمة الدلالة .

قالوا أن علوم الأدب ستة اللغة والنحو والصرف والمعانى والبيان والبديع والثلاثة الأولى لا يستشهد عليها الا بكلام العرب أما الثلاثة الأخيرة فيستشهد فيها بكلام العرب وغيرهم من المولدين أذ هى راجعة الى المعانى . وهو عمل عقلى لا فرق فيه بين العرب وغيرهم (١) .

ولما أرادوا بيان كلام العرب الذى يستشهد به فى الثلاثة الأولى جعلوا القرآن نوعا ثم الشعر والرجز ثم الحكمة والسجع والمثل . (٢) فلم يعدوا فيما يستشهد به من النثر المروى عن العرب الا هذه الأنواع القصيرة من حكمة أو سجع أو مثل ولم يروا لغيرها من الثقة والثبات ما يجعلها موضع الاحتجاج ولم يثبتوا للجاهليين نثرا طويلا فى معناه حظ من التتابع والارتباط كما رووا من الشعر والرجز . فقد يصح لنا أن نفهم مما نقلنا أن المتقدمين من علماء العربية لا يعرفون للعرب قبل الاسلام نثرا الا المثل وما جرى مجراه .

أما الآن فقد بدىء منذ نصف قرن تقريبا بتدوين تاريخ الأدب العربي وفنونه وكان على الأدباء أن يذكروا تاريخ كل نوع كيف نشأ وما لقى من التطور الى أن انتهى الينا فتعرضوا اذا لتاريخ النثر وكانوا يقررون فى ذلك رأيا قريبا بسيطا . فيثبتون أن

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(١) مقدمة خزانة الأدب للبغدادى (٢) ديوان الادب للفارابى مخطوط بالمكتبة الملكية .

النثر أدب جاهلي لا يتميز كثيرا عن النثر الاسلامي وقد يكون أقوى منه — وأمثلته ما ورد في تاريخ الأدب من كلام الوفود ومن وصف الاعراب بواديهم وما يعتريها من جدب أو سحاب أو غيث ومن التندر بوصف الرجال أو النساء . ويقيسون ذلك كله الى النثر الاسلامي فلا يكادون يثبتون فرقا فيتقدمون بتاريخ النثر الى زمن الجاهلية ويضمونه في صف الشعر أو هو أسبق وجوداً وأساس هذا الرأي قبول كل ما روى عن العرب من نثر والثقة به .

ثم جاء الاستاذ الدكتور طه حسين وتناول نشأة النثر العربي في باب واسع ختم به كتابه (في الادب الجاهلي) فرأى أن هذا المروى من النثر الجاهلي لا يستحق الثقة ولا يلبث أمام النقد أن يزيف وأشار الي ارتياب السابقين فيه — ثم قايس بين اللغة العربية وغيرها ليهتدي بتلك المقايسة في نشأة النثر فقرر أن النثر يتأخر عن الشعر في الظهور وأن العربية ليست بدعا من اللغات في هذا ثم استظهر أن الاسلام قد ظهر ولدى العرب نوعان من النثر ، أما أولهما ففيه شيء من الصناعة والقصد الى الزينة اللفظية وهو هذا القول المسجوع الذي يجري على ألسنة الكهان والنوع الثاني نثر عادي يستعمله العرب فيما يحتاجون من تجارة أو عمل . ثم يقول ولو قد وصلت الينا طائفة مكتوبة من هذا النثر لامكن وضع تاريخ النثر العربي على أساس متين

وجاء بعد ذلك الدكتور زكي مبارك وبحث نشأة النثر وبين رأيه في رسالة كتبها بالفرنسية لينال بها شهادة العالمية ولم يذعها ولكنه نشر ملخصها وهو يقرر أن النثر كان فنا جاهليا عرفه العرب قبل الاسلام بثلاثة قرون على الأقل فمارسوه طويلا واهتموا به وعرفوا له أيضا ما لزمه من نحو وصرف وعروض وبلاغة . ويستشهد القرآن الكريم على ذلك ولكن لا يبين وجه تلك الشهادة ثم يقول : ومفهوم أن من المستحيل في الوقت الحاضر الوصول الى نماذج أدبية تمثل ثلاثة قرون أو قرنين قبل الاسلام . ولكن هذا محض افتراض الى أن توجد نصوص كافية موثوق بها

هذه جملة الآراء في نشأة النثر ومابينها من خلاف وبعد . فما هو الصواب ؟وما السبيل إلى تعرفه؟ . أينبغى أن ننتظر الكشف عن النصوص الكافية الموثوق بها؟

أما أنا فأرى أن وضع البحث في نشأة النثر على منهج علمي أمر قريب سهل .

وأن درس قواعد اللغة وخصائصها هو سبيل هـذا البحث. ووجه ذلك أن أنواع الأدب تتميز بخصائص لغوية تظهر فى بناء اللفظ وفى تأليف الجملة ثم يسرى بعضها إلى اللغة ويقوم شاهدا على حياة هذا النوع ومقدار انتشاره فيها وغلبته عليها. فاذا درسنا خصائص نوع ثم تتبعنا وجودها فى لغة ما استطعنا أن نعرف صلة هذا النوع بتلك اللغة ومقدار تلك الصلة ولا أريد الاطالة بالتدليل على صحة هذا النظر وعلى أن فى اللغة حياة وأنها تحمل تاريخها وأنها قد تورخ ما حولها فاولى أن توحى بتاريخها. بل أرى خير مقنع لى ولك أن نحاول فتح هذا الباب فى بحث اللغة العربية والنثر العربى وننظر ما يهدى اليه من نتيجة.

ولا بد لنا من تحـديد أنواع الكلام وبحث خصائص كل نوع ثم تتبع تلك الخصائص فى اللغة العربية لنعرف الغالب والنادر فنعرف أنواع الأدب التى مارستها العربية.

أقسام الكلام

ونقسم الـكلام الى لغة حديث أو خطابة، ولغة نثر أو كتابة، ولغة شعر.

وللشعر طبيعة موسيقية تستدعى حظا من الانسجام والاتزان والتقفية ان كانت. ولا بد لهذه الطبيعة من الظهور حتى يكون الشعر شعرا وفي سبيل ظهورها تتأثر الألفاظ والجملة فقد يزاد فى الـكلمة حرف أو ينقص وقد يحرك ساكن أو يسكن متحرك، ويتغير لهذا بناء اللفظ. وقد تتقدم كلمة عن موضعها أو تتأخر فيتأثر بهذا تأليف الجملة ونظامها، ثم لا يلبث بعض ذلك أن يصير قاعـدة لغوية مقررة فى الشعر. بل لا يلبث أيضا أن يسرى إلى اللغة كلها بحكم الملـكة اللغوية التى تستقر بين الأذن واللسان والتى تتأثر حتما ومن غير ارادة بما تسمع من الأذن ثم تمليه على اللسان.

أما لغة الحديث فان الأصل فيها أن يعتمد المتكلم على حضور السامع وقصده بالحـديث وحضور ما يتـكلم عنه أحيانا ويتـكون من ذلك كله قرائن تساعد المتكلم على أفهام غرضه والاقتصاد فى شرح معناه.

ولغة الـكتابة تفارق لغة الحديث بل تضادها فى طبيعتها هـذه، فان المتكلم يعتمد على اللفظ وحـده فى اداء المعنى فيحمله كل ما يريد من غرض لانه يقصد بكلامه إلى القارىء البعيد ويرسله على الزمن النائي فلا يستطيع أن يعتمد على شهود

سامع أو حضور قرائن .

ولهذين الأصلين المتفارقين المتباينين بين لغة الحديث ولغة الكتابة يتكون لكل نوع خصائص لغوية تباين خصائص النوع الآخر وتضادها .

فالمحدث يعتمد على دلالة القرينة فيوجز ويكثر الحذف استغناء عن المحذوف حين فهم ، واستجابة لقانون الاقتصاد البعيد الأثر ، القوى الحكم فى تكوين اللغة — فاستمع إلى كلمة الماء من صديان يستسقى أو من خائف بللا أو غرقا أو من مستصرخ من النار . فانها كلمة واحدة دلت على معانى مختلفة فصارت جملا متعددة . لكل معنى جملة يكملها لفظ تقوله الحال وتوحى به القرينة . بل ربما صار هذا الحذف واجبا ولزمت الجملة هذا الايجاز كما يقرر النحاة فى نحو الأسد الأسد . ولعمرى : وفى ذمتى ، فتجىء جمل الحديث قصيرة موجزة ولا كذلك جملة الكتابة لما ينبغى لها من حيطة فى حمل اللفظ وحده كل المعنى ومن اغفال للقرائن — ولقد يكون من حق الكاتب أن يلتفت إلى القرائن لا ليعتمد عليها ولكن ليحذرها أن تخيل اليه شيئا من المعنى واضحا مفهوما حتى اذا ما غابت وقرأ القارىء بعيداً عن الحال التى شهدها الكاتب ولابسته خفى جزء من المعنى بفقد شىء من الدلالة .

وكذلك يكثر فى لغة الحديث أنواع الخطاب وصيغ الأمر وأدوات النداء والفاظ الأشارة لأن طبيعة الحديث تقتضيه وتلائم استعماله بينما يقل في لغة الكتابة وذلك من الوضوح بحيث لا يحتاج الى بيان ، بل أنه ليدل على خصائص أخرى نظائر له مما يفرق بين لغة الحديث ولغة الكتابة فقد كشفنا عن خصائص كل نوع من الأنواع الثلاثة وأن لم نستقصها . وعلينا الآن أن نتتبعها فى اللغة العربية . وسندرس خصائص الشعر وحدها ، ثم خصائص لغة الحديث ولغة الكتابة معا إذ كانتا متقابلتين وكانت دراسة أحداهما درسا للأخرى .

خصائص الشعر فى العربيه

(١) أنشدوا الشعر وتغنوا به ، فمدوا أصواتهم وزادوا فى آخره حرفا يمكنهم من الغناء والترنم .

قال سيبويه فى باب وجوه انشاد الشعر : أما إذا ترنموا فانهم* يلحقون الألف والواو والياء ماينون ومالا ينون ، لانهم يريدون مد الصوت وذلك قوله .

قِفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب ومنزلى

هذا ما ينون وما لا ينون

أقلى اللوم عاذل والعتابا

متي كان الخيام بذى طلوح سقيت الغيث أيتها الخيامو
أيها منازلنا بذات سويقة كانت مباركة من الأيامى

وإنما ألحقوا هذه المدة فى حرف الروى لأن الشعر وضع للغناء والترنم ، فألحقوا كل حرف الذى حركته منه اه فهذا فى الشعر وقد روينا من القراءات السبع لمن قرأ (قوارير قواريرا من فضة قدروها تقديرا) فحذف التنوين من قوارير الثانية حين وصل لمنع الصرف فاذا وقف مد وأثبت فيها الألف كما زيدت فيما لا ينون آخر البيت . فهذه من خصائص الشعر سرت إلى الكلام فان أردت أن تعدها من خصائص النثر كما أنها من خصائص الشعر ، منعك من ذلك طبيعة الترنم ومنعك كثرتها فى الشعر وأنها معدودة فى غيره .

(٢) وأجيز فى الشعر تنوين الممنوع من الصرف وذلك معروف مشهور حتى قيل : ويصرف الشاعر مالا ينصرف ، وقد سرى ذلك إلى النثر أيضا وسرى فى التنزيل قرىء بتنوين « سلاسلا » فى الآية الكريمة « إنا أعتدنا للكافرين سلاسلا وأغلالا وسعيرا » — كما نون يغوثا ويعوقا فى قوله تعالى « ولا تذرن ودا ولا سواعا ولايغوثا ويعوقا ونسرا » — فقال النحاة فى الآيتين : « سلاسل » نونت لمناسبة « اغلالا » « ويغوث ويعوق » لمناسبة الكلمات المنونة حولها — وتنوين ما منع صرفه اسلوب شعرى والتناسب من روح الشعر أيضا

وقد أحس النحويون المتقدمون أن تنوين الممنوع من الصرف سرى الى النثر من الشعر . ونقل السيوطى فى جمع الجوامع « انه قد أجاز قوم صرف كل ممنوع للاروا‌ه الكسائى من الكوفيين والاخفش من البصريين وقال كأنها لغة الشعراء اضطروا إليها فى الشعر فجرت على السنتهم فى الكلام »

(٣) ومما يستدعيه الشعر أو يلجىء إليه استبدال صيغة بأخرى . فقد يوضع اسم الفاعل واسم المفعول والمصدر كل موضع الآخر فى الشعر . وسبيل الكلام والاصل فيه ان تستعمل كل صيغة فيما بنيت له . ولكن الشاعر إذا أمن اللبس لم يبال أى صيغة استعمل متى بان المعنى واستقام له الوزن . وقد سرى ذلك الى النثر

أيضا وعد منه فى القرآن الكريم آيات « لا عاصم اليوم من أمر الله الا من رحم » أى لامعصوم « فى عيشة راضية » أى مرضية « وجعلنا آية النهار مبصرة » أى مبصرا فيها « كان وعده مأتيا » أى آتيا « حجابا مستورا » أى ساترا « فستبصر ويبصرون بأيكم المفتون » أى الفتنة .

وتأول بعض النحاة ليجعلوا كل صيغة مستعملة فى معناها وتكلفوا فى ذلك . وعد بعضهم لهذا العدول دقائق بيانية ولا خلاف فى أنه اسلوب عربى مستقيم — والذى هون هذا التبديل وأحله تلك المنزلة من القبول والالف هو وروده فى الشعر كما قال الاخفش فى التنوين . وعلى قياس هذا تفهم سر استعمالهم فعيل مرة بمعنى فاعل واخرى بمعنى مفعول فى الشعر والنثر على حد سواء .

(٤) نرى التصرف فى الاشتقاق والتحكم فى الصيغ ظاهرا فى كلامهم حين ينحون به نحو الشعر من الأزدواج والمماثلة وفى درة الغواص للحريرى « وقد نطقت العرب بعدة الفاظ غيرت مبانيها لأجل الازدواج وإعادتها الى أصولها عند الانفراد فقالوا الغدايا والعشايا اذا قرنوا بينهما فاذا أفردوا الغدايا ردوها الى أصلها فقالوا الغدوات ،وقالوا هنأنى الشىء ومرأنى فاذا أفردوا قالوا أمرأنى ، وقالوا فعلت به ما ساءه وناءه فاذا أفردوا قالوا أساءه ، وقالوا أيضا هو رجس نجس فاذا أفردوا قالوا نجس كما قال تعالى انما المشركون نجس ، وكذلك قالوا للشجاع الذى لا يزايل مكانه اهيس اليس والاصل فى الاهيس الاهوس لانه من هاس يهوس فعدلوا به إلى الياء ليوافق اليس .

وقد نقل عن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم الفاظ راعى فيها حكم الموازنة وتعديل المقارنة فروى عنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال للنساء المتبرزات فى العيد : ارجعن مأزورات غير مأجورات . وقال فى عوذته للحسن والحسين كرم الله وجوههما : أعيذكما بكلمات الله التامة من كل شيطان وهامة ومن كل عين لامة والاصل فى مأزورات موزورات لاشتقاقها من الوزن كما أن الأصل فى لامة ملمة لأنها فاعل من ألم الا أنه صلى الله عليه وسلم قصد أن يعادل بلفظ مأزورات لفظ مأجورات وأن يوازن لفظ لامه لفظتى تامة وهامة اه كلام أبى القاسم ولو تتبع ما ورد من هذا النوع فى القرآن لكان كثيرا . وقد تكلف بعض متأخرى النحاة كدأبهم — تأويل ما ورد من هذا ليجعلوه جاريا على قياسهم. ولـكنه على كل حال اسلوب عربى فصيح يجمل القول ويزيده فى النفوس حلاوة وقبولا وقد ورد فى أفصح القول.

فلا خفاء فى أن طبيعة الشعر وما فيه من تماثل ووزن استلزمت تغييرا فى بناء بعض الألفاظ وتصريفها وأن ذلك قد سرى الى غيره من القول وغلب عليه أيضا

٥ — ومن الكثير في الشعر أن يحتاج الشاعر الى تقديم كلمة عن موضعها أو التأخر بها وقد تعرض لذلك سيبويه فى باب ما يحتمل الشعر فى أول الكتاب قال «ويحتملون قبح الكلام حين يضعونه فى غير موضعه لانه ليس فيه نقص فمن ذلك قول عمر بن أبى ربيعة

صددت فاطولت الصدود وطالما وصال على طول الصدود يدوم

وانما الكلام وقلما يدوم وصال » اه .

يريد أنهم قد يحتملون من أجل الشعر ما يستقبحون فى الكلام ويضعون اللفظ فى غير موضعه لأنه لا يفضى إلى نقص فى المعني فالتقديم والتأخير ووضع اللفظ فى غير موضعه من حاجات الشاعر ووسائله الى إقامة وزنه وإتمام بنيته ويكون بعض ذلك قبيحا فيحتمل ما لم يتحيف المعنى وبعضه سائغا مقبولا فيكثر فى الشعر ويسرى إلى النثر — وأثر ذلك ظاهر جدا فى الجملة العربية وحرية الكلمة فيها فقلما تتقيد كلمة بترتيب فى الجملة إذا خالفته ضاع المعنى وفسد النظم فالمبتدأ مقدم ولك تأخيره والفاعل مؤخر ويجوز تقديمه وما إيجاب أكثر النحاة لتأخير الفاعل الا نوع من الصناعة النحوية لتصحيح القاعدة وطردها لا لتبيين الأسلوب العربي وتحديده . وكذلك الصفة تؤخر عن الموصوف وقد تسبقه فلا تأبى العربية ولكن النحو يعد الكلام قد خرج من باب النعت إلى باب البدل .

فالجملة العربية حرة طائعة تمكن للشاعر أن يقيم وزنه ويهيىء قافيته وتلك الحرية من آثار الشعر وخصائصه ولكنها شملت القول كله .

٦ — إذا اكتفينا بهذا من خصائص الشعر التى سرت إلى غيره وغلبت عليه وكونت فى اللغة قواعد عامة فانا نكون قد اكتفينا من الكثير بالقليل ولكنه قليل يفى ببيان أن خصائص الشعر قد وجدت فى اللغة وغلبت عليها . فلو أنا لم نرو من الشعر الجاهلى شيئا لوجب بهذا السبيل العلمى وحده أن نعتقد أن للعرب فى جاهليتهم شعرا ناضجا قويا عظيم الأثر فى تكوين اللغة وتقدير بلاغتها .

لغة الحديث ولغة الكتابة

ونعرض لدرس النوعين مما لأنا أسلفنا أنهما نوعان يتقابلان وتتباين خصائصها وأن درس إحداهما درس للأخرى .

(١) فأول ذلك أن لغة الحديث يكثر فيها الحذف والاستغناء ببعض القرائن عن شيء من اللفظ وقد أشار صاحب الكتاب إلى بعض هذا في قوله (وهم يقولون سير ليل يريدون ليل طويل وذلك أنك تحس في كلام القائل لذلك من التطويح والتطريح والتفخيم والتعظيم مايقوم مقام قوله طويل وأنت تحس هذا من نفسك إذا تأملته في مدح انسان والثناء عليه تقول كان والله رجلا فتزيد في اللفظ وتعتمد على ما يدل من لفظ وحال فان عريت الدلالة فان حذفه لايجوز) اه .

وتوسع في بحث ذلك الامام ابن جني في الخصائص في باب سماه بحق « شجاعة العربية » وبين أن العربي يهجم في القول على مايريد من معنى فيدع في سبيله الفضول والزوائد ولا يبالى اللفظ متى صور المعنى ومثله .

وتجد في مغنى اللبيب لابن هشام بحثا واسعا لما يحذف في العربية من مبتدأ وخبر وفعل وفاعل وظرف وحال الخ . والجمل أيضا قد تحذف كما في الشرط والقسم وبعض مايحذف من مبتدأ وخبر وفعل واجب الحذف في مواضع معدودة في كتب النحاة .

ولم أرد أن أطيل بذكر أمثلة الحذف في كلام العرب لأنها من الكثرة بحيث لايحاط بها ومن الوضوح بحيث لاتحتاج إلى مثل وبحيث تجدها في كل ما تقرأ لهم وروح العربية روح ايجاز وحذف واعتماد على القرائن وعلى قرائح السامعين وقد رأى بعض النقاد المتقدمين أن مثل هذا الحذف وإن كان مقبولا من أهله بليغا في موضعه لاينبغي للكتاب محاكاته ولايجوز لهم اتباعه .

قال ابن المدبر في الرسالة العذراء التي حررها في أصول الكتابة .

واعلم أنه لايجوز في الرسائل ما أتى في آي القرآن الكريم من الأيصال والحذف ومن مخاطبة الخاص بالعام والعام بالخاص لأن الله سبحانه وتعالى انما خاطب بالقرآن قوما فصحاء فهموا عنه جل ثناؤه أمره ونهيه ومراده والرسائل انما يخاطب بها قوم دخلاء على اللغة لاعلم لهم بلسان العرب وكذلك ينبغي للكاتب

(١) نشرها بمصر الأستاذ كرد علي والدكتور زكي مبارك .

أن يتجنب اللفظ المشترك والمعنى الملتبس فأنه أن ذهب إلى قوله تعالى « واسأل القرية التى كنا فيها والعير التى اقبلنا فيها » وقوله تعالى : « بل مكر الليل والنهار » احتجنا أن نبين أن معناه اسأل أهل القرية وأهل العير وبل مكركم بالليل ومثله فى القرآن كثير !! اه

فخصائص لغة الحديث من حذف وايجاز واعتماد على القرائن فاشية فى اللغة العربية غالبة عليها ، أما الاحتياط والتكميل وعدم الاعتداد بالقرائن والاطناب والارداف حذرا من اللبس فذلك روح الكتابة جلبه الكتاب وتواصوا به وتجلى فى كتبهم جلاء الايجاز فى اقوال العرب .

— ٢ — الاشارة

والاشارة أيضا أولى بلغة الحديث واوفق لطبيعتها وما يحتاج هذا الى بيان أو تدليل ، فأقرب طريق لتعيين الشيء والدلالة عليه إذا كان حاضرا أن تشير إليه أما الكتابة فلا تكاد تستعمل فيها اداة الاشارة حتى يبين مايشار إليه بلفظ أو جملة أو جمل احيانا . وما ندعى أن اسم الاشارة يستغنى عنه في الكتابة كما ليس لأحد ان يزعم أن حاجة المحدث والكاتب إليه واحدة وان استعماله فى الحالين سواء .

واسماء الاشارة فى اللغة العربية كثيرة متنوعة مفصلة اتم تفصيل فللواحد والواحدة والاثنين والاثنتين والجمع ، والزمان ، والمكان : لكل واحد منها اسم اشارة خاص بل ربما كان له اسماء متعددة — وللقريب والبعيد والمتوسط . لكل صيغة خاصة — وربما قرن الخطاب إلى الاشارة فتقول « أولئك » مشيرا لجمع مخاطبا واحدا « وذاكم » مشيرا لواحد مخاطبا جمعا والخطاب نوع من الأشارة ورعاية حال المشار إليه وحال المخاطب أمر من الدقة والعسر بحيث لايتيسر الا لمحدث يرى المشار إليه ويتوجه إلى المخاطب وتتميز عنده صورة كل منهما واضحة فيحتاج إلى التعبير عنهما وفى الكتابة تقل تلك الحاجة وتعسر رعايتها

أولا يسترعى نظرك تلك الوفرة الظاهرة فى اسماء الاشارة وهذا التنوع فى استعمالها ؟ ولم نطل ببيانها فانك تراها فى كتب النحو فوق الستين صورة

أولا ترانا أمام لغة حديث دقيقة محكمة وافرة الوسائل لحاجات الحديث . على انه يجب أن نلاحظ ان شيئا من التعديل طرأ على اسم الأشارة واستعماله فى اللغة — :

ا — فقل استعمال بعض كلماته حتى ماتت تقريبا ، ومن اسماء الاشارة مما دون فى كتب النحو واللغـة — ما لو قرأته الآن فى كتـاب لاسـتغربته وانكرته وذلك مثل تى وتا وذات.

ب — وأخذ فى اهمال درجات الأشارة حتى عـدها بعض متأخرى النحاة (كابن مالك) درجتين لاثلاثا . وأساس الخلاف بعد هؤلاء عن مشافهة العرب وقرب منبتها

حـ — وأخذ كذلك فى أهمال رعاية المخاطب فلزمت الكاف حالة الإفراد فى مخاطبة غير المفرد من مثنى وجمع وروعي التذكير والتأنيث ثم أهمل هـذا أيضا وجمدت الكاف كأنها ملحق للاشارة أو هى — كما يقال — حرف أثرى .

هـ — وعرى اسم الاشارة أحيانا عن المعنى وبقى ملفوظا به فى الجملة شاهدا على ماكان من كثرة استعماله . مثل « منذا الذى » « وماذا الذى » فلابد أن يكون جلبه الى الجملة حاجة الى اداء المعنى ثم ذهبت تلك الحاجة وابقاه فى اللفظ الألف وكثرة الاستعمال

وفى هذا كفاية لمنصف ليقرر معنا أن الاشارة كانت فاشية فى اللغة العربيـة غالبة عليها لحين تدوين القواعد وأنها أخذت بعد فى القلة . ولدينا أيضا ما يدل على تحوير فى اسم الاشارة وتحديد فى استعماله ليلائم لغة الكتابة لا نأخذ فى شرحه لدقته ولأنا نتجنب مواضع النزاع معك حتى نقر أصل النظرية من استعمال قواعد اللغة شاهدا لما غلب عليها من أدب. وانما نذكر من هذا مثلا تستطيع أن تجد له شواهد فى القرآن الكريم اذا تتبعت أسماء الاشارة فيه ودققت النظر فى مواضع استعمالها — وهو أن كلمة « هذا » أخذت تخصص بالاشارة للمحسوس أو الماثل فى الذهن الذى هو بمنزلة المحسوس . وأن « ذلك » أخذت تختص بالاشارة للمعنوى المفهوم من جملة كلام سابق وهو الذى يعبر عنه النحاة « بما ذكر » فقد أخذت تنسخ من الاشارة شريعة الحديث والخطاب وهى التمييز بين الاشخاص ودرجات البعد ورعاية المخاطبين وتحل محلها شريعة لم تستكمل وهى التفريق بين المحسوس والمعقول وهى سنة لغة الكتابة . فان لم ترد أن ترى معى هذه التفرقة الاخيرة بين المعقول والمحسوس ام الزمك بأثباتها لدقتها ولأن قانونها بدىء الاخذ به ولم يتم له سلطانه إذ كان فى تاريخ اللغـة العربية بعد الاسلام ما يمنعها بعض التدرج فى سبيلها الطبيعى . وحسبى أن أقرر ما لا محيد عن تقريره من أن الاشارة

تنوعت وكثرت جدا فى اللغة الى حين تدوين القواعد ثم أخذت تتحدد وتقل

ومن أدوات الاشارة « الـ » وبينها وبين أسماء الاشارة فرق دقيق فى الاستعمال — فرق يرجع الى عموم ما للاسم والحرف من الدلالة وأن الاول يدل على المعنى والذات والثانى يدل على المعنى فقط كما نجد بين من وهل فى الاستفهام وفرق يرجع الى ما يشار اليه وهو أن الاصل فى اسم الاشارة أن يشار به الى حاضر في الخارج وقد يشار به الى الحاضر فى الذهن قليلا وبسبيل الحمل أو التنزيل كما يعبرون أما ال فعلى عكس هذا . يعدها النحاة للجنس وللحقيقة وللعهد الذهنى وللعهد الذكرى وهو نوع من العهد الذهنى ثم للعهد الحضورى وهو قليل .

فهذه اداة اشارة أولى بلغة الكتابة ولكن حظها في العربية قليل واستعمالها غير دقيق . فهى اداة واحدة تستعمل في كل حالة بصورة واحدة لم تنل من التنوع والتغيير ما نال اسم الاشارة كما رأيت من قبل — مع أن فطرة العربية الميل الى التحديد وتمييز الفروق فكلا نوعى الاشارة شاهد بغلبة لغة الحديث وظهور خواصها وضعف ما للغة الكتابة من خواص

واستطرد هنا الى ذكر ملاحظتين .

الأولى — أن من الكتاب المعاصرين من أحب أن يحى بعض أسماء الاشارة المماتة تظرفا واغرابا مثل « تيك » فلم يقبل ذلك منه ولم يتبع (١)

الثانية — أن بعض معلمى العربية يصوغون عبارات فيها اشارة وخطاب ويكلفون المتعلمين تحويلها بأن يشيروا الى أنواع ويخاطبون غيرها فتكون رياضة عسرة شاقة منفرة من اللغة (٢)

ونري في الامرين معا مناهضة لروح لغتنا الادبية الحالية وهى لغة الكتابة ومحاولة لما لا يكون

٣ـ الضمائر — وفى الضمير نوع من الاشارة واليقه بلغة الخطاب ضمير الخطاب وهو كثير مفصل فى العربية للواحد والمثنى والجمع وله مذكر والمؤنث — ولحالة الرفع ضمير ولغيرها آخر وقد يجتمع ضمير اخطاب فى كلمة واحدة أشارة إلى مخاطب واحد كما فى « أرأيتك هذا الذى كرمت على » .

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(١) قرأت هذا مرات في صدر صحيفة السياسة .

(٢) وردت بعض أسئلة على هذا النمط فى امتحان الشهادة الابتدائية الذى وضعته وزارة المعارف .

أما ضمير الغيبة فسبيله فى لغة الحديث غير سبيله فى لغة الكتابة فان المحدث قد يلقى بضمير الغيبة من غير أن يبين مرجعه فى الجملة اعتمادا على فهم السامع أو قرينة حاضرة أما الكاتب فانه لا يرسل ضمير الغائب حتى يبينه وحتى يحتاط لبيانه وفهمه والا جاء كلامه ناقصا غامضا وربما كان فى الجملة كلمتان مما يصلح بيانا للضمير ومرجعا فينبغي أن يحدد أستعمال الضمير وصلته بمرجعه فنرى الضمير فى لغة الحديث حرا موسعا في استعماله وفى لغة الكتابة مقيدا محدد الاستعمال. وإذا رجعت إلى اللغة العربية لتعرف أحكام هذا الضمير فيه وجدت أمرين مختلفين أما أولها ففى كتب النحاة وقواعدهم حيث يحددون استعمال الضمير ويضمون قيوده فيشترطون أن يكون له مرجع موافق له عددا ونوعا وأن يتقدم هذا المرجع نوعا من التقدم وهي قيود طبيعية للضمير حين تكتب.

وأما الثانى فهو المروى من كلام العربى الوثيق الرواية وفى أفصح مروى منه. نجد الضمير حرا يرسل بلا مرجع ولا يلزم أن يطابق به مرجعه ويعتمد على صورة المعنى فى نفس المتكلم من غير تقيد بما دل عليه اللفظ ثم نجد نزاعا شديدا بين النحاة فى وجه التوفيق بين ما روى وهذه الشروط التى وضعت فجماعة يحرصون على القواعد ويأخذون فى تأويل كل ماروى ويعتسفون فى ذلك أيما اعتساف وآخرون يرفضون القواعد رجوعا الى المروى ونزولا على حكمه. ومهما يكن فان فى استعمال ضمير الغيبة حرية وتوسعا تشهد بغلبة لغة الحديث وظهور خصائصها فى القول.

٤ — صيغ الأمر

والأمر نوع من الخطاب وأولى بلغة الحديث لايستثني من ذلك الا أمر الغائب وترى فى اللغة العربية صيغة واحدة لأمر الغائب وليست بصيغة أصلية بل تتركب من المضارع ولام الأمر — ولا تختص بأمر الغائب بل يؤمر بها غيره أيضا — بينما ترى لأمر المخاطب صيغا متعددة وأساليب مختلفة منها.

(ا) فعل الأمر وهى صيغة معروفة تؤخذ من كل فعل — وربما بقيت هذه الصيغة وحدها فى مادة وماتت صيغ الفعل الأخرى مثل هب وتعلم بمعنى اعلم كما يقول النحاة.

(ب) صيغة فعال كنزال وهى مقيسة من كل فعل ثلاثى وقاسها بعض النحاة من

غير الثلاثى أيضا وجنح الامام الرضى الى عـدها فعل أمر — وهى عندى صيغة أخرى لفعل الأمر تقاس من كل فعـل ولكنها أخـذت تقل ويستغنى عنها فى الكتابة بصيغة الأمر السابقة .

(ج) المصدر وهو كثير فى كلامهم كسقيا ورعيا وسحقا وبعدا وضرب الرقاب — وعد النحاة من هذا النوع كلمات لا فعل لها مثل رويدا وبهرا وذفرا كأن المادة قد ماتت الا هذه الصيغة وهـذا عنوان دورانها فى القول وكثرة استعمالها كما رأيت فى هب وتعلم .

(د) ظروف نقلت عن أصـل معناها وجعلت أمرا مثل اليك ودونك وعليك وعندك وربما جاءت هذه الصيغة لأمر غير المخاطب أيضا.

(هـ) أسماء مسموعة دلت على أمر المخاطب وحده سميت أسماء أفعال مثل صه ومه وأيه — وفى استعمالها نوع من التدقيق وهو أنك تنون فى مثل صه تطلب الكف عن كل حديث أولا تنون تنهى عن حديث خاص .

فقد رأيت أن لأمر المخاطب كثيرا من الصيغ وأن فى استعمال بعضها شيئا من الدقة والتفريق — وهـذا من خواص لغة الحديث وشواهد غلبتها . ولتقدر مبلغ هذه الكثرة فى صيغ أمر المخاطب تستطيع أن تقايس بينها وبين أمر الغائب ثم بين صيغ الأمر والصيغ الدالة على الأزمنة فى العربية وسترى بعد ذلك من شيوع الخصائص النحوية للغة الحديث وغلبتها ومن ضعف نظائرها من لغة الكتابة وندرتها مالا سبيل الى إنكاره إلا مكابرة وعنادا .

٥ — النداء

وهـل من ريب فى أن النداء أولى بلغة الحـديث والخطاب وأن هناك تبدو الحاجـة إلى التمييز بين نداء القريب ونداء البعيد وإلى مـد للصوت يعين على الاسترسال والاسماع ؟

وأدوات النداء فى العربية متعددة ـ : الهمزة ، وأىْ ، ويا ، ويجمع بين أداتين أيضا فيقال آيا وهيا — وتجمع الأداتان ثم يزاد عليهما شىء مبالغة في التنبيه فيقال ياأيها . ويفرق بين نداء البعيد ونداء القريب كما تفرق أيضا بين نداء الشائع المبهم والمقصود المحدد .

الدلالات الصوتية — قد يدل على شيء من المعنى بمط الصوت أو قطعه أو تفخيمه أو ترقيقه فيكون ذلك من خصائص لغة الخطاب ونري الاشارة إلى ذلك قليلة فى قواعد النحو ونخال أنه لم يكن فى اللغة العربية ولكن البحث يدلنا على وجوده واغفال النحاة تدوينه الا إشارات قليلة . رأيت من قبل ما نقل عن سيبويه من أن العرب يقولون سير ليل ويريدون ليلا طويلا فلا يذكرون الصفة معتمدين على مايبدون من مطل الصوت وتطويله . وذلك شيء قد اختفى عندنا من اللغة العربية لأنها الآن لغة كتابة ولأن هذه الدلالات الصوتية لم تدون.

ومن ذلك السكت بين الكلمة وأختها ولقدخفي ذلك فى اللغة أيضا ولم يدون فى كتب القواعد ولكن بقى شيء منه فى كتب القراءات كما يقرأ حفص « الحمد لله الذى أنزل على عبده الكتاب ولم يجعل له عوجا قيما لينذر بأسا شديدا »فيسكت بين « عوجا » « وقيما » سكتة لطيفة هى بين الوصل والوقف ليفهم انقطاع ما بين الكلمتين وأن الثانية لاتتصل بالأولى ولكن تعود إلى كلمة الكتاب قبلا ويقرأ « من بعثنا من مرقدنا هذا ما وعد الرحمن » فيسكت أيضا بين كلمتى مرقدنا وهذا ليفصل ما بين الكلامين وليدل على اتصال « هذا » بما بعدها .

وكذلك الروم والاشمام (١) — نجد فى كتب القراءات وبعض كتب النحو بيانهما ومواضعهما — وأجمال ذلك أنك اذا وقفت على الكلمة وحذفت حركتها أشرت إلى هذه الحركة بصوت ضعيف أو بتحريك الشفتين من غير صوت وذلك أمر يتهيأ حين الحديث وفى لغة الخطاب.

القسم

القسم نوع من التأكيد . والتأكيد كثير فى لغة العرب ووسائله متعددة —: أن ، والنون ، واللام ، وقد ، والتكرار ، والقسم ـ وربما اجتمعت وسيلتان من وسائل التوكيد أو أكثر . ولكل اداة موضع محدد واستعمال مبين . وأكثر هذه الوسائل اذا دققت أقرب لطبيعة الحديث ـ وللكتابة وسائل أخرى فى التوكيد من تفصيل المعنى والتأنق فى تصويره والتماس البراهين له .

يروى فى دلائل الاعجاز للجرجانى أن الكندى المتفلسف ركب الى أبى

(١) بين القراء والنحاة اختلاف فى هذين الاصطلاحين وما ذكرنا من الاجمال موضع اتفاق .

العباس وقال له : أني لأجد في كلام العرب حشوا يقولون عبد الله قائم وأن عبدالله قائم وأن عبد الله لقائم فالألفاظ متكررة والمعنى واحد فقال أبو العباس بل المعانى مختلفة لاختلاف الألفاظ وبين له أثر التوكيد وأنه لرفع الشك أودفع الانكار

والكندى عربى عالم والسليقة العربية فى زمنه صحة وقوة ولكنه فيلسوف لم يستطع أن يفهم في «أن» أو «اللام» ما يرفع ريباً أو يدفع انكارا وجحدا . فانما سبيل ذلك عنده البرهان والحجة .

على أن أشد أنواع التأكيد اتصالا بلغة الحديث التكرار والقسم ــ أما التكرار فقد بين النحاة التأكيد اللفظى وأنه بتكرار الكلمة مرتين أو ثلاثا وربما كررت الجملة كلها كذلك ــ وأما القسم فكثرته فى اللغة العربية رائعة حقا —

يقسمون بالجملة الفعلية حلفت ــ أقسمت ــ آليت . علم الله . يعلم الله . . .

وبالجملة الاسمية لعمرى ــ في ذمتى ــ يمين الله ــ أيمن الله . . .

وبحروف قسم . الباء والواو والتاء واللام ومن وها . وكل شيء مقسم به من السماء والنجوم والشمس والقمر ومواقع النجوم ومن الأرض والجبال والأنهار والأشجار وأنواع الحجارة ومن الناس وعمرهم وعيشهم وحياتهم وتقول لا أقسم وأنت تقسم ــ فهذه كثرة لاحظها علماء اللغة وعلماء النحو ولاحظوا أن كثرة القسم فى لغتهم ودورانه على ألسنتهم جعلتهم يتصرفون فيه أنواعا من التصرف لضروب من التخفيف. قال الزمخشرى فى المفصل : — ولكثرة القسم فى كلامهم أكثروا التصرف فيه وتوخوا ضروبا من التخفيف .

وفيما ترى من هذه الكثرة شاهد بين بغلبة لغة الحديث وغلبة خصائصها .

أخشى أن أكون أطلت ، وأن تكون الاطالة أحوجتنى الى شيء من التذكير فقد فصلت لغة الشعر والكتابة والحديث ووجدت لكل طبيعة تستدعى امتيازه بخصائص لغوية — وبينت بعض تلك الخصائص وتتبعتها فى اللغة العربية — فاذا خصائص الشعر فاشية فيها غالبة عليها حتى ليهيأ لنا مطمئنين تقرير أن الشعر كان أدبا جاهليا شائعا غالبا ، وأن سلطانه كان أكثر مما يمثله هذا الشعر المروى لنا على كثرته ووفرته . واذا خصائص الخطاب والحديث أيضا ظاهرة واسعة وغالبة قاهرة وخصائص الكتابة ضئيلة ضامرة ومقهورة خافية . فحق لنا أن نقرر فى غير

شك ولا وهم أن النثر الكتابى لم يكن من آداب اللغة العربية قبل الاسلام . وكل شيء فى اللغة العربية لفظها وقواعدها وأسلوبها — يشهد بهذا كما تشهد به الطبيعة العربية فانا وجدنا للعرب حسا لغويا دقيقا وموهبة كلامية قوية الأثر تميل الى الدقة والتحديد والى تفصيل الفروق والتمييز بينها فلو تناولت تلك الملكة تقوية الأدب الكتابى لكان أثرها فيه نظير أثرها فى الشعر ولتكونت خصائص هذا الأدب وظهرت فى اللغة ووجدنا السبيل الى درسها -- وأن دعوى سبق النثر العربى على الاسلام لدعوى قد حان حينها وصرعها البحث .

ولكنى أرى قوما واجمين محزونين للغة العربية أن تنتقص . يقدرون أن البلاغة كلها فى النثر وأنه المثل الأعلى للغة . وهم فى هذا واهمون — وما أكثر ما يضل الناظرون حين يستملون الحقائق من الحاضر المحيط بهم ويعدونه الحق الذى لا يبدل . أولئك ينظرون ما حولهم من لغة الحديث فاذا هى شيء لا يبلغ أن يكون لغة . فلا جمال ولا أدب ولا قوة ويقيسونها بلغة الكتابة فاذا معارف كبيرة وبون بعيد فيرسلون القاعدة مطردة ويرون فى ذلك مسافة ما ينبغى أن يكون بين كل لغة حديث ولغة كتابة وهم فى هذا واهمون مأخوذون بفتنة الشهادة . ولكن فى لغة الحديث غير لغة حديثنا آدابا وجمالا ولها قوة فى الأداء ودقة فى التعبير وربما كان سبيلها الى النفوس أقرب وسلطانها عليه أعظم .

أنهم ينكرون اذا البديهة الصائبة والجواب المسكت والحكمة المرسلة والكلمة المأثورة والحوار القوى المقنع .

وهل تظن أن رجلين ذوى قدر وعلم يقفان موقفا ذا خطر أو يتحاوران فى أمر ذى شأن ثم لا يبالغ أحدهما فى اختيار لفظه واختيار معناه وفى العناية بتصوير ما يريد ليقنع به ويحمل على قبوله وأى حظ من البلاغة هذا — لقد تكون الحاجة الى البلاغة ومهارة القول فى الحديث أشد والقدرة على انتقاء اللفظ وتصوير المعنى أهم .

والخطب — إنما هى نوع من لغة الحديث والخطاب لها كل خصائصها ومزاياها — وهى اوسع ميدان للبلاغة وأجلى مظهر لها وأقرب سبل الكلام إلى ملك القلوب وتصريفها

فللغة الحديث اذا أدب قيم واسم دقيق محكم . ربما احتاج من المهارة والقدرة

ما لا تحتاج اليه الكتابة .

كذلك كان الحال عند العرب حس دقيق فى اللغة. وملكة قوية فى الكلام. ومواقف ذات خطر لديهم من مفاخرة ومنافرة ومن بعث الى الحرب . أو دعوة الى السلم وحافظة تعى مايقال وروى مايحفظ . كل هذا أنتج للعرب أدبا لسانيا قويا يتمثل فى الجواب الصائب والحكمة المرسلة والخطبة البالغة وهو حظ من البلاغة عظيم .

المأمون وعلي الرضا

لحسن ابراهيم حسن

ان العوامل التى حملت المأمون (١٩٨ — ٢١٨ هـ و ٨١٣ —٨٣٣ م) على أن يولى عهده على الرضا الامام الثامن ، ثم ما كان بعد ذلك من موت ذلك العلوى ، وهو الموت الذى حدث — على ما ورد فى المصادر الشيعية — بتدبير المأمون ، جديرة بالبحث ، لما لها من العلاقة الوثيقة بتاريخ الشيعة من ناحية ، ثم بتاريخ ذلك الخليفة العباسى من ناحية أخرى .

اتفق جمهور المؤرخين — من الشيعيين والسنيين — على ثلاث نقط أساسية لا شك فى صحتها وهي : أن المأمون ولى عهده على الرضا ، وأنه لبس الخضرة شعار العلويين ، وأنه زوجه ابنته أم حبيب سنة ٢٠٢ هـ .

ولد على الرضا سنة ١٥٠ هـ . وهو ابن موسي الكاظم بن جعفر الصادق بن محمد الباقر بن على زين العابدين بن الحسين بن على بن أبى طالب(١) ، فكان الرضا على جانب عظيم من العلم والورع . وقد قيل لأبى نواس. « علام تركت مدح على بن موسى والخصال التى تجمعن فيه؟ » فقال . « لا أستطيع مدح امام كان جبريل خادما لأبيه. والله ما تركت ذلك إلا اعظاما له، وليس قدر مثلى أن يقول فى مثله. ثم أنشد :

مطهرون نقيات جيوبهم يجرى عليهم ثناء أينما ذكروا ؟
من لم يكن علويا حين تنسبه فما له فى قديم الدهر مفتخر
الله لما برا خلقا فأتقنه صفاكم واصطفاكم أيها البشر
فأنتم الملأ الأعلى وعندكم علم الكتاب وما جاءت به السور ،،

(١) ابن خلكان (ج ١ ص ٣٢١) . أبو الفدا (ج ٢ ص ٢٢) .

وقبل أن نخوض غمار هذا البحث يجمل بنا أن نتساءل عن أى الغرضين أرجح : هل كان شعور المأمون نحو الرضا شعورا دينيا بحتا . الباعث عليه اقتناعه بأن بيت على أحق بالخلافة من بيت العباس ؟

أو كان ذلك الشعور الدينى يحمل بين ثناياه مشروعا سياسيا يرمى الى اكتساب ولاء الخراسانيين الذين أشربت نفوسهم حب العقائد الشيعية ؟

أما عن النقطة الأولى ، فان بعض المصادر تؤيد القول بأن المأمون كان مخلصاً فى توودده للعلويين جادا فى تولية على الرضا عهده . من ذلك ما ذكره محمد بن النعمان (١) من أن المأمون أرسل الجلودى إلى المدينة،وطلب إليه أن يحث أفراد البيت العلوى على الرحيل معه إلى مرو حاضرة خراسان . فلبى الجلودى أوامر الخليفة ونهض بالأمر . فلما قدموا مرو استقبلهم المأمون فى قصره ، واحتفل بهم ، وخص على الرضا برعايته وعطفه ، وأفرد له منزلا خاصا به .

ثم بعث المأمون فى طلب الحسن والفضل ابنى سهل، وأسرلهما عزمه على تولية الرضا عهده . وقد اختلف الأخوان فى الرأى . فقاوم الحسن الفكرة أشد مقاومة ، وحذر مولاه مغبة الأخذ بهذه السياسة لما فيها من تحويل الخلافة إلى بيت على . فقال له المأمون : « إنى عاهدت الله إن ظفرت بالمخلوع اخرجت الخلافة إلى أفضل آل أبى طالب . وما أعلم أحدا أفضل من هذا الرجل على وجه الأرض » (٢) .

وأما الفضل وزير المأمون فكان على عكس ذلك . فقد عضد هذه الفكرة التى قد يكون هو الباعث عليها . يدل على ذلك ما كان من تدبير اغتيال الفضل بمرو قبل رحيل المأمون إلى بغداد ، ثم قتل الرضا بالسم والمأمون في طريقه إليها .

وقد ذكر الطبرى (٣) أن على الرضا لما جاء مرو ، أحسن المأمون وفادته ، وجمع رجال دولته وأخبرهم أنه قلب نظره فى أولاد العباس وأولاد على بن أبي طالب ، فلم يجد احدا أفضل ولا أحق بالخلافة بعده من على بن موسى . فولاه عهده ، ولقبه « الرضا من آل محمد » ، وأمر جنده بطرح السواد شعار العباسيين ولبس الخضرة شعار العلويين ، وكتب بذلك إلى الآفاق (وذلك لليلتين خلتا من

(١) مكتبة الجامعة بليدن (هولنده) . مخطوط رقم ١٦٤٧ ورقة ٢٢٧ ب .
(٢) النسبي . مكتبة الجامعة بليدن . مخطوط رقم ١٩٧٩ ورقة ١٢٢ ا .
(٣) ج ١٠ ص ٢٤٣ .

رمضان سنة ٢٠١). فاحفظ ذلك بنى العباس، ولا سيما منصور وابراهيم ابنى المهدى؛ وكذلك امتنع أهل بغداد عن البيعة للرضا. ثم خاض الناس فى خلع المأمون وأخذ البيعة لابراهيم بن المهدى.

وقد ذكر لنا النسيبى أنه «كان في حاشية المأمون أناس كرهوا ذلك (تولية على الرضا العهد)، وخافوا خروج الخلافة عن بيت العباس وعودها إلى بنى فاطمة». وقد ظهرت كراهة رجال بلاط المأمون للرضا عند زيارته قصر الخلافة. فقد جرت العادة أن يحيى رجال البلاط الرضا ويرفعون له الستر الذى كان يحجب الحجرة الملكية إذا ما رأوه. حتى إذا ماتولى الرضا العهد، كف رجال البلاط عن التسليم عليه ورفع الستر له. وقد أضاف النسيبي أن الريح كان يرفع الستر بامر الله، كما سخره سبحانه لسليمان، وأنه كان من أثر هذه الكرامة أن زاد اعتقاد رجال البلاط فى الرضا.[1] وذلك من مغالاة الشيعيين.

أرسل المأمون إلى الرضا وقال له: «إنى أريد أن أخلع نفسى من الخلافة، فما رأيك؟ فأبى الرضا فى جد» وسأله أن يعرض عن هذه الفكرة. ولا يبعد أن يكون قد فطن الى قصد الخليفة وما كان يرمى اليه. يدل على ذلك ماذكره محمد بن النعمان حيث يقول: «فانكر الرضا هذا الأمر وقال أعيذك بالله ياأمير المؤمنين وأن يسمع به أحد». ولكن المأمون أظهر الجد فى كلامه، وألح على على بقبوله ولاية العهد بعد أن رأى منه الامتناع عن قبول الخلافة وقال له: «فاذا أبيت وأعرضت، فلا بد من ولاية العهد من بعدى. فأبى الرضا أباء شديدا»[2]

على أن المأمون الذى كانت كلماته تشعر بأنه كان مرغما على هذا العمل بتأثير العنصر الخراسانى القوى. هدد عليا بالقتل إذا هو صمم على ابائه: وعرّض له بما كان من أمر عمر بن الخطاب، رضى الله عنه وتعيينه رجال الشورى الستة — ومن بينهم على بن أبى طالب — لانتخاب أحدهم للخلافة بعد موته، وقتل من تخلف عن رأى الأغلبية. وهاك نص العبارة: «ولابد من قبولك ما أريد؛ فانى لا أجد محيصا عنه. إن عمر بن الخطاب جعل الشورى فى ستة. أحدهم جدك أمير المؤمنين على بن ابى طالب عليه السلام؛ وشرط فيمن خالف أن تضرب عنقه. ولا بد من قبولك».[3]

(١) النسيبي ورقة ١٢٢ ب.
(٢) محمد بن النعمان. ورقة ٢٢٧ ب.
(٣) شرحه ورقة ٢٢٧ ب. المسعودى: التنبيه والأشراف (طبعة دى غوية ج ٨ ص ٢٩٠).

اجل ! لقد هدد المأمون عليا بالقتل إذا استمر فى إبائه . على أنه لم يكن بد من قبوله . وفى مجمع حافل يضم الأشراف والأمراء ورجال الدولة ، أعلن الفضل بن سهل بالنيابة عن الخليفة ولاية عهد على بعد المـأمون ، ولقبه « الرضا » . كما أمـر بلبس الخضرة شعار العلويين . وبعد أسبوع أقيم احتفال كبير أقر فيه المأمون وابنه العباس بيعة الرضا . ثم وزعت الجوائز والخلع على كبار رجال الدولة ، وعلى الشعراء الذين شادوا بفضائل الرضا ، وامتدحوا المأمون على سياسته التى سار عليها ، كما منح كبار عمال الدولة عطاء سنة .

وتحدثنا بعض المصادر الشيعية أن الرضا قد نال عطف المأمون ، فخطب له مع الخليفة على المنابر ونقش اسمـه على السكة ، وأن الشعراء قـد نظموا القصائد فى مدحه ، خلعت عليهم الخلع . ودعبل بن على الخزاعى مثل حى لصحة هذا القول. فانه لما أنشد قصيدته فى الرضا ، منح ستة آلاف دينار ، فأبى وطلب بدلها بعض ملابس الرضا تبركا بها ، فمنحته النقود والملابس معا . ولما علم المأمون بنظم هذه القصيدة فى على الرضا وإنشادها له ، بعث فى طلب دعبل ؛ فأنشد قصيدته فى حضرة المأمون والرضا والوزير الفضل بن سهل ، فأجازه الخليفة عليها بخمسين الف درهم . وكذلك أجزل الوزير عطاءه . ولننقل للقارىء بعض أبيات من هذه القصيدة التى أذاعت ذكر دعبل بين شعراء عصره :

ذكرت محل الربع [(١)] من عرفات ... فأسبلت دمع العين بالعبرات [(٢)]
مـدارسُ آيات خلت من تـلاوة ... ومهبط وحى معيفر العرصات [(٣)]
ديارُ عفـاها جـوْر كل منـابذ ... ولم تعف بالايام والسنوات .[(٤)]

هكذا كان شعور المأمون نحو على الرضا ، فى ذلك الوقت الذى كانت تجزل فيه الجوائز والعطايا للشعراء ، لأشادتهم بفضائل آل البيت . وأما شعور على الرضا نحو المأمون فلم يكن أقل من ذلك . فقد قال له المأمون : « مايقول بنو أبيك فى جـدنا العباس بن عبد المطلب ؟ » . فقال . «ما يقولون فى رجل فرض الله طاعة بنيه على خلقه، وفرض طاعته على بنيه » . فامر له بألف ألف درهم . ولما خرج أخوه زيد بن موسى

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(١) الربع مطلق مكان
(٢) عرصة الدار ساحتها، وهى البقعة الواسعة التى ليس فيها بناء .
(٣) محمد بن النعمان . ورقة ٢٢٧ ب ، ٢٢٩ ب .
(٤) شرحه

بالبصرة على المأمون ، أرسل إليه عليا أخاه ليرده عن ذلك ، فجاءه وقال له : ويلك يازيد ! فعلت بالمسلمين بالبصرة مافعلت ، وتزعم انك ابن فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ؟ والله لأشد الناس عليك رسول الله . يازيد ! ينبغى لمن اخذ برسول الله أن يعطى به . فبلغ كلامه المأمون ، فبكى وقال : « هكذا ينبغى أن يكون أهل بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم » .(١)

هذا مايؤخذ من بعض المصادر . وهى ـ كما ترى ـ ظاهرها إخلاص المأمون فى تولية على الرضا عهده .

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أما عن النقطة الثانية ، فان بعض المصادر الشيعية والسنية يرى أن تولية المأمون الرضا ولاية العهد لم تكن الا سياسة منه لاستمالة قلوب الخراسانيين . فان العلاقة التى كانت بين المأمون وعلى الرضا ، والتى كان ظاهرها الاخلاص والمحبة ، لم تلبث أن تغيرت ، وذلك لما كان يراه المأمون من التفاف الخراسانيين حول على الرضا ، وما كان يخشاه من زوال الامر عنه الى العلويين اذا هو تورط فى هذه السياسة. يدل على ذلك هذه العبارة التى ننقلها عن كتاب « مطالب السول فى غزوات الرسول» : « ومما تلقته الاسماع ونقلته الألسن فى بقاع الاصقاع ، أن الخليفة المأمون وجد فى يوم عيد انحراف مزاج أحدث عنده ثقلاعن الخروج الى الصلاة بالناس .فانتدب أبا الحسن على الرضا للصلاة بالناس فخرج ؛ وعليه قميص قصير أبيض وعمامة بيضاء ، وهى من قطن ، وفى يده قضيب . فأقبل ماشيا يؤم المصلى وهو يقول : السلام على أبوى آدم ونوح ! السلام على أبوى اسماعيل وابراهيم ! السلام على أبوى محمد وعلى ! السلام على عباد الله الصالحين ! فلما رآه الناس هرعوا اليه وانثالوا عليه لتقبيل يده . فأسرع بعض الحاشية الى الخليفة المأمون وقال : يا أمير المؤمنين ! تدارك الناس ، واخرج وصل بهم والا خرجت الخلافة منك الآن ، فحمله هذا الأمر على الخروج بنفسه ، وجاء مسرعا والرضا لم يخلص الى المصلى لكثرة ازدحام الناس عليه ، فتقدم المأمون وصلى بالناس » .(٢)

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(١) الطبرى (ج ١٠ ص ٢٣٨ — ٢٤٢) . المعارف لابن قتيبة (ص ١٢٣) . ابن خلكان (ج ١ ص ٣٢١) . أبو الفدا (ج ٢ ص ٢٣) بتصرف واختصار .

(٢) مكتبة الجامعة بليدن . مخطوط رقم ١٩٧٩ ، ورقة ١٢٤ب . وقد ذكر محمد بن النعمان (مخطوط رقم ١٦٤٧ ورقة ٢٣٠ ا) ان الفضل بن سهل الوزير هو الذى أسرع الى المأمون وأخبره بخطورة المركز وما كان من شغب الناس .

ولو رجعنا الى بعض المصادر الشيعية (١) ، فانا نقف منها على أن العلاقات بين المأمون والرضا لم تكن قط على شيء من الصفاء . فقد كان الرضا يكثر من وعظه المأمون إذا خلا به ، ويخوفه بالله عز وجل ، ويقبح له ما يرتكبه من خلافه . وكان المأمون يظهر قبول ذلك منه ويبطن كراهيته له ». (٢) وكان الرضا يعتد بورعه ويرى نفسه فوق المأمون في ذلك . فقد دخل عليه يوما « فرآه يتوضأ والغلام يصب على يده اليمني. فقال له لا تشرك يا أمير المؤمنين بعبادة ربك أحدا . فصرف المأمون الغلام ، وتولى تمام وضوئه بنفسه ، وزاد ذلك في غيظه » (٣)

وقد ذكر لنا ابن النعمان أيضا أن الرضا كان يحط من شأن الحسن والفضل ابني سهل عند المأمون ، وأن هذين كانا يفسدان عليه أمره عند الخليفة ويتخذان من محبته في نفوس الشيعة فرصة لتحذير المأمون من شره الذي قد يعرض شخصه وخلافته للخطر . وقد نجحا في ذلك . فقد تلمس المأمون الوسائل للايقاع بالرضا (٤)

واذا صح هذا عن الفضل بن سهل ، فان التعليل الذي يصح أن يسلم به العقل أن الرضا — بما عرف عنه من ورع وزهد — لم يرتض خطة الفضل ، بالرغم مما أسدى اليه من جميل . فكان يأتي المأمون ويلفته الى عيوب الفضل . وكان هذا يأتي المأمون كذلك ، فيدس على الرضا . وأصغى المأمون بكلتا اذنيه الي كل من الرجلين ، واتخذ من ذلك سلاحا قضى به عليهما ، لأن هذا من أفراد البيت العلوي ومركزه في نفوس الخراسانيين على ماذكرنا ، وذاك من انصار هذا البيت ، ومن ورائه الخراسانيون أيضا . فكلاهما عدو للبيت العباسي ، ذلك البيت الذي اتجهت سياسة المأمون الى ارضائه أخيرا . وما كان يتسنى له ذلك الا بالتخلص من كلا الرجلين .

من هذا يتبين أن المأمون لم يكن يوما من الايام مخلصا في تولية الرضا عهده ،

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(١) لا نستطيع الجزم بأن ما ذكرناه مستمد من جميع المصادر الشيعية التي رجعنا اليها ، لأن بعض المؤرخين لم يذكر شيئا عن توتر العلاقات بين المأمون والرضا ، وانما اقتصروا على القول بأن المأمون هو الذي دبر موت الرضا . وقد ذكر ابن الجوزي (المكتبة الملكية بالقاهرة . مخطوط رقم ٥٥١ . ورقة ١٨٠) المؤرخ السني ان الذين دبروا قتل الرضا هم أفراد البيت العباسي ، لأنهم لم يرتضوا سياسة المأمون ، وأن المأمون نفسه لم يكن له يد في قتل الرضا ، يدل على ذلك ما أظهره من الحزن العميق عليه بعد وفاته .

(٢) ، (٣) ، (٤) محمد بن النعمان ، ورقة ٢٣١ ا .

وانماهذه سياسة لجأ اليها ليتألف بذلك قلوب الخراسانيين . ولاغرو فان المأمون الذى امتزج دمه العربى بالدم الفارسى قد عرف كيف يستخدم دهاءه . فقد رأى نفسه بين عوامل مختلفة : فاما أن يجيب أخاه الأمين الى ما طلبه منه ، وإما أن يستبد برأيه وهو فى خراسان بين بنى سهل وأنصارهم ، وإما أن يظهر العداء للعلويين ، وهذا لايتفق مع السياسة الرشيدة . اذاً لم يبق أمامه إلا أن يعرف هوى الخراسانيين فيسبقهم اليه . ومن ثم قرب العلويين — وكان هوى الخراسانيين فيهم — وولى الرضا عهده . وهكذا عرف المأمون كيف يلهب حماس الخراسانيين ويسوقهم إلى بغداد للقضاء على أخيه الأمين وجيوشه من العرب . وقد اندفع الفضل بن سهل فى هذا المضمار ، وأفرغ وسعه ليتغلب على الأمين ومن ناصروه . ويظهر أن سياسة المامون فى اختيار على الرضا لولاية العهد سياسة قديمة ، وأنه قد فكر فيها قبل اعتلائه عرش الخلافة ، وأن اسراره إلى الحسن والفضل ابنى سهل بما عزم عليه من ولاية الرضا عهده كانت كذلك قبل ظفر المأمون باخيه الأمين . يدلك على ذلك إجابة المأمون الحسن بن سهل عند ما عارض الفكرة بقوله : « إنى عاهدت الله ان ظفرت بالمخلوع أخرجت الخلافة الى أفضل آل أبى طالب . . . الخ » .

ومما يكشف عن سياسة المأمون ويدل على ذات نفسه نحو الرضا ماذكره أبو الحسن على بن يوسف القفطى فى كتابه « إخبار العلماء بأخبار الحكماء » حيث يقول . « قال عبد الله بن سهل بن نوبخت المنجم ، وهو منجم مأمونى كبير القدر فى صناعته ، يعلم المأمون قدره فى ذلك — وكان لايقدم الا عالما مشهودا له بعد الاختبار — وكان المأمون قد رأى آل أمير المؤمنين على بن أبى طالب متخشين مختفين من خوف المنصور ومن جاء بعده من بنى العباس ، ورأى العوام قد خفيت عنهم أمورهم بالاختفاء ، فظنوا بهم ما يظنون بالانبياء ، ويتفوهون فى صفتهم بما يخرجهم عن الشريعة من التغالى . فاراد معاقبة العامة على هذا الفعل . ثم افكر أنه إذا فعل هذا بالعوام زادهم اغراء به . فنظر فى هذا الأمر نظرا دقيقا وقال : لو ظهروا للناس ورأوا فسق الفاسق منهم وظلم الظالم ، لسقطوا من اعينهم ولانقلب شكرهم لهم ذما ، ثم قال . اذا أمرناهم بالظهور خافوا واستتروا وظنوا بنا سوءا . وإنما الرأى أن نقدم أحدهم ويظهر لهم أماما . فاذا رأوا هذا انسوا وظهروا واظهروا ما عندهم من الحركات الموجودة فى الآدميين ، ويتحقق للعوام حالهم وما هم عليه مما خفى بالاختفاء .

فاذا تحقق ذلك ، ازلتُ من اقمته ، ورددت الأمر إلى حالته الأولى . وقوى هـذا الرأى عنده ، وكتم باطنه عن خواصه ، وأظهر للفضل بن سهل انه يريد أن يقيم إماما من آل أمير المؤمنين (على بن أبي طالب) صلوات الله عليه . وأفكر هو وهو فيمن يصلح ، فوقع اجماعهما على الرضا. فاذا الفضل بن سهل فى تقرير ذلك وترتيبه، وهو لايعلم باطن الأمر ؛ وأخذ فى أختيار وقت لبيعة الرضا ، فاختار طالع السرطان وفيه المشترى . قال عبد الله بن سهل بن نوبجت هذا : اردت أن أعلم نية المأمون فى هذه البيعة ، وأن باطنه كظاهره أم لا ، لأن الأمر عظيم . فانفذت إليه فى هذه قبل العقد رقعة مع ثقة من خدمه — وكان يجىء فى مهم أمره — وقلت له إن هذه البيعة فى الوقت الذى اختاره ذو الرياستين لاتتم بل تنقص؛ لأن المشترى وإن كان فى الطالع فى بيت شرفه ، فان السرطان برج منقلب . وفى الرابع — وهو بيت العافية ـ المريخ ، وهو نحس . وقد اغفل ذو الرياستين هذا . فكتب المأمون إلى : قد وقفت على ذلك ، أحسن الله جزاءك ! فاحذر كل الحذر أن تنبه ذا الرياستين على هذا . فانه ان زال عن رأيه ، علمت أنك أنت المنبه له . فهم ذو الرياستين بذلك . فما زلت أصوب رأيه الأول خوفا من اتهام المأمون لي ، وما أغفلت أمرى حتى مضى أمر البيعة ، فسلمت من المأمون » (١)

من ذلك يتبين لنا أن المأمون لم يرد بهذا العمل الا اكتساب رضاء العنصر الخراسانى ، وضم العلويين إلى صفه ، وتهدئة الخواطر ، وأنه لم يكن مخلصا فى نقل الخلافة إلى العلويين،وأن هذا لم يكن الا سياسة دعت اليها الضرورة وسياسة الملك. ولاأدل على ذلك من نقضه كل ما أبرم من ولاية الرضا عهده حينما أمكنته الفرصة.

وكان من أثر هذه السياسة أن ساءت العلاقات بين المأمون وكل من الرضا والفضل بن سهل من جهة ، كما ساءت بين الرضا والوزير من جهة أخرى ، حتى انتهى الأمر بتلك المأساة التاريخية ، وهي اغتيال كل من الفضل والرضا . لهذا لانعجب اذا رأينا المأمون يعمل على التخلص من هذين الرجلين ، وقد هاج الناس ببغداد وماجوا وغرقت حاضرة العباسيين فى لجج الفوضى ، وخاض الناس فى خلع المأمون ؛ وفكروا في تولية ابراهيم بن المهدى . وقد كتب الحسن بن سهل إلى أخيه الفضل — وقد أدرك شعور المأمون نحوه ـ ينصح له أن يتخذ الحيطة خشية

(١) القفطى : إخبار العلماء بأخبار الحكماء (ص ٢٢١ — ٢٢٣)

الاغتيال ، وقال فى كتابه: « إنى نظرت فى تحويل السنة ، فوجدت فيه أنك تذوق فى شهر كذا يوم الأربعاء حر الحديد وحر النار . وأرى أن تحجم أنت وأمير المؤمنين والرضا عن دخول الحمام فى هذا اليوم ، ليزول عنك نحسه » . وقد أضاف نفس هذا المؤلف أن الفضل دخل الحمام فى يوم الاربعاء الذى حذره منه أخوه ، فقبضت عليه جماعة من الرجال واغتالوه (١) .

ويظهر أن كتاب الحسن بن سهل لم يصل إلى أخيه الفضل قبل يوم الاربعاء المشئوم، أو أنه أرغم على دخول الحمام بعد أن وصله الكتاب. وهكذا صدق قول الشاعر:

ما للرجال مع القضاء محالة　　ذهب القضاء بحيلة الاقوام

ويبدو لنا من كتاب الحسن بن سهل إلى أخيه الفضل ، أن الحسن قد لهج بما كان سائدا فى ذلك الوقت في البيت العباسى ببغداد ، وبما كان من هياجهم ضد المأمون ، لتوليته رجلا من العلويين . وكانت هذه الروح السائدة ببغداد فى ذلك الوقت تحوم حول هؤلاء الثلاثة — المأمون والرضا والفضل — والتخلص منهم . لذلك هاج الناس وماجوا ، وسقطت هيبة الحكومة .

وكان للفضل بن سهل شيعة قوية تؤيده وتنصره . فلما رأوا ما حل به ، اتهموا المأمون ورموه بالاشتراك فى هذه المؤامرة . فقد شغب قواد خراسان وجنودهم وغيرهم من أنصار الوزير على الخليفة ، وتجمعوا ببابه وهموا باحراقه . ولما رأى المأمون أن حياته مهددة بالخطر طلب إلى على الرضا أن يركب إلى الثوار ويصرفهم .وكان الرضا هو الوسيلة الوحيدة لنجاة الخليفة وتهدئة الخواطر ، لمحبة أهل خرسان له وتفانيهم فى الاخلاص لطاعته . ولا غرو فان إشارة واحدة منه كانت كفيلة بتهدئة خواطر الثائرين وعدولهم عن رأيهم . وقد ذكر لنا ياسر ، الذى صحب على الرضا فى خروجه ، والذى روى عنه مؤلف المخطوط الذى اعتمدنا عليه فى هذه النقطة ، ما يبين لنا مدى محبة الخراسانيين للرضا ، وتفانيهم فى طاعته

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(١) محمد بن النعمان . ورقة ٢٣٠ ب .

ورضاه حيث يقول : « فلما خرجنا على باب الدار ، نظر إلى الناس وقد ازدحموا عليه . فاشار اليهم (فقال لهم فى الأصل) بيده ، تفرقوا . فقال ياسر : فاقبل الناس والله يقع بعضهم على بعض ، وما أشار الى أحد الا ركض ومضى لوجهه » .(١) .

هكذا مات الفضل بن سهل وتفرق انصاره ، ونجا المأمون مما كان يتهدده من الخطر فى ذلك الظرف العصيب . وبموت الفضل بن سهل لم يبق أمام المأمون الا على الرضا . فلننظار كيف تخلص منه .

اختلفت كلة المؤرخين فى كيفية اغتيال الرضا . فمنهم من ذكر ان المأمون قد أعطاه عنقودا من العنب المسموم أو عصير الرمان . ومنهم من قال انه دبر قتله . ولعل هذا القول أقرب الى الحقيقة . فقد ذكر محمد بن النعمان في كتابه «الارشاد» أن المأمون أمر أحد رجاله أن يطيل أظفاره ، والا يطلع أحدا على ذلك ؛ ثم استدعاه ، فأخرج اليه شيئا يشبه التمر هندى وقال له : « اعجن هذا بيدك جميعا » ، ففعل . ثم دخل على الرضا ، فكلم المأمون بما أغضبه ؛ فصاح المأمون بأحد غلمانه ، وأمره بأن يقدم الى الرضا ماء الرمان بعد عصره . ثم سقاه المأمون الرضا ، فلم يلبث الا يومين حتى مات . وقد ذكر ابن أبى الصلت ، الذى روى محمد بن النعمان هذه الحكاية عنه ، انه دخل على الرضا وقد خرج المأمون من عنده ، فقال . يا أبا الصلت ! لقد فعلوها والله . وجعل يوحد الله » . وقد روى لنا نفس هذا المؤرخ رواية أخرى عن كيفية موت الرضا ؛ فذكر انه كان يحب العنب ، « فأخذ له شيء منه ؛ فجعل فى موضع أقماعه الابر أياما . ثم نزعت وجيء به اليه ؛ فأكل منه وهو فى علته التي ذكرناها ، فقتله » (٢) .

وقد اتفق المؤرخون على ان المأمون قد عبر عن وفاة على الرضا بأعمق مظاهر الحزن .

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(١) محمد بن النعمان . ورقة ٢٣٠ ب وما يليها .

(٢) محمد بن النعمان . ورقة ٢٣١ ب ، ٢٣٢

وهكذا . . ـت سياسة المأمون ، مقتل الفضل بن سهل ، وقتل على الرضا بالسم ودفـ . . ـباد من أعمال ..ـس التى دفن فيها الرشيد ، وحرم ابنه محمد من ..لاية العهـ ..ـد أبيه ، وعاد ..ـون ثانية الى السواد شعار العباسيين .

و..ستطيع الآن ..ـ ..ـنم أن نرجح الغرض الثانى ، وهو ان ذلك الشعور الدينى ..ى كان . . به المأمون نحو الرضا ، إنما يحمل بين ثناياه مشروعا سياسيا مى . . ..ب ولاء الخراسانيين الذين أشربت نفوسهم حب العقائد الشيعية .

أحابيش قريش

هل كانوا عربا أو حبشا ؟

لعبد الحميد العبادي

يستعمل لفظ (الأحابيش) فى الدلالة على القوة العسكرية التى كانت قريش تستأجرها قبيل الاسلام للدفاع عن بلدها وقوافلها التى كانت تتردد بين الشام واليمن . ويؤخذ من صريح النصوص العربية ، لغوية كانت أو تاريخية ، ان هذه القوة كانت عبارة عن حلف قوامه أحياء من عرب كنانة وخزيمة اللتين كانتا تنزلان أغوار تهامة ، ومن خزاعة التى كانت تنزل بظاهر مكة . بهذه النصوص أخذ المستشرق الألمانى الكبير ، فلهاوزن ، فقال فى كتابه الذى ألفه فى الوثنية العربية (١) هذه العبارة Die politischen Verbündeten der Quraish sind die Ahabisch... ومعناها « الأحابيش أحلاف قريش السياسيون » .

ولكن الأب لامنس المستشرق اليسوعى المعروف ، نشر فى المجلة الأسيوية (٢) مقالا ضافيا عنوانه Les Ahâbis' et l'Organisation Militaire de la Mecque ذهب فيه الى ان رواة اللغة العربية قد وهموا فى تفسير هذا اللفظ ، وان الأحابيش كانوا كلهم أوجلهم على أقل تقدير زنوجا من بلاد الحبشة ، وان رواة السيرة تعمدوا القول بأنهم عرب أنفة من أن يقولوا ان قريشا كانت فى الجاهلية تستعين السودان فى الدفاع عن حوزتها (٣).

ومع ان الأب لامنس قد أنفق جهدا عظيما فى التدليل على صحة نظريته وأن أحدا ، فيما أعلم ، لم يتصد لمناقشة هذه النظرية ، فانى أرى الموضوع لا يزال مفتقرا الى التحقيق . وأريد فى هذا البحث الموجز أن أثبت ثلاثة أمور :

أولا — ان الأحابيش كانوا عربا .

ثانيا — ان القول بعربيتهم هو المتفق مع تاريخهم .

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(١) Reste Arabischen Heidentums. 86

(٢) Journal Asiatique, VIII, 1916. 425 482

(٣) Ibid p. 457

ثالثا — ان العبيد الذين كانت قريش تستعين بهم فى حروبها لم يكونوا من الأحابيش فى شيء .

(١)

لا شك ان بين كلمتى (حبش) و (أحابيش) تجانسا شديدا فى اللفظ واتحادا فى المعنى من بعض الوجوه . ولكن ثاني اللفظين ينفرد بمعان تعدل به فى أغلب أحواله عن مدلول اللفظ الأول عدولا تاما . جاء فى القاموس المحيط فى مادة (حبش) (الحباشة كثمامة الجماعة من الناس ليسوا من قبيلة كالأحبُوشة) وجاء فى لسان العرب فى المادة المذكورة (والأحبوشة جماعة الحبش ، ويقال هم الجماعة أيا كانوا لأنهم اذا تجمعوا اسودوا ، والتحبيش التجمع .... وفي المجلس حباشات وهباشات أى ناس ليسوا من قبيلة واحدة ، وهم الحباشة الجماعة والأحابيش . وتحبشوا عليه اجتمعوا . . . . والحبشان الجراد الذى صار كالنمل اسودادا .) فالتفسير اللغوى يفيد أن لكلمة (الأحابيش) ثلاثة معان خاصة (١) الجماعة من الناس ليسوا من قبيلة واحدة . (٢) التجمع والتأشب ، ولا بأس أن نلاحظ بهذه المناسبة ان كلمة (حبش) و (حباش) و (تحبيش) تفيد هذا المعنى في اللغة المصرية الدارجة (٣) كثرة العدد ويكنى عنها بالسواد ، لأن العرب تنعت الشيء اذا كثر وتكاثف بسواد اللون .

هذا التفسير اللغوى يتمشى مع مدلول الأخبار الواردة فى بيان أصل نظام (الاحابيش) . جاء فى سيرة ابن هشام ما يأتي : (قال ابن اسحق ، والاحابيش بنوالحارث بن عبد مناة بن كنانة ، والهون بن خزيمة بن مدركة ، وبنو المصطلق من خزاعة . قال ابن هشام تحالفوا جميعا فسموا الاحابيش لأنهم تحالفوا بواد يقال له الأحبش بأسفل مكة) (١) . ويقول صاحب معجم البلدان (حبشى .... جبل بأسفل مكة بنعمان الاراك يقال به سميت أحابيش قريش ، وذلك أن بني المصطلق وبنى الهون بن خزيمة اجتمعوا عنده وحالفوا قريشا وتحالفوا بالله إنا ليد واحدة على غيرنا ما سجا ليل ووضح نهار ، وما رسا حبشى مكانه ، فسموا أحابيش قريش باسم الجبل وبينه وبين مكة ستة أميال . مات عنده عبد الرحمن بن أبى بكر الصديق فجأة فحمل

(١) سيرة ابن هشام : طبعة جو تنجن : ص ٢٤٥ — ٢٤٦

على رقاب الرجال الى مكة) (١) وجاء فى لسان العرب (٢) (وحبشى جبل بأسفل مكة يقال منه سمى أحابيش قريش ، وذلك أن بنى المصطلق وبنى الهون بن خزيمة اجتمعوا عنده فحالفوا قريشا ، وتحالفوا بالله انا ليد واحدة على غيرنا ما سجا ليل ووضح نهار ؛ وما أرسى حبيش مكانه ، فسموا أحابيش قريش باسم الجبل) ولا بأس فى هذا المقام أن نستدل بشعر السيرة فانه على كثرة منحوله وقلة صحيحه ، شعر قيل فى القرن الثانى الهجري ويبين ما كان متعارفا إذ ذاك عن الأحابيش . قال هبيرة بن وهب المخزومى يفتخر بيوم أحد : (٣)

سقنا كنانة من أطراف ذى يمن — عرض البلاد على ما كان يزجيها
قالت كنانة أنى تذهبون بنا ؟ — قلنا النخيل فأموها ومن فيها !

فأجابه حسان بن ثابت فقال :—

سقتم كنانة جهلا من سفاهتكم — إلى الرسول فجند الله مخزيها
جمعتوهم أحابيشاً بلا حسب — أئمة الكفر أغرتكم طواغيها

فهذه الأبيات صريحة فى أن المراد بالأحابيش هو كنانة . وقال حسان أيضاً : —

إذا عضل سيقت إلينا كأنها — جداية شرك معلمات الحواجب
أقمنا لهم طعنا مبيرا منكلا — وحزناهم بالضرب من كل جانب
فلولا لواء الحارثية أصبحوا — يباعون فى الأسواق بيع الجلائب

وعضل حى من بنى الهون بن مدركة (٤) فهى من الأحابيش . ومعنى البيت الأخير أنه لولا استقتال هذا الحى حول اللواء الذى رفعته يوم أحد تلك المرأة الحارثية لوقعوا فى الأسر فبعناهم بالأسواق كما تباع العبيد المجاوبة .

من هذه النقول التاريخية نأخذ أن الاحابيش :

(١) كانت أحياء عربية شتى تنتمى إلى كنانة وخزيمة وخزاعة .

(٢) ان هذه الأحياء تجمعت بواد يقال له الأحبش . أو عند جبل يقال له حبشى ، وتحالفت فسميت الأحابيش

(١) معجم البلدان — مادة (حبشى)
(٢) لسان العرب — مادة (حبش)
(٣) سيرة ابن هشام ص ٦١٢ — ٦١٣
(٤) » » » ص ٦٢٨

(٣) أنها حالفت قريشا على التناصر والتآزر .

فالمدلول التاريخي لكلمة (الأحابيش) متمش مع مدلولها اللغوى غير انه يجعل مناط التسمية تحالف هذه القبائل وتحالفها قريشا بمكان معين ، وهو أمر لا يؤثر بحال فى صحة النتيجة التى وصلنا إليها بهذه المقارنة وهى أن الأحابيش عرب . والحق أنا بإزاء قبيلة عربية آخذة فى التكون بواسطة الحلف الذى كان سببا فى تكون كثير من القبائل العربية القديمة . ولولا مجىء الاسلام وحيلولته دون تمام المزج بين الأحياء المؤلفة للأحابيش لأصبحت هذه الاحياء قبيلة عربية صحيحة على نحو ما أصبحت البطون التى منها تألفت قبيلتا (تنوخ)[١] و (الرباب) [٢]

(٢)

وجنسية الأحابيش العربية يؤكدها تاريخ حلفهم الذى نرجح انه قام فى النصف الثانى من القرن السادس الميلادى وانتهى بفتح الرسول مكة سنة ثمان للهجرة . فانا إذا رجعنا إلى تاريخ عصر النبوة وجدنا الأحابيش طوال ذلك العصر الخطير قوة عربية لها خصائص القبيلة العربية ، من سيد يتزعمها ، وأرض تنزلها ، وراية تخف بها عند الحرب ، وانها كانت من حيث علاقاتها السياسية بقريش تنزل منها منزلة الحليف من الحليف ، والند من الند ، وأنها كانت مسموعة الكلمة فى الشؤن العامة لقريش ؛ وإلى القارىء النصوص التى تؤيد ذلك : —

(١) كان سيد الأحابيش فى السنوات الأولى من عهد النبوة رجلا يقال له (ابن الدغنة) . فلما خرج أبو بكر من مكة مهاجرا للأذى الذى ناله من قريش لقيه ابن الدغنة فأجاره ورده إلى مكة . فلم تعرض قريش لأبى بكر بسوء احتراما لهذا الجوار . وظلت كذلك إلى أن خافت أن يفتتن أبناؤها فشكت أبا بكر إلى مجيره فما كان من أبى بكر إلا أن رد على ابن الدغنة جواره [٣]

(٢) يقول الطبرى فى كلامه على غزوة أحد رواية عن ابن اسحق (وقد كان الحليس بن زبان أخو بنى الحارث بن عبد مناة ، وهو يومئذ سيد الأحابيش ، مر بأبى سفيان وهو يضرب فى شدق حمزة بن عبد المطلب بزج الرمح ويقول ذق عقق !

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(١) الطبرى — ص ٧٤٦

(٢) الاشتقاق لابن دريد ص ١١١

(٣) سيرة ابن هشام ٢٤٥ — ٢٤٧

فقال الحليس يابنى كنانة ! هذا سيد قريش يتسع بابن عمه ماتزون لحما . فقال ويحك اكتمها على فانها كانت زلة) (١).

(٣) ويحدث الطبرى في خبر الحديبية عن ابن اسحق عن الزهرى فيقول (ثم بعثوا إليه الحليس بن علقمة أو ابن زبان ، وكان يومئذ سيد الأحابيش ، وهو أحد بالحارث بن عبد مناة بن كنانة ، فلما رآه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، قال إن هذا من قوم يتألهون. فابعثوا الهدى فى وجهه حتى يراه. فلما رأى الهدى يسيل عليه من عرض الوادى في قلائده . قد أكل أوباره من طول الحبس ، رجع إلى قريش ولم يصل الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . أعظاما لما رأى ، فقال يامعشر قريش ! أنى قد رأيت مالا يحل ، صد الهدى فى قلائده قد أكل أوباره من طول الحبس عن محله . قالوا له أجلس فأنما انت رجل أعرابى لاعلم لك . . . . . . فغضب الحليس عند ذلك ، وقال يامعشر قريش ! والله ما على هذا حالفنا كم ، ولاعلى هذا عاقدنا كم ، أن تصدوا عن بيت الله من جاء معظما له . والذى نفس الحليس بيده لتخلن بين محمد وبين ما جاء له ، أو لانفرن بالأحابيش نفرة رجل واحد . فقالو له مه ! كف عنا ياحليس حتى نأخذ لأنفسنا ما نرضى به) (٢).

(٤) روى الطبرى فى خبر الحديبية أيضا عن ابن اسحق أن النبى دعا خراش ابن أمية الخزاعى فبعثه إلى قريش بمكة وحمله على جمل له يقال له الثعلب ليبلغ أشرافهم عنه ما جاء له . فعقروا به جمل رسول الله وأرادوا قتله ، فمنعته الأحابيش، فخلوا سبيله حتى أتى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم (٣) .

وقد عرف الرسول كيف يفل قوة الأحابيش التى كانت تعتز بها قريش . وسلك إلى تلك الغاية طريق السياسة وطريق العنف معا . فأما من حيث السياسة فقد اجتذب إلى جانبه قبائل خزاعة وكنانة التى تنتمى اليها أحياء الأحابيش . فكانت خزاعة كما يروى ابن اسحق (مسلمهم ومشركهم عيبة نصح رسول الله صلى الله

(١) الطبرى — ص ١٥٣٨
(٢) » » » ١٥٤٢
(٣) الطبرى — ١٤١٨

بتهامة ، صفقتهم معه ، لا يخفون عنه شيئا) (١) كما أن غفارا (٢) وهى كنانة ، وأسلم (٣) وهى من خزاعة ، أخذتا جانبه ووردت فى الثناء عليهما أحاديث عدة . فلما كان صلح الحديبية أخذت خزاعة صراحة جانب الرسول ودخلت فى عقده ، كما دخلت بكر بن عبد مناة بن كنانة فى عقد قريش . وأما العنف فنتبينه فى غزوة بنى المصطلق سنة ٦ للهجرة : بهذه السياسة المحكمة انكسرت شوكة الأحابيش كما يري من موقفهم فى صلح الحديبية . وفى يوم فتح مكة قاتلت الأحابيش خالد بن الوليد بأسفل مكة قتالا يسيرا . (٤)

واستعانة أهل الحواضر باهل البوادى فى الحرب كانت ظاهرة سياسية عامة فى بلاد العرب قبل الاسلام . فكما كانت الأحابيش بالأضافة الى قريش ، كانت الاوس والخزرج بالأضافة الى يهود يثرب (٥) ، وكانت بنو عامر بن صعصعة بالنسبة الى ثقيف بالطائف (٦) ولقد عاقد يهود خيبر بنى فزارة على نصف غلة أرضهم إذا هم حاربوا معهم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم . (٧)

(٣)

وبعد فلقد كان بمكة قوة من الحبش حقا . ولكن هذه القوة لم تكن من الأحابيش فى شىء ، بل كانت عبارة عن طبقة من العبيد مسلوبة الحقوق العامة ومسخرة لأشراف مكة فى حالى السلم والحرب ، بعض هذه الطبقة قد شرى بالمال ، وبعضها كان من فلول حملة أبرهة الحبشى على الحجاز . يقول الأزرقى (٨) (وأقام بمكة فلال من الجيش وعسفاء وبعض من ضمه العسكر يعتملون ويرعون لمكة) . ويقول صاحب الأغانى (٩) (وكان لعبد الله بن ابى ربيعة عبيد من

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(١) سيرة ابن هشام ص ٥٨٩
(٢) المغرى — ١٦٣٥
(٣) » » »
(٤) » » »
(٥) السمهودى ح ١ ص ١٢٥ (طبع مصر)
(٦) ابن الاثير ح ١ ص ٢٥٣ (طبع مصر)
(٧) السمهودى ح ١ ص ٢١٤
(٨) أخبار مكة ص ٩٧
(٩) الأغانى ح ١ ص ٣٢

الحبشة يتصرفون فى جميع اليمن وكان عددهم كثيرا . فروى عن سفيان بن عيينة أنه قيل لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم هل لك فى حبش بنى المغيرة تستعين بهم (١) : فقال لا خير فى الحبش ان جاعوا سرقوا وان شبعوا زنوا . وان فيهم لخلتين حسنتين : أطعام الطعام والبأس يوم البأس) . فلما ظهر الأسلام بمكة أسرع عدد وافر من هذه الطبقة الى اعتناقه ، فجر ذلك عليهم اضطهاد أوليائهم وقبائلهم ، كما كان من أسباب اشتداد الخصومة بين الرسول وقريش . من هذه الطبقة المغلوبة على أمرها أبو رافع ، وبلال بن رباح ، وعامر بن فهيرة ، ووحشى قاتل حمزة يوم أحد ، وصُؤاب حامل لواء قريش فى ذلك اليوم . كل هؤلاء كانوا ارقاء قد نص فى كتب السيرة على ساداتهم وعلى طريقة تحرر بعضهم من الرق .

ومما يدل على تميز هـذه الطبقة عن الأحابيش قول الطبرى فى غزوة أحد(٢) (فلما التقى الناس كان أول من لقيهم أبوعامر فى الأحابيش وعبدان أهل مكة) وعطف عبدان على ماقبلها هنا عطف نسق يفيد المغايرة ؛ وليس عطف توضيح وبيان كما يرى الأب لامنس (٣).

بهذه التفرقة بين أحابيش قريش وعبيدها يستقيم قول النصوص التى أوردناها أن الاحابيش كانوا حلفاء قريش ، وقول صاحب لباب النقول (٤) (واستأجر أبو سفيان يوم أحـد الفين من الأحابيش) فالمحالفة والاستئجار إنما ينصبان على الاحرار دون الارقاء .

وعنـدما دون عمر بن الخطاب الدواوين أفرد لهذه الطبقة ديوانا خاصا سماه ديوان الحبش . يقول الماوردى (٥) (وذلك لمكان بلال منهم)

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(١) وذلك عند مسيره الى هوازن
(٢) الطبرى — ص ١٣٩٩
(٣) Journal Asiatique, VIII, 444.
(٤) — لباب النقول فى اسباب النزول للسيوطى ص ١٢٥ من الطبعة المصرية
(٥) الاحكام السلطانية (وضع الديوان)

بيان عن بعض المؤلفات الحديثة لاعضاء هيئة التدريس بالكلية

مؤلفات باللغة العربية

الشاهنامة

الملحمة الفارسية الخالدة التى تتضمن تاريخ الفرس وأساطيرهم منذ أقدم العصور إلى الفتح الأسلامي .

بدأ نظمها الدقيقى الشاعر فى القرن الرابع الهجرى ثم قتل بعد أن نظم منها الف بيت فخلفه فى احتمال هذا العبء العظيم أبو القاسم الفردوسى فنظم أكثر من خمسين الف بيت أدخل فى ثناياها مانظمه الدقيقى . واستوعب فى الكتاب ما أثر عن تاريخ الفرس وأساطيرهم وتناول حوادث كثيرة عن الأمم الأخرى كالترك والهند ، والعرب والروم . وقد عمل فى ذلك زهاء ثلاثين سنة وانتهى حوالى سنة ٤٠٠ ﻫ

وفى أوائل القرن السابع الهجرى ترجم الكتاب إلى العربية ترجمة مجملة أبو الفتح البندارى وقدمه للسلطان الملك المعظم من ملوك الأيوبيين في الشام .

وقد جمع عبد الوهاب عزام المدرس بالكلية خمسة من أقدم المخطوطات فصحح منها نص الكتاب ثم أكمل الترجمة فى مواضع كثيرة ، منها المقدمة الطويلة التى نظمها الفردوسى وحذفها البنداري . وكذلك قارن الترجمة بالأصل الفارسى وبين ما بينهما من فروق . ثم علق على الكتاب تعليقات كثيرة مفصلة بين فيها مواضع الأساطير الفارسية من الأساطير الآرية القديمة . وقارن الحوادث التاريخية بما روى فى كتب اليونان والعرب وما كشفت عنه الآثار القديمة .

ثم كتب مقدمة مسهبة عن القصص الفارسى وتاريخ الفردوسي ، والشاهنامة وموضوعاتها المختلفة الخ

الفاطميون فى مصر

وأعمالهم السياسـيـة والدينية بوجه خاص

للدكتور حسن ابراهيم حسن

الأستاذ المساعد بكلية الآداب

ثلثمائة وتسعون صحيفة من القطع الكبير فى مجلد واحد . ترجمها المؤلف من اللغة الانجليزية الى اللغة العربية . وهي الرسالة التى اعتمدتها جامعة لندن لدرجة الدكتوراه فى الآداب (D. Litt.) (فى التاريخ الاسلامى) . والكتاب مصدر بكلمة للأستاذ المرحوم السير توماس ارنولد .

وقد تناول فيه المؤلف الادوار التى اختلفت على حركة الشيعية وأطوار الدعوة السرية للعلويين فى عهد الدولتين الأموية والعباسية الى ان قامت الدولة الفاطمية فى بلاد المغرب ثم فى مصر ، والعوامل التى أدت الى قيامها وسقوطها فى بسط كثير ، كما صور الحالة السياسية والدينية والأدبية ، ونظام الحكومة والادارة ، وموارد البلاد المالية وحكامها ، وساستها ، وشعراءها .

وقد اعتمد المؤلف فى كتابه على المصادر الاصلية ، وبخاصة الخطية منها فى مكاتب برلين والقاهرة وليدن ولندن واكسفورد وباريس .

وبالكتاب تسعة مصورات جغرافية واثنتان وثلاثون صورة تمثل المساجد وغيرها من الأماكن الأثرية والطرف النفيسة التى بقيت من عهد الفاطميين .

وقد قامت وزارة المعارف العمومية بطبع الكتاب بالمطبعة الأميرية بالقاهرة .

ضحى الاسلام

تأليف

أحمد أمين

الأستاذ المساعد بكلية الآداب بالجامعة المصرية

كتبه مؤلفه متابعة للسلسلة التى بدأها بكتابه « فجر الاسلام » الذى بحث فى الحياة العقلية للعرب في الجاهلية وصدر الاسلام الى آخر الدولة الأموية .

وضحى الاسلام يبحث فى الحياة العقلية للعصر العباسى الأول من سنة ١٣٢ — سنة ٢٣٢ — وقد وقع فى جزءين ظهر منه جزؤه الأول وفيه بابان الباب الأول فى الحياة الاجتماعية واقتصر فيه على ما كان له أثر قوى فى العلم والفن فبحث فيه عن سكان المملكة الاسلامية والعناصر التى تكونت منها المملكة وعملية التوليد وميزات المولدين — ثم بحث فى الصراع بين العرب والموالى وأشكال الصراع ونتيجته ، ثم فى الشعوبية وأثرها — والرقيق وأثره فى العلم والفن — ثم فى حياة اللهو والجد وتأثيرهما فى العلم والأدب — ثم فى حياة الزندقة والايمان وبذلك تم الباب الأول .

وفى الباب الثاني تكلم في أهم الثقافات فى ذلك العصر فتكلم فى الثقافة الفارسية وعلاقتها بالأدب العربى واختار ابن المقفع كممثل لهذه الثقافة وبحث فى كتبه الأدب الصغير والكبير ورسالة الصحابة وكليلة ودمنه وكتاب الزندقة المنسوب اليه — ثم تكلم فى الثقافة الهندية وعلاقتها بالمسلمين من حيث الالهيات والأدب والقصص والعادات والشرائع .

ثم بحث فى الثقافة اليونانية الرومانية ومدارسها فى الشرق وحركة الترجمة وأثرها فى المسلمين وتكلم فى حنين بن اسحاق كممثل للثقافة اليونانية .

ثم الثقافة العربية وموقفها إزاء العلوم وما كان لها من لغة وأدب واختار المبرد كممثل لها وحلل لذلك كتاب الكامل .

وعقد فصلا للثقافات الدينية من يهودية ونصرانية واسلام وعلاقة كل بالآخرين .

وختم هذا الجزء الأول بفصل فى امتزاج الثقافات ومقدار أثر كل ثقافة وترجم للجاحظ وابن قتيبة وأبى حنيفة الدينورى من حيث انهم يمثلون مزج هذه الثقافات وحلل كتبهم البيان والتبيين والحيوان وعيون الأخبار وكتاب النبات .
ويقع هذا الجزء في نحو ٤٣٠ صفحة من القطع الكبير .

كتاب نقد النثر

لأبي الفرج قدامة بن جعفر الكاتب البغدادى

نشر بتحقيق

طه حسين و عبد الحميد العبادى

هذا كتاب في البيان العربي لم يسبق نشره . ألفه حوالى سنة ٣٣٠ هـ . أبو الفرج قدامة بن جعفر صاحب كتابى (نقد الشعر) و (الخراج وصنعة الكتابة) والمتوفى سنة ٣٣٧ هـ . وقد قصد فيه الى معارضة كتاب الجاحظ المسمى (بالبيان والتبيين) والاستدراك به عليه كما صرح فى مقدمة هذا الكتاب .

وقيمة كتاب (نقد النثر) تنحصر فى الحقيقة فى أنه يعطى القارىء صورة واضحة للبيان العربي المتأثر بالفلسفة اليونانية . ذلك بأن قدامة نفسه قد درس هذه الفلسفة وتضلع منها وبخاصة منطق ارسطو .

موضوعات الكتاب هى : مقدمة المؤلف ـ باب قسمة العقل ـ باب فيه ذكر وجوه البيان ـ باب فيه البيان الأول وهو « الاعتبار » ـ باب فى ذكر القياس ـ باب فى الخبر ـ باب فى البيان الثاني وهو « الاعتقاد » ـ باب فى البيان الثالث وهو « العبارة » ـ الاشتقاق ـ ما اعتلت فاؤه ـ ما أعتلت عينه ـ ما اعتلت لامه ـ التشبيه ـ اللحن ـ الرمز ـ الوحى ـ الاستعارة ـ الأمثال ـ اللغز ـ الحذف ـ الصرف ـ المبالغة ـ القطع والعطف ـ التقديم والتأخير ـ باب تأليف الكلام ـ الكلام على الشعر ـ باب فيه المنثور وما جاء فيه ـ الكلام على الخطابة والترسل ـ اختيار الرسول ـ الجدل والمجادلة ـ أدب الجدل ـ الحديث .

والكتاب مصدر بحث ضاف كتبه الدكتور طه حسين وضمنه الكلام على تطور البيان العربي من الجاحظ الى عبد القاهر الجرجاني ، مع تحليل خاص لكتاب نقد النثر . وقد نقل عبد الحميد العبادي هذا البحث الى اللغة العربية ، ثم اتبعه بفصل عرض فيه لحياة قدامة العامة والأدبية وحقق فيه نسبة كتاب (نقد النثر) اليه .

وقد طبع الكتاب على نفقة الجامعة المصرية بمطبعة دار الكتب المصرية عن النسخة الخطية المحفوظة بالاسكوريال بأسبانيا . ويطلب الكتاب من مكتبة الجامعة وثمنه ١٠ قروش صاغ ؟

مؤلفات باللغات الأوروبية :

(تجد عنها بيانا أوفى فى القسم الأوروبى من هذا العدد)

جان — مارى كاريه : زوار مصر من الكتاب والرحالة الفرنسيين
فى مجلدين باللغة الفرنسية القاهرة ١٩٣٣

هرمان دوب : بحث تاريخى فى طبع الكتب الفرنسية فى بلاد البلجيك
بلا إذن أصحابها فى المدة بين ١٨١٥ و ١٨٥٢
باللغة الفرنسية لوفان ١٩٣٢

Ahmad Amin: *Duha-l Islam*, Cairo 1933. Continues the author's "Fadjr-l Islam" and is mainly concerned with a critical study of the intellectual life of the Moslems betwen 132 and 232 AH.

Taha Hussein and Abdel Hamid al-Abbady: *Kitab Nakd al Shi'r* by 'Abi al Faradj Kudàmà, Cairo 1933. A critical edition of the manuscript original preserved in the Escurial.

La deuxième période, de 1830 à 1845, est l'âge d'or de la contrefaçon. De grandes sociétés de librairie se fondent à Bruxelles; elles exportent de grandes quantités de livres dans le monde entier.

La troisième période de 1845 à 1852, est le déclin de la contrefaçon, définitivement supprimée par la convention franco-belge du 22 Août 1852

Nous tirerons de cette étude des enseignements multiples. Il n'est pas sans intérêt d'apprendre que la propriété de la pensée qui nous paraît aujourd'hui d'une légitimité indiscutable n'a été reconnue par la jurisprudence internationale qu'au milieu du XIXème siècle. D'autre part, et contrairement à un préjugé assez généralement accrédité, le choix des contrefacteurs ne s'est pas porté sur les œuvres libertines ou révolutionnaires interdites dans leur pays d'origine; seul l'intérêt commercial les a guidés et ce sont les livres à succès, d'une vente assurée, qui furent ainsi réédités. Enfin, conclusion qui dépasse singulièrement les limites d'une simple étude bibliographique, la contrefaçon a été utile à la pensée française: les éditeurs belges, en effet, mieux organisés et plus habiles que leurs confrères de France ont fait connaître à la grande masse des lecteurs étrangers des œuvres françaises qui, sans la contrefaçon, n'auraient peut-être jamais franchi nos frontières.

Cet important ouvrage sera suivi d'un catalogue des ouvrages contrefaits, qui rendra certainement de grands services aux bibliophiles.

P. M. MASSIAS.

Publications in Arabic:

N.B. — Fuller Notices appear in the Arabic section of this Number:

Abd el Wahhab Azzam: *Al Shahnameh*, Cairo, 1932. A critical edition of Bondari's old translation into Arabic.

Hassan Ibrahim Hassan: *The Fatimids in Egypt,* Cairo 1932, A study of the rise, progress and decline of Fatimid power based on original and specially on manuscript sources.

mancier Edmond About, et les invités du khédive Ismaïl qui participèrent à l'inauguration du canal de Suez; parmi ces derniers, le peintre Eugène Fromentin.

Chaque chapitre est suivi de la bibliographie correspondante.

« Avec M. Jean-Marie Carré, a-t-on dit, on accomplit un double voyage, l'un à travers l'Egypte, l'autre à travers la littérature française, et il faut espérer que cette suggestive étude contribuera, à sa façon, à resserrer les relations intellectuelles entre l'Egypte et la France ».

Ajoutons que les admirables illustrations de l'ouvrage se composent de reproductions de gravures anciennes des XVIème, XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles, et de tableaux de peintres français du XIXème. Plusieurs sont tirés de collections particulières, et certains ont figuré récemment au Caire dans une exposition rétrospective de la peinture française en Egypte.

Herman DOPP.

Herman Dopp: *La Contrefaçon des livres français en Belgique*, 1815-1852. In.-8°, VII + 250 pp. Librairie Universitaire, 10-12, Rue de la Monnaie. Louvain, 1932.

M. H. Dopp, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Egyptienne, vient de publier une très intéressante étude sur « La Contrefaçon des livres français en Belgique ».

Après avoir précisé le sens du mot contrefaçon, qui n'implique pas, en librairie, l'idée d'une imitation frauduleuse mais seulement d'une reproduction non autorisée par l'auteur ou ses ayant droits, M. Dopp divise l'histoire de cette industrie en trois périodes:

La première, sous le régime hollandais, va de 1815 à 1830. C'est la période d'organisation. Bruxelles voit s'ouvrir un grand nombre d'imprimeries qui reproduisent les livres français.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

by Members of the Staff of the Faculty

Publications in European Languages:

Jean-Marie Carré: *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Egypte*, 2 vol. in-8° de 300 pages environ chacun, illustrés de 90 gravures hors textes. (Publication de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Tirage limité à 500 exemplaires).

Ce magnifique ouvrage développe le sujet des conférences, si familières au public du Caire, que M. Jean-Marie Carré a faites trois années de suite sous les auspices de l'Université égyptienne. Le tome premier passe d'abord en revue les voyageurs français (explorateurs, missionnaires, savants) qui se sont succédés en Egypte depuis le XVIème siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIème. M. Carré montre comment ces voyages de « découverte » ont préparé les travaux scientifiques d'un Volney, d'un Vivant Denon et de l'expédition Bonaparte. Ainsi explorée au point de vue géographique et révélée à l'érudition, l'Egypte va, pendant la période de renaissance qui commence avec Méhémet Ali, élargir considérablement sa place dans la littérature française et devenir le champ d'observation d'écrivains de plus en plus nombreux. Ici, il fallait se restreindre et choisir. Après un exposé en quelque sorte panoramique qui embrasse trois siècles, le tableau se découpe et se concentre autour de certaines œuvres et de certains écrivains. Mais le choix fait par M. Carré est large et abondant; ce sont: Chateaubriand, Champollion, Joseph Michaud, Prisse d'Avennes, un méconnu sur lequel M. Carré attire aujourd'hui l'attention.

Cette enquête à la fois historique et critique, biographique et littéraire, se poursuit dans le tome II, où l'on se trouve en compagnie des « voyageurs littéraires au lendemain du romantisme »: Nerval, J.-J. Ampère Marmier, Flaubert, Maxime du Camp. Puis c'est Théophile Gautier et l'importance considérable de son inspiration égyptienne. Enfin, avec des savants comme Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Mariette et Renan, le ro-

was published as number 44 in Letronne's *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de l'Egypte,* Paris 1842. 1848, whence it has been copied and republished, but with some errors, as number 1258 in I.G.R.R., vol. 1. He finds, also, that the temple inscription was published by Couyat-Barthou, (*Bull. Inst. Fr. d'Arch. du Caire, VII* (1909), pp. 15-33), but with a misreading of the date which was emmended conjecturally by Lesquier in *L'Armée Romaine d'Egypte,* Cairo, 1918, p. 493, app. 1, number 16. Lesquiers' conjecture proves to be wrong, and Mr. Jones finds that the date as now corrected advance the praefecture of Marcus Rutilius Lupus, under whom the temple was dedicated, by more than a year from the earliest date hitherto known, that is to say from February-March, A.D. 114, to January 28, 113.

The burial-ground of the station is on a slope immediately north of the fort; but, though there are remains of what appear to be small temple-tombs, no inscriptions were visible.

Officials of the Mines' Department visited the locality of the quarries last November and the winter before, and have, I believe, carefully surveyed the neighbourhood. Unfortunately I have not yet been able to consult them, so that I do not know if they have any information which may be of archaeological interest. It is to be regretted that in repairing the road up to the quarry-face on the western mountain in order to bring down the blocks of imperial porphyry desired by His Majesty King Fuad last November, a very large number of the stone butts constructed anciently to hold winches for the lowering of the stone, should, often, have been more than half demolished. The first heavy rain-storm, and it cannot be delayed for more than another year or two, will inevitably undo most of this repair, and the half-ruined butts, which had remained in almost perfect condition for more than fifteen hundred years, will now rapidly follow it into dissolution.

I hope to be able to publish the plans, and details of the inscriptions as copied this year, in the next number of the bulletin, together with any other matter of interest which study of the notes made on this occasion may provide.

NOTE ON A VISIT TO THE IMPERIAL PORPHYRY QUARRIES AT GEBEL DOKHAN.

by C. H. O. Scaife.

The quarries of imperial porphyry at Gebel Dokhan in the eastern desert of Egypt have been visited several times since they were discovered by Burton in 1823. But the travellers who have been there have been unable to spend more than four or five days in the locality. I visited it for the first time in the winter of 1931-32, and returned this year in the hope that a longer examination would make it possible to amplify former accounts of the remains. I spent twelve days in the wady Me'mil, wherein the ruins of the station are, but this was not time enough thoroughly to explore it and the hills to east and west of it from which the stone was quarried; nor is there sufficient time before the appearance of this number of the bulletin to prepare the information gathered for publication.

This includes plans and measurements of the fort and village in wady Me'mil and of the village at the quarry on the eastern mountain (*Lykobetus of* Schweinfurth's map) ; also of the well-preserved station at the foot of the south-western spur of G. Dokhan which is described, with a drawing of the doorway to the cistern but without a plan, by Hume and Barron in the Geological Survey of Egypt, 1902. It appears that the plan of the fort in wady Me'mil and that of the first station on the Kainopolis-Myos Hormos road, now called El Heita which are given by O. Schneider, from Dr. G. Schweinfurth's notes, in his treatise *Uber den Roten Porphyr der Alten,* 1887, are very incomplete.

Copies of a small dedicatory inscription to Isis, and of a temple of Isis were brought back, and a dedicatory inscription on the face of the western mountain quarry was found and copied.

I submitted these inscriptions to my colleague, Mr. A.H.M. Jones, and he finds that the small dedication to Isis

fixed upright in the soil; it probably belongs to a Hippopotamus.

The Maadi culture as revealed by the excavations possesses an entirely independent character. It is all the more important because the prehistory of Lower Egypt is as yet little known. This is especially true of the late Neolithic, for the cultures of Beni-Selame and the Fayum evidently belong to a very early stage of that period. The gap is now partly filled up by Maadi, whose culture as all the evidence goes to show, must have flourished at a time not far remote from the beginning of the Dynastic period.

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painted pottery we possess is a small sculpture representing the head of an animal, believed to be a camel.

Of stone vessels, numerous specimens, of various shapes, have been unearthed. Some are of limestone, and some of basalt, but of the latter we possess only two complete vessels. Other objects made of stone include millstones, grind-stones, grinders, polishers, pierced balls and discs and palettes. Some of the palettes are of indurated limestone, and some are of flint, both types, being a new class in Egypt. Of the usual slate palettes known, only a few fragments have been found, showing, no doubt, some connections with Upper Egypt.

As for the flint, the industry of Maadi is based on the flake-technique, and shows characteristic marks as yet unknown in the making of flint in Egypt. Thousands of specimens, of different shapes, colours and sizes, have been collected; some being of extraordinary beauty. They include flakes, blades, knives, scrapers, scratchers, saws, borers and cores. A few rare pieces, however, show excellent surface flaking; these include saws, arrow-heads, lance-heads, and a piece of a highly finished fish-tail knife of the type known in Upper Egypt.

Ornaments, too, are not lacking. They include beads of alabaster, gypsum and bones, together with Nile and Red Sea shells. A lump of red ochre, an ochre crayon, and a small pot containing some powdered red material, have also been found.

Weaving seems to have been known as shown by the existence of small pieces of woven material, as well as numerous perforated limestone balls and discs, which probably served the purpose of spindle-whorls. There have also been discovered traces of copper ore, but only two good implements of that metal, viz: a fish-hook, and an awl with a bone handle have been found. A piece of manganese ore was also unearthed; both this metal and the copper most likely came from the Peninsula of Sinai.

The prehistoric people of Maadi lived by agriculture, cattle-breeding and fishing. Big quantities of grain, in a carbonized state, and bones of oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, reptiles and fish, have been found. Quite peculiar is a huge bone found

while in the north, a store-place furnished with a great number of huge pots was discovered. In some of these pots, many interesting finds were revealed, including a quantity of genuine resin, the botanical source of which has not yet been identified, and some cooked material, which is very likely animal flesh, or something of that nature. Another big quantity of black material found stored in a hollow, dug in the virgin-soil, has been identified as resin, which has been strongly heated in order to obtain the volatile oil (turpentine) and, in consequence, has been fully carbonized. In its outward appearence, this material looks very much like bitumen.

Of great interest is the discovery of burials of foetuses, of an age ranging from four to nine months before birth. Four such interments were recognised in simple hollows in the ground, and four in pots; most probably all were within the house areas. The same custom, it must be noted, still survives in certain parts of Egypt. Real burials of adults, however, do not, so far as one knows, exist in the settlement; the cemetery, doubtless, lies at no great distance from it. Nevertheless, fragments of human bones, including a piece of a skull, and a lower jaw were found in the layers.

The yield of the small finds was exceedingly rich. More than one hundred and sixty pots of different shapes and sizes, were collected, their height ranging from a few centimetres to over one metre, while both the form and the colour varied greatly. Two types, however, predominate, and give Maadi a character of its own. On the one hand, there is the red base-ring ware, which is a new species of pottery for Egypt; and on the other, there is the black-polished ware, the most common species of which is the broad-ovate type with a narrow mouth furnished with a rim-lip, and with a base, so small, that the pots can hardly be made to stand upright. The Maadi pottery is, indeed, quite distinctive in character, and reveals the independence of the prehistoric culture of the settlement. Besides, some peculiar, but rare ceramic products appear, the most notable being two wavy-handled pots, some vases with imprinted neck decoration, bowls, cups, barrel — and bird-shaped vessels, as well as painted pottery. Of the latter, only fragments have been found, showing slight relations to the well-known Upper Egyptian wares. In most cases, they represent quite new types. The most important piece of

TWO SEASONS' DIGGING IN THE PREHISTORIC SITE AT MAADI

by Mustafa Amer

The excavations carried out by the Egyptian University during the last two years, in the Cairo region, have revealed an absolutely new prehistoric culture for Egypt. About ten kilometres to the south of the Capital, and on a small ridge in the desert near the edge of the cultivated land lies the prehistoric site at Maadi, extending about 1,500 metres from west to east, and nearly 100 metres from north to south. Of this area, more than 6,000 square metres have been systematically excavated down to the virgin-soil; this includes two long trial trenches, one near the centre of the settlement, and extending from north to south, and the other running in its most easterly portion in an east-west direction. The thickness of the layers varies from twenty centimetres to a little more than one metre; the finds of the different layers being absolutely identical, neither the flint industry, nor the pottery revealing any change from one layer to another.

The results achieved concerning the stationary finds are extremely interesting. In the deepest layers, foundations of old huts, and various types of cellar-holes, mortars and hearths, together with huge store-pots standing in their original position, have been found. The huts possess more or less an oval plan. Near the entrance, which is placed on the southern side, are usually seen the store-pots and the hearths Remainders of the old house-posts, as well as of the wattling which formed the walls, have been found in situ, some of the posts being in a very good state of preservation.

As regards the general plan of the settlement, it seems that the central line of the long-stretched village was occupied by the houses of that archaic community, while both the northern and the southern portions were set aside for storage purposes. Cellar-holes were found in abundance in the south

From Palestine, Syria and Irak new discoveries, some of great importance, were also communicated to the Congress. Mr. Theodore McCoun announced the discovery of a Mousterian Cemetery in Mt. Carmel, and Miss D. Garrod, a new Mesolithic industry — the Natufian of Palestine. Human remains, both from Palestine and Irak formed the subject of discussions led by Sir Arthur Keith. There was also an important discussion on painted pottery in the Near East, as well as important papers on the chronology of the early graves at Ur by Dr. C.L. Woolley, and on the prehistoric cultures of Nineveh by Mr. E.L. Mallowan.

The week's session in London was followed by excursions at the week-end centering on Oxford and Cambridge, and a further week in Wiltshire to visit Stonehenge, Windmill Hill, Avebury and Salisbury. From London a short visit was also paid to the implement-bearing gravels at Swanscombe, Kent.

At its concluding meeting, the Congress formed special Committees for the study of the civilisation of the Western Mediterranean, and of the relations between the Aegean world and the Balkano-Danubian countries. It recommended a scheme for an international vocabulary of technical terms used in prehistoric archaeology, and invited the Organising Committee of the next session to prepare a concise statement of the different systems of classification suggested by the different schools of prehistorians.

The second session of the Congress will be held at Oslo in 1935.

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are hardly visible to the naked eye, can be seen clearly despite the later tracks and cultivations which obliterate them for the observer on the ground. Photography, calling aviation to its aid, has revealed many sites which could hardly have been traced on the ground. It is to be hoped that the time will soon come when it will be possible to apply the same methods to the field of archaeological research in Egypt.

Six hundred and fifty-four members were registered, and one hundred and sixty-eight communications were accepted. Many of these were of special interest, dealing as they were with recent researches and studies, not only in Europe, but also in Egypt, Africa and the Near East. The Communications relating to Egypt were four in number:—

1. The Excavations of the Egyptian University at Maadi near Cairo (1930-31 and 1932), by Professor Mustafa Amer, official representative of the Egyptian University.
2. The Neolithic Site of Merimde Beni-Selame and its relation to the neolithic culture of Western Europe, by Professor Oswald Menghin.
3. Recent work on Palaeolithic Man in the Nile Valley, by Dr. K. S. Sandford.
4. The Prehistory of the Kharga Oases by Miss G. Caton-Thompson.

Important Communications on Africa, included work done by Dr. L.S.B. Leakey in Tanganyika and Uganda, and by the French scholars in North Africa. Of special interest were the following:—

1. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey: The Age of Homo Sapiens in East and Central Africa.
2. M.C. Burkitt and E.J. Wayland: The Magosian Industry of Uganda.
3. Prof. M. Boule and Prof. H.V. Vallois: Les Hommes Fossiles d'Afalou bou Rhummel (Algérie).
4. R. Vaufrey: Les plissements Acheuleo-Mousteriens des Alluvions de Gafsa.
5. M. Reygass: Le Tardenoisien dans l'Afrique du Nord.

first session in London, where no Prehistoric Congress was held since 1868. A distinguished British Archaeologist, Sir Charles Peers, President of the Society of Antiquaries and Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments under H.M. Office of Works, was selected as the inaugural President; and other British archaeologists presided over the various sections into which the studies embraced by the Congress were grouped.

The origin and evolution of prehistoric man formed the subject of Section I. under Sir Arthur Woodward. The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods were discussed by Section II. under Mr. Reginald Smith of the British Museum. Section III. covered the Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron ages in the Ancient World, under the joint presidency of Professor H.J. Fleure, Professor J.L. Myres, and Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum; while Section IV. dealt with the same periods outside the ancient world, under the direction of Dr. H. S. Harrison and Professor C. G. Seligman. Finally, Section V. dealt with the transition from Prehistory to History, and it fell to the lot of Mr. E.T. Leeds to supervise discussions on the contacts of the Celtic and Teutonic worlds with Graeco-Roman civilisation, and the history and archaeology of the European Dark Ages.

The opening meeting, with a presidential address on "The Beginnings of Prehistoric Studies in Britain", was fixed for Monday, 1st. August, and in the evening a Government reception took place at Lancaster House, where the Keeper of the London Museum displayed an exhibition representative of recent work in the archaeology of Great Britain. Sectional meetings for the reading of papers took place at King's College, but Miss Gertrude Caton-Thompson arranged an exhibition illustrating her work on the prehistory of the Kharga Oases, for a special meeting at Bedford College. Other collections were arranged for the inspection of the Congress in the British Museum, and the Royal College of Surgeons. Worth mentioning is the display by the Ordnance Survey of instructive aerial photographs taken for archaeological purposes. These photographs, described in a special catalogue, are largely unpublished, and the selection is designed to show both the importance of opening this new method of surveying ancient sites, and the principal new discoveries which it has made available. Thus, neolithic camps, ancient circles, etc., which

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SCIENCES.

Report by Mustafa Amer

The Congress of prehistoric studies which met in London on the 1st. August, 1932, was the first fully representative gathering of its kind to take place in any country since the Great War. The majority of European Governments sent official delegates, and many learned institutions and universities, including the University of Egypt, were separately represented.

Prior to the War, there existed the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology; its XIVth Session was held at Geneva in 1912, when it was decided to hold the following Session at Madrid in 1916. This Meeting was prevented by the War. But a growing desire for the resumption of such meetings led to a conference of leading representatives of prehistoric studies being held at Berne in May, 1931, where it was decided to found a new International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, which should include all those studies which contribute to their development, namely, Geology, Palaeontology of Plants and Animals, Anthropology, Ethnography, Folklore, Archaeology, etc., in so far as they help to throw new light on Prehistory and Protohistory.

The new Congress is governed by a Permanent Council, consisting of one or two representatives of each country; these members were, in the first instance, nominated by the Conference at Berne; the vacancies for the future to be filled by the Council subject to confirmation by the Congress. At a Meeting held in Paris on the 18th October, 1931, Professor Mustafa Amer was elected to represent Egypt.

The Congress will normally meet once in four years, and it was at the Berne Conference that it was decided to hold the

It would be interesting to know why the book was never published. The probable reason is that it was still unfinished at the time of his death. It was in a crude and unliterary form: the only parts which have literary value are the purely imaginary speeches of Ali to the Arabs, converting them to Islam. Here Stubbe was giving rein to his own natural oratory. Shairani recognises in them 'the fire of Arab eloquence'. It would be easy for Stubbe to identify himself with Ali.

A certain amount of mystery still surrounds our manuscript. Why does it not carry the author's name ? The formal word 'Finis' is written at the end, but the text leads up to no suitable conclusion: indeed in Hornby's version the last words of our manuscript occur in the middle of a paragraph, (p. 163 § 4), actually in the middle of a sentence. The librarians of the late Prince Hilmy are equally silent. From their catalogue not only do we learn nothing about its authorship, or how the book came into the library, but the book is not even mentioned. It should be regarded as one of the treasures of the library: not the least of his princely gifts to the University of Egypt.

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practised as he was in literary, political and philosophical polemics.

His life was as stormy as the times he lived in. He was born in 1631 or 1632 in Lincolnshire, and taken as an infant to Ireland. At the outbreak of the Civil War in Ireland in 1641 his parents rushed back to Liverpool, and thence to London. In London, while still a boy at Westminster School, he received the patronage of Sir Henry Vane, which enabled him to go to Oxford (1650). As soon as he took his bachelor's degree he went to serve in the Parliamentary army in Scotland (1653-55), returning to take his master's degree in 1656. Then he was appointed Second Keeper of the Bodleian Library, where he had leisure to write a series of books and pamphlets against the clergy, the universities, the Church, and anything else which savoured of Royalism, until the Dean of Christchurch dismissed him in 1659 for writing a 'pestilent book'. He then retired to Stratford-on-Avon where he practised as a physician. He took the Oath of Allegiance at the Restoration; but the King thought him safer outside the country, and rewarded his allegiance by giving him a medical appointment in Jamaica, where he lived from 1661 to 1665. Returning to England he practised medicine again at Stratford, then at Warwick, then at Bath until he was arrested and thrown into prison in 1673 for publishing a denunciation of the Duke of York's marriage with Princess Mary of Modena. In 1676 he was accidentally drowned near Bath, thrown from his horse which stumbled as he was fording a river on the way to see a patient.

His friend Anthony a Wood wrote of him saying that he was 'the most noted Latin and Grecian of his age, a singular mathematician and thoroughly read in all political matters, councils, ecclesiastical and profane histories, accounted a very good physician. Lacking in sobriety and discretion, he made his learning cheap and mercenary to every ordinary and ignorant fellow, and therefore became a ridicule, and undervalued by sober and knowing scholars and others too'. We can well believe this estimate of his character. It tallies with that description of him quoted by Shairani, which says that he had a very retentive memory, a voluble tongue and a big and commanding voice, and was very seldom known to hesitate either in public dispute or private discourse.

ment of English prose from the time of Milton to the time of Swift has received too little attention, largely because manuscripts are buried in libraries, while in modern editions the spelling and punctuation, if not the actual diction, are modernised. At the time of our manuscript punctuation was rhetorical, not grammatical; and spelling was not standardised. The reading of the manuscript therefore gives a fair idea of how English was spoken at the time.

But the true virtue of the work is its scholarship, and in the originality of its outlook. It is the first work in English which gives a sympathetic account of the Prophet. Due praise was given to him later by Gibbon and Carlyle; but in the seventeenth century he was still regarded as an impostor. Bedwell's translation of the forgery *Mohammedis Imposturae* had appeared in 1636; and Pococke, in spite of his enthusiasm for oriental studies, was out of sympathy with Mahomet. Oriental studies in England were suffering from their monopoly by clerks in holy orders: both Bedwell and Pococke were priests. Naturally enough it has always been the clergy who have upheld the attack on Islam: Mandeville the traveller, Stubbe the doctor, Gibbon the man of private means and Carlyle the professional writer have always stood apart from their more narrowly religious contemporaries. Stubbe certainly took a new point of view. He found that the groundless complaints made by Christians against Islam could be made with more justice against the Christians themselves; and prefaced his praise of Mahomet by a long attack on the abuses of the early Church and the unscrupulousness of the Early Fathers.

It is not supposed that he knew much Arabic, though he may have attended those Arabic lectures which Pococke gave at Oxford on Wednesday mornings at eight in Lent and during the vacations, attendance at which was compulsory for all bachelors. Stubbe had a reputation at Oxford for his learning, but no mention is made of his Arabic studies. He would, almost as a matter of course, know Hebrew; but apparently relied on Christian sources and translations for his *Account*. The Christian sources and translations were all condemnations of Mahomet and Islam; and for Stubbe to select from them enough material to form a sympathetic account of the Prophet was an achievement which could only have been done by one

copyist has given us a painstaking reproduction of the original — the most careful reproduction which is known at present. We can write in the Greek from other manuscripts, written up by writers who knew Greek but had less respect for the English.

In Shairani's edition we have not Stubbe's original work. The edition is from a manuscript copied by Hornby in 1705 'with some variations and additions'. Stubbe's original four chapters are re-arranged into ten, and are amplified not so much by new material as by an expansion of the sentences to clarify the meaning to a quick reader. Stubbe's English, judged from our manuscript, was terse, and his reasoning close, like that of a scholar rather than of a man of letters. Hornby also displaced whole pages to make the narrative of the book more logical. And it must be confessed that Hornby's version is the more readable for this re-arrangement. It is not more scholarly; as can be seen where he quotes from 'St. Jerom Sozomen'. There was no such person. Our manuscript quite intelligibly says 'St. Jerome and Zozomen'.

But we have not even Hornby's version in its entirety. Shairani has bowdlerised and edited it. In the Introduction (p.xii) he says that some passages have been omitted 'because they militate against modern canons of taste, or because they break the continuity of the text'. He has also eliminated passages which Hornby unconsciously repeated when re-arranging and re-writing the book, and some inconsistencies. Where these cuts are made he does not indicate, except that there are (as on p. 92) dots to show the omission of a word which is not usually printed, but which would not offend any student of the period during which the book was written. And there is a growing tendency in modern writing to mention the functions of the human body as openly as did the writers of the Restoration Period.

The spelling of Hornby is apparently retained, though about this and about punctuation Shairani is silent. And here we must mention another virtue of our manuscript: it can be read as an example of the calligraphy, diction, spelling and punctuation of late seventeenth century English by those who are not interested in the state of oriental studies in Europe at that time, nor in problems of authorship. The rapid develop-

Three copies of this manuscript are in the British Museum. The first is scattered in Nos. 1709 and 1786 of the Sloane MSS. It is anonymous, and is described as "chiefly taken from Pocock and Hottinger'. The second is Harl. MSS. 1876, attributed by Mr. Wanley to Dr. Stubbes — on what evidence is not stated. The third is Harl. MSS. 6189, described as anonymous, and is dated 7th. July 1718.

Two other copies have appeared on the market but cannot now be traced. From the description of them in booksellers' lists it is clear that neither of them is our copy. Both are attributed to Dr. Stubbe. One of these, one possessed by the Rev. John Disney and sold by Sotheby to Thomas Rodd (Senior) for four shillings in 1817, is probably the original, since it contained letters by Stubbes concerning it. Since 1817 its history is unknown.

The existing manuscripts have never been collated; but from a comparison of their declared contents it is clear that ours is the earliest copy now known, since its chapter-division is the simplest; and the Introduction comes last. In later copies it was placed first.

Our copy cannot be the original. The most convincing proof of this is that wherever the author wrote down a Greek word there is a blank in our manuscript. The scribe apparently understood Latin, but not Greek. It is rather surprising that a scribe should not know the Greek alphabet well enough to copy out a few words. Obviously he was no professional scribe. It is likely that he was an older man than Stubbe, since the handwriting is one which was fashionable earlier than the time of the manuscript; and since he writes for only a short time before becoming tired. It is a Stuart scholar's hand, comparable, for example, to that of Ben Jonson rather than to that of John Dryden: not at all a contemporary hand.

The corrections in the manuscript point to the fact that it was copied from another manuscript, or from notes. They are not corrections made as an afterthought by an author, but are copyists' mistakes necessitated by a misreading of uncommon words by an intelligent copyist who immediately realised that the word he had written did not make sense. This careful correction of words, and the fact that he did not attempt to copy the Greek which he did not understand, indicate that the

NOTES

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF A MANUSCRIPT LIFE OF MAHOMET.

by Walt: Taylor

There has appeared in the library of the University of Egypt, as part of the Prince Hilmy Library, an English manuscript with the title 'An Account of the Life of Mahomet', undated and unsigned, bearing the name Garrott on the fly-leaf. The hand-writing is that of the middle or second half of the seventeenth century.

The manuscript is in folio, eight inches by twelve, bound in white vellum; and consists of 169 pages. It is a volume on hand-made paper; one side of the folio is watermarked PB, and the other side a shield with three St. Andrew's crosses, supported by lions, surmounted by a crown; and underneath HG. The book was bound as a volume before being written in, as can be seen from sheet 57/8, which has no corresponding half of the folio, but which is firmly sewn. The missing page could not have been torn out since the book was written, because the margins which were drawn by the scribe have blotted across on to (unnumbered) pp. 170-171, and correspond exactly, as they would not do had the missing sheet been removed after the lines were made.

Several copies of this manuscript are known or have been referred to. One of them had the good fortune to come into the hands of a Moslem, who set about editing it, collected subscriptions towards printing it, and at last published it as 'An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism with the Life of Mahomet and a Vindication of him and his Religion from the Calumnies of the Christians' by Dr. Henry Stubbe M.A. from a manuscript copied by Charles Hornby of Pipe Office, in 1705 with some variations and additions, edited, with an introduction and appendix by Hafiz Mahmud Khan Shairani. (London, Luzac & Co., 1911).

not sufficiently enthusiastic to put their heart into the work. Another generation had to pass before a new system of education, born out of further contact with the West, had placed at the disposal of the Porte for diplomatic service abroad the Reshids, Aalis and Fuads.

The appointment of Greek chargés d'affaires in London and elsewhere was an admission on the part of the Porte of the failure of those early permanent embassies. The causes of the failure are not far to seek. As in many of the schemes of Selim and his successors, the conception was excellent but the execution was faulty. It was not that there was any lack of capable Turkish diplomats. Indeed so long as the Porte expected its agents to carry out the duties of a special mission under definite instructions, they answered the purpose quite successfully. Between 1793 and 1811, hawever, Selim set them to do what they were not then ready for. Ignorant as they then were, of foreign languages, cut off from the society in which they lived by great differences of usage and outlook, unprepared by their system of instruction to be able to comprehend what was going on, it was impossible for them to perform the duties of resident ministers. For how could they, situated as they were, cultivate personal relationships of amity and mutual understanding or follow closely changes in public opinion or have a clear grasp of the needs and resources of the countries, in which they resided ? The venture was certainly premature. The results might perhaps have turned out better if persons of more weight than the Alis and Sedkis had been appointed. For this, however, Selim was not entirely to blame. It was not easy to send influential men to what was then virtual exile.

One feature of the episode is noteworthy. When a government has decided on some measure, one is reasonably entitled to expect that government to take the trouble to make a success of it. In the present case, the Porte began the system of permanent representation abroad. We would expect to see the Turkish government change its methods so as to allow her agents abroad a measure of activity that would justify their existence and give them more experience. We would expect the Porte to maintain them in conditions of comfort and independence. Nothing of this, as we have seen, took place. This contradiction, so puzzling to the Western observer, recurs again and again in the history of the Westernisation movement. It arose, however, out of the fact that the Westernisers did not always fully grasp all the implications of their schemes and had to carry out their policy through agents, who, were either determined on thwarting their masters or

Sedki announced to Canning on 22nd July 1808 that he was instructed to convey the following demands: the restoration of amity and the renewal of the treaty of 1675, the guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the restoration of Ottoman territories, warships and merchantmen seized by England (49). Canning replied that he was gratified at the sentiments of the Porte and informed the ambassador that a special envoy [Sir Robert Adair] had been sent to Constantinople equipped with full powers and instructions to settle all differences and that as Sedki had no full powers it would not serve any useful purpose to discuss the points raised in his note (50).

Two years later, the Ottoman government decided to recall Sedki and entrust the mission to a Greek, one Ramadani, whom Stratford Canning, then chargé d'affaires at Constantinople, described as a creature of Mourouzes. Stratford Canning objected to this arrangement as "improper and lacking of respect to England. The Austrians felt the same objection to a similar arrangement proposed for Vienna. These objections seem to have had some effect, for the Porte declared that the Greeks in Vienna and London would be in charge of the missions only ad interim (51). Before Sedki could be released, however, he died in London in March 1811 (52).

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(49) Sedki to Canning, 22 July 1808, F.O. 78-62.

(50) Canning to Sedki, 5 Aug. 1808, F.O 78-62.

(51) S. Canning to Wellesley, 14 October 1810, F.O. 78-10. Same to same, 23 June 1811, F.O. 78-74.

(52) Wellesley announced Sedki's death in a despatch to S. Canning dated 1st April 1811, F.O. 78-73. He informed him that the Prince Regent ordered that every mark of respect be paid to the deceased and that the burial was done conformably to the directions of the Algerian « ambassador » (sic). Wellesley charged Sir Robert Liston, ambassador-designate to the Porte, to arrange the affairs of the widow and child. According to her statement, Liston dealt with her very harshly. He sent the girl to a « home » and for eight years she was not allowed to see her mother. He promised that on his arrival at Constantinople he would see what the Porte, and Sedki's relatives would do for his dependents. But, apparently, did nothing, thoug the widow believed that her husband was not penniless and had, on his deathbed, assured her that she would be provided for. Petition to Castlereagh, 24 Nov. 1819, F.O. 78-93.

1805 and who survived her father (45). His affairs were, apparently, in great confusion. His Greek dragoman, Duc, wrote on 5 February 1808 to Huskisson, then secretary of the Treasury, complaining that for the last two years, Sedki had taken to drink, "pour faire passer l'hypocondrie", he said; that his average daily consumption had steadily risen to two bottles of 'eau de vie', that he had lost all sense of decorum so far as to expose himself at the windows in the company of prostitutes, whom he allowed to "eat up" the advances made to him by the English government, while the members of his suite were left destitute (46). Huskisson proposed to Canning, then Foreign Secretary, "to send home this "stupid drunkard". Sedki was as anxious to depart. He asked Hammond, the permanent under-secretary, to advance him £ 2000 to pay his debts and travelling expenses (47).

Having actually started on the journey home, the unfortunate diplomat was ordered back to the scene of his misery. The Treaty of Tilsit had made a great change in eastern affairs. Russia was now the ally of France and there was no reason for the continuation of enmity between England and Turkey. The Divan realised this but was kept back from responding to English advances by fear of France. Under pressure of Ali Pasha of the Epirus, who was then trying to secure himself against the menaces of Russia and France, the Porte decided to resume negotiations with England. An agent, whom Ali Pasha was sending to London on his own affairs, was commissioned to carry the Porte's overtures in the form of instructions to Sedki. The agent fell in with him off the coast of Spain and both came up to London in July 1808 (48).

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(45) The petition of Mary Sedki (the widow of the ambassador) to Lord Castlereagh, 24 Nov. 1819. F.O. 78-93. Curiously, she states Sedki's arrival in London and her own marriage to have taken place in 1802. Sedki did not, however, arrive till early in 1803. She also states that his death took place in October 1811. It was announced in a despatch to Constantinople dated 1st April 1811 (F.O. 78-73).

(46) Duc to Huskisson, 5 Feb. 1808. F.O. 78-62.

(47) Sedky to Hammond, 17 Feb. 1808, F.O. 78-62.

(48) The circumstances under which Sedki came back are explained in Canning to Adair, 20 Aug. 1808, F.O. 78-60 and Sedki to Canning », 11 July 1808, F.O. 78-62.

is also clear in the minister's opening communication with the Foreign Office (42).

Of Sedki Effendi, Elgin wrote that "he has not hitherto filled any high office in the government but has long enjoyed the confidence of the Vizier, who employed him in situations of trust during the whole course of the war of Egypt" (43). On his arrival in London, he announced to the Foreign Office that he had been instructed to treat of the evacuation of Alexandria and of the affairs of the Beys. As regards the first object, he was pleased to find that the British government had, of its own accord, anticipated the wish of the Sultan. He expressed his hope that the second object would soon be settled by the Porte (44).

Having delivered himself of this message, we lose sight of Sedki Effendi. Save for occasional notes regarding affairs of navigation and kindred matters, his residence in London did not in the least affect Anglo-Turkish relations in the critical years from 1803 to 1811. The period began with a great struggle for influence in Constantinople between England and Russia on the one hand and France on the other. At first, the allies had the upper hand, so much so that the Porte refused to recognise Napoleon's new title of Emperor. The victory of Austerlitz, however, changed the situation in favour of France. This was followed by Russia occupying the Danubian Principalities, which led to war with Turkey. England, to support the only ally left in the struggle against Napoleon, sent a fleet through the Dardanelles to support the action of her ambassador. On the failure of this demonstration, a British force occupied Alexandria.

In all these stirring events, Sedki had no share. Indeed his personal affairs and difficulties loom in the official correspondence almost as large as his contribution to the public business of his country. When he first arrived in London, he took his residence with one Archer Orle at No. 7. Upper Berkeley St. Portman Square. At that address, he soon married an Englishwoman. Several children were born to him, but they all died except one daughter, who was born about

(42) Djevdet, op. cit. vol. 7, p. 162. (Events of 1217 A.H. 1802-1803.)

(43) Elgin to Hawkesbury, 30 Nov. 1802, F.O. 78-36.

(44) Note dated 4 March 1803, F.O. 78-39.

tions with the Foreign Office may suffice. On the 21st October 1798 he sent a note to Lord Grenville in which he expressed his satisfaction at the news of Nelson's victory in the Bay of Abukir and of the Porte's declaration of war on France and concluded by praising the conduct of Spencer Smith, the English chargé d'affaires at Constantinople (35). On another occasion, he transmitted to the Foreign Office a note from the Reis Effendi pressing the British Government to consent to the withdrawal of the French from Egypt (36). Shortly afterwards, he took his departure from London and the mission was left in charge of a Greek (37).

In the meantine, a British force, in collaboration with the Turkish army, had succeeded in forcing the evacuation of Egypt. England and Turkey thus found themselves confronted with the problem of the future government of that province and, in particular, with the question of the Mamelukes (38). The Porte attempted to solve the difficulty in its simple way, namely by the extirpation of the Mamelukes. It was foiled in this, however, by the intervention of the British army-commanders. Several attempts were made later to reconcile British and Turkish views, but without any result. It was evident that the Ottoman authorities were only waiting for the evacuation of Alexandria by the British troops to carry matters in their own way. They played, therefore, for delay. Hence the mission of Sedki Effendi to London (39). The British ambassador, Lord Elgin, saw that this mission amounted to a refusal on the part of the Porte to make another solution of the Mameluke problem other than that of expelling them from Egypt (40). He tried to dissuade the Turks from sending Sedki, but, though the Reis Effendi "was brought to see the absurdity of it", the Divan persisted in its decision (41). Sedki, however, was not sent for the business of the Beys only; he was also instructed to arrange for the evacuation of Alexandria. Elgin does not mention this latter object, but it is expressly stated by Djevdet Pasha and

(35) F.O. 78-20.
(36) Reis Effendi to Ismail, 5 March 1800. F.O. 78-28.
(37) His name was Aziropolo.
(38) On the whole question see Ghorbal, op. ci. ch. X.
(39, 41) Elgin to Hawkesbury, 16 November 1802, F.O. 78-36.
(40) Elgin to Hawkesbury, 30 November 1802, F.O. 78-36.

gers pour leurs têtes, surtout lorsque se trouvant hors de portée de la scène très mobile de leur ministère ils ne peuvent juger l'accueil qu'ils recevront'' (30).

The act of A'i cost the Porte immense trouble. Torn between the insistence of France on confirming the Preliminaries and following them up by a treaty of peace, the demand of Russia for the fulfilment of her acquired right of mediation and the fulminations of England against the Turk's ingratitude, it took the Divan all its proverbial dexterity and almost exhausted its resources of procrastination to extricate itself. The final outcome was a Franco-Turkish treaty negotiated in Paris by a special plenipotentiary, Ghalib Effendi (31). Ali was thus disgraced and recalled. In 1809 he was overtaken by the Turkish fate and beheaded (32). During the period under review, his post in Paris was filled first by Halet Effendi and later by Mouhib Effendi (33). They shared with their predeccessor the same lack of weight both in Paris and with their own government. As in the days of Ali, the Porte continued to prosecute its affairs either in Constantinople with the agents of France or by the dispatch of special missions to the French court (34).

The story of the Turkish embassy in London ran on similar lines. Ismail Farakh, who succeeded 'Agah in England did not have the slightest share in the formation of the Anglo-Turkish alliance, which resulted from the French invasion of Egypt. One or two examples of his communica-

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(30) Descorches to Bonaparte, 29 messidor VIII (17 July 1800), Archives Nationales, AF. IV. 1688.

(31) Signed on 25 June 1802. De Testa, « Recueil », vol 2, p. 146.

(32) Latour-Maubourg to Champangy, 13 July 1809. Arch. Eff. E-Turquie, 219.

(33) Halet received fr m the French Government a gold snuffbox and the sum of 40000 francs to persuade the Porte to recognise Napoleon's imperial title : Napoleon to Talleyrand, 30 July 1804, « Correspondance », vol. 9, No. 7884. A few months later Halet was again asking for a loan : Jaubert to Napoleon, 25 January 1805, Arch. Nat. AF. IV. 1688.

Mouhib has left an account of his embassy. A confused French translation of it has been published by Bareilles, Paris 1920.

(34) E.g. the mission of Vehid Effendi to French headquarters in Poland in March 1807. Ghorbal, op. cit. p. 257.

evacuation of Egypt by French troops. It was now some months since Belliard had capitulated in Cairo and Menou in Alexandrie. The preliminaries also extended to France the privileges of the most favoured nation treatment (26).

How did Ali lend himself to this trickery ? Ever since the outbreak of war between the Republic and the Porte, he had been instructed on more than one occasion to declare that no grounds of hostility would remain once Egypt was restored to her sovereign, the Septinsular Republic recognised, the claims of war - sufferers satisfied, and the old treaties renewed. These were, in reality, general instructions, but Ali, apparently, did not formalise and behaved as if they were full powers to make peace. The French negotiator, naturally, did not take on himself to enlighten him. His own interpreter, Codrika, played the game of France and helped to fool him. Once this was accomplished, Codrika mysteriously disappeared, partly no doubt to escape his master's anger after the discovery of the trickery but partly also to render Ali helpless for further action once the act of October 1801 was signed. An official of the French ministry of foreign affairs, referring to Codrika's rôle in 1801, stated that the Greek had "trahi son ambassade pour servir la France" (27). This of Codrika, but what of Ali ? An English diplomat wrote of him, "Ali can be considered in no other light than that of an instrument of France whose subserviency was limited only by the smallness of his mental capacity" (28). The Russian Morkoff wrote that Ali "était tout à fait livré à la France" (29). These estimates, however, are rather unfair. The truth of the matter was as a Frenchman expressed it: "En outre que ses lumières sont peu capables de porter le jour nulle part, il était timide comme tous les agents othomans dans leurs rapports dont ils ne se dissimulent jamais les dan-

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(26) De Testa, « Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane », vol. 1, p. 495.

(27) On Codrika's disappearance, Ghorbal, op. cit. p. 151. The French official's statement is written on a memorandum submitted by Codrika in 1806 on the Eastern Question, see Driault, « La Politique Orientale de Napoléon », p. 378. Codrika definitely settled in France and became « secrétaire interprète » in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dying in 1827. Herbette op. cit. p. 16, note 1.

(28) Jackson to Hawkesbury, 20 Feb. 1802, F.O. France, 61.

(29) Morkoff to Kotschubey, 20 March-1 April, 1802. Sbornik vol. 70, p. 387.

an army to conquer Egypt. Ali was not able to get a clear statement as to the objects of the military preparations in the ports of France (22).

The Porte retorted to the invasion of Egypt by declaring war on France and proceeded to intern Ruffin, French chargé d'affaires in Constantinople. Ali became, until 1801, a virtual prisoner in Paris (23). During that period, France had yet another constitutional change. The Directory was replaced by the Consulate and Bonaparte, as First Consul, placed himself at the head of affairs, and Talleyrand resumed his old post as foreign minister. The years 1801 and 1802 were filled by complicated negotiations for general peace and it suited the interests of French diplomacy to bring Ali out of his retirement and give him a part in the work. To make the action of Ali clear, it may be stated briefly that the diplomacy of the First Consul was directed to detach Turkey from her allies, England and Russia, by persuading her to enter into separate negotiations with France and prevent her from participation in the Congress held at Amiens for the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace between England and France (24).

To attain this object, French diplomacy adopted two measures. The first was to sign, on 10th October 1801, a convention with the Russian plenipotentiary, Morkoff, the third article of which arranged for Russian mediation between France and Turkey (25). This would separate Russia from England and would thus weaken the insistence of the latter on Turkey's participation in the Congress of Amiens. The other measure was to take advantage of Ali's inexperience and make him sign preliminaries of peace. This would further complicate the situation and face both Russia and, England with direct Franco-Turkish negotiations as an accomplished fact. The Preliminaries of Peace signed by Ali and Talleyrand on the 9th October 1801 stipulated, among other things, the

(22) Idem. p. 225.

(23) See on this period of Ali's residence in Paris Herbette, op. cit. ch. IX

(24) See for detailed treatment of this episode, Ghorbal, op. cit. ch. IX.

(25) This convention may be seen in Martens, « Traités de la Russie », vol. 13 pp. 266-7.

de la préséance" (16). Service abroad meant also being far from the "fountain of honour", meant oblivion and might spell disgrace.

This helps to make clear the choice of Ali Effendi, an inoffensive official in the Divan, for the exalted post of ambassador first for Berlin and eventually for Paris. The Reis Effendi, Ratib, with whom lay the immediate direction of foreign policy, wishing to be unpleasant to one Osman Effendi, who was Ali's brother-in-law and a personal enemy of the Reis, decided to send Ali abroad (17). Osman would thus be obliged to cultivate the favour of the chief of his relative. The fall of Ratib, however, meant some improvement in Ali's prospects, for the new Reis Effendi transferred Ali to the more important mission in Paris. All this is rather typical of the way in which Selim's ideas were carried out in practice.

Thus began the embassy of Ali Effendi to the French Republic, an embassy that his Greek interpreter, Codrika, succinctly described as "la plus bizarre des ambassades" (18). Ali's progress from Marseilles to Paris was triumphal, and his reception by government and people left nothing to be desired. The welcome was no doubt sincere but there was an oddness and a comicality in the whole affair which every one enjoyed. The beginnings were almost like a certain scene from the "Bourgeois gentilhomme" (19).

As soon, however, as the ambassador could find leisure from continued festivity, he started to carry out the instructions of his government. His object was no less than to obtain for Turkish subjects the same privileges which Frenchmen enjoyed in the territories of the sultan. Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, managed to elude the issue, and Ali did not insist and confined his exertions to routine transactions (20). The rest of his time was taken up by vexations within his own household and with tradesmen (21).

In the meantime, the French government, in spite of being in full relations of peace with Turkey, decided to send

(16) Codrika, above-cited report (note 7).
(17) Idem. Herbette, op. cit. p. 11, spells the name Osman as Orman.
(18) Codrika, above-cited report (note 7).
(19) Herbette, op. cit. chapters IV, V, VI.
(20) Herbette, op. cit. pp. 190-198.
(21) Idem. pp. 199, 259-262.

ed. Prussia accepted ont of indifference (11). It is worthy of note that France was not included in the scheme, undoubtedly because of the revolutionary nature and acts of the Republic. The Directory deeply resented the omission. "Il éprouvait", writes M. Herbette, "avec tout bon républicain français, un sentiment pénible en constatant que la Turquie entretenait un ambassadeur auprès de son ennemie la plus acharnée, l'Angleterre; qu'elle en avait désigné un pour Berlin et qu'elle en offrait à Saint-Pétersbourg et à Vienne. Etait-il possible de supposer dans ces conditions, que la France, l'alliée séculaire de la Sublime Porte, fût moins privilègiée et ne fallait-il pas mettre tout en œuvre pour rétablir un juste équilibre" ? The representations of the French ambassador in Constantinople, Verninac, had their effect. On the 2 September 1796 he announced to his government the decision of the Porte to appoint an ambassador for Paris (12). Three ambassadors were finally chosen for Vienna, Paris and Berlin and a fourth, Ismail Farakh Effendi, to replace 'Agah in London. The Porte, recognising the hardships of prolonged residence abroad, fixed the normal duration of each mission at three years (13).

It is not difficult to realise the extreme dislike which the Turks of the time felt for living in Christian lands. It is related that one of the dignitaries of the Divan on his way to attend the Congress held at Jassy in 1792 arranged that a servant should precede him by a day's journey to drive away the pigs from the villages through which his master would pass (14). The same personage held that the mere idea of a Moslem going to live for years amongst Christians made him shudder (15). It was thus that the Turks of these days "envisageaient l'ambassade la plus honorable comme une disgrâce secrète puisque le devoir de leur charge et le service de leur gouvernement les mettaient en contradiction avec le principe de leur religion en les obligeant à vivre avec des impies, à communiquer avec eux, à demeurer dans leur pays, à manger à table avec eux et à leur rendre les honneurs du salut et

(11) Codrika, above-cited report (note, 7).
(12) Herbette, op. cit. pp. 6, 8.
(13) Djevdet, op. cit. vol. 6, p. 214. (Events of 1211 A.H. 1796-1797.)
14, 15) Herbette, op. cit. p. 10, note 1.

ing their observations. Such reports might have been instructive, but as the ambassadors lacked the necessary means of study and their residence abroad was short their accounts were not of great value. The best of suck accounts, according to D'Ohsson, is that of Mehemet Effendi, ambassador to the Court of France in 1721 (6).

It was Sultan Selim III who began the system of permanent diplomatic representation abroad. In one account of his scheme, his object is stated to have been the formation of a quadruple or quintuple alliance for the specific purpose of guaranteeing the integrity of his Empire (7). This statement, however, does not correspond to the facts. The well-informed D'Ohsson has a different version. He writes :

> « La Porte se résolut enfin en 1793 à établir des missions permanentes auprès des cours de Paris, Vienne, Londres et Berlin. Elle avait l'intention d'en entretenir une également auprès d'une cinquième puissance (Russia), qui éluda adroitement sa proposition. D'après le plan adopté, huit ou dix jeunes Othomans devaient être attachés à chacune de ces ambassades, et pourvus des moyens nécessaires pour s'instruire dans les langues, les sciences et les arts de l'Europe » (8).

Actually, however, the scheme was not executed all at once, and no attempt was ever made to carry out the educational policy described by D'Ohsson. Selim began by appointing a resident minister in London. He was Yusuf 'Agah Effendi (9); and as his mission was the first of its kind, the Turkish historian Djevdet Pasha thought fit to publish in extenso 'Agah's report on his reception at the court of St. James (10). Later on, Selim thought of extending his plan. Russia, however, refused to receive an Ottoman minister. Austria was not so decided in her refusal and later on consent-

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(6) D'Ohsson, « Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman » (Paris, 1820) vol. 3, p. 461.

(7) An undated report by Codrika, the Greek dragoman of Ali Effendi, Archives Min. Eff. E. Turquie, Suppléments, vol. 23.

(8) D'Ohsson, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 463.

(9) Djevdet, « Tarikh » (Constantinople 1286 A.H.) vol. VI, p. 142. Under the year 1209 A.H. (1794-1795).

(10) Djevdet, op. cit. vol. 6, pp. 290-298.

tionary. It implied, in some measure, that the Turkish Empire had come to take a more liberal view of the nature of its relations with Christendom. The old relations were conceived to be necessarily those of enmity tempered by the conclusion of temporary agreements, which, strictly speaking, were rather truces than treaties of peace. Such agreements were justified on the grounds of practical expediency. One of their objects, for example ,was to grant the subjects of the Christian powers such terms as to enable them to reside in the territories of the sultan (3). It was as a result of these arrangements that the Powers maintained permanent diplomatic and consular representation in Turkey. In spite of this, however, certain of them, notably Austria and Russia persisted in viewing their relations with the Ottoman Empire as essentially those of enmity (4). It was only in the Congress of Paris (1856) that the participant powers "declared the sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the Public Law and System (concert) of Europe'' (5).

The ancient practice of the Porte was to send extraordinary embassies for specific objects, to conclude a treaty, to notify the accession of a new sultan. Such were, for instance, the embassies sent to France in 1581, 1618, 1669, 1721 and 1742. We are told that the ambassadors in these days were instructed to submit on their return full reports embody-

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(3) Most of the works dealing with the Capitulations discuss this point. See, for example, Pierre Arminjon, « Etrangers et Protégés dans l'Empire Ottoman », (Paris, 1903) vol. 1, pp. 9-16.

(4) The representative of Russia in Constantinople had the title of « envoy » and that of Austria the title of « Internuncio ». On the significance of the latter title, Sammarco has a useful note in his « Il regno di Mohammed Ali nei documenti diplomatici italiani inediti », (Cairo, 1930) vol. 1, p. 1, note 1. He writes, « È noto che Internunzio è il titolo specifico dell' ambasciatore, temporaneo e di secondo grado, inviato dalla Santa Sede presso quelle Potenze che par la loro scarsa importanza non richiedono la presenza stabile d'un ambasciatore di primo grado, detto nunzio. Col nome d'internunzio fu anche designato il rappresentante austriaco presso la Porta, perché, a ben considerare, fra l'Austria e la Turchia non fu mai concluso un vero trattoto di pace, ma solamente furono stabilite delle tregue; e però sua Maestà Apostolica d'Austria non aveva nello stato infedele un agente diplomatico permanente ».

(5) Article 7 of the Treaty of Paris. As a logical result, the Congress discussed the question of the Capitulations. It came, however, to no conclusion. See Férand-Giraud, « De la Juridiction française dans les Echelles du Levant et de Barbarie », 2nd edition (Paris 1860) vol. 1, pp. 54-57.

nothing for it but to proceed to the fullest extent (2).

It is noteworthy that most European observers of the Ottoman Empire in the process of shedding its old skin did not take the pains to study it objectively. Some of them, struck by the incongruity of Oriental and Occidental features treated the whole affair as a joke on the part of wayward despots. Others condemned what they regarded as blind imitation, which would not lead to one thing or another. But the most distorted view is that of those observers who denied the sincerity of the leaders of the movement and considered it as mere eye-wash, as mere playing on the credulity of European opinion. Eye-wash indeed! Selim III paid for his innovations by losing first his throne and then his life. And what of the grim tragedy of the destruction of the Janissaries, of the burdens imposed on the Fellaheen of Egypt and the peasantry of Anatolia, of the acute "malaise" suffered by oriental society for the last hundred years ?

The proper way to obtain a clear view of the whole movement seems to be only possible by the impassionate detailed study of its several aspects and incidents. This article deals with the attempt to introduce certain Western methods into the diplomatic service of the Porte.

The first change in the old system dates from the early years of the eighteenth century, when, as a result of the disastrous war of 1682-1699, the Porte recognised that the days when it could dictate terms to the vanquished were over and that it had to obtain by negotiation the least onerous terms possible. It had, therefore, to turn to its Christian subjects for assistance. They were learned in the languages and usages of the West, and more versed in Western ways than their masters. Certain diplomatic and administrative high offices of State became thus open to them for the first time. In this way began the fortunes — and misfortunes — of the Hypselantes, the Callimachis, the Mourouzes.

The next step, which resulted in the missions, two of which form the subject of this article, was even more revolu-

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(2) A clear and balanced study of the movement may be found in Toynbee and Kirkwood's « Turkey » (London, 1926), the first three chapters, and also in Toynbee's « Survey of International Affairs for 1925 » (London and Oxford, 1927) pp. 67-81.

attempt to dominate Europe. Sedki's share in these mighty events was quite insignificant, and a series of personal misfortunes added a note of tragedy to his residence in England.

Taken, however, as a part of the revolution in Ottoman history that began during the second half of the eighteenth century and had been going on ever since, these two missions are worthy of study. They were, in fact, among the first intimations that Turkey had determined to face West. They also illustrate the inner story of the process of Westernisation: its inception and setbacks.

Ottoman institutions began to show definite signs of failure in the seventeenth century. Two ways of reform suggested themselves. At first, some statesmen were of opinion that the Ottoman system was inherently sound and that all that was needed for the health and vigour of the body politic was stern suppression of the abuses that had been allowed to creep in and impair the efficiency of the machinery of the state (1). Various sultans and viziers tried this way of reform. It was clear, however, that however ruthless was the extirpation of mutinous soldiers and dishonest officials, the relief was only temporary and the decline of Ottoman power was not stopped. It became evident that the root of the evil lay deeper and that the machinery of government had ceased to work because it was hopelessly beyond repair. The example of Russia and some of the sultan's own Christian subjects emphasised the necessity of adopting some of the ways of the West in order to be able to withstand the impact of the West. The westernising sultans, beginning with Selim III, were, on the whole, chary in their borrowings from the civilisation of Europe. It was not until a later period that the Ottoman Turks, or at any rate their rulers, were obliged to admit that Western civilisation was one and indivisible and that once the system of borrowing had started there was

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(1) The most notable exponent of this view of Turkish reform was Koci Beg. He was the trusted adviser of Sultan Murad IV, for whom he composed the famous treatise known as « Risâle-i Koci Beg ». It is with the aid of this treatise that Rambaud made his careful analysis of the decadence of Turkey. See the « Histoire Générale » of Lavisse and Rambaud, volume 5, pp. 880-887. For editions of the Risâle see Encyclopaedia of Islam under Koci Beg.

THE MISSIONS OF ALI EFFENDI IN PARIS AND OF SEDKI EFFENDI IN LONDON. 1797 — 1811
A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE WESTERNISATION OF OTTOMAN INSTITUTIONS.

by Shafik Ghorbal

If the importance of diplomatic missions is to be measured solely by results, the embassies of Ali Effendi and Sedki Effendi to Paris and London respectively do not deserve to be rescued from the oblivion into which they have fallen. The first of the two ambassadors, Ali, was a helpless spectator of the new orientation of French policy which led to Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798; and, when it later suited the French government to allow him to show any initiative, he committed his court to a diplomatic act, which placed the Porte in serious difficulties. Nor was his colleague, Sedki, more fortunate in London. His residence in that capital extended from 1803 to 1811, a period of great importance in the development of Anglo-Turkish relations. England was then the ally of Turkey and had contributed to the discomfiture of the French venture for the possession of Egypt. The two allies, however, were not able to agree on any scheme of government for that province. Eastern affairs, moreover, were soon merged in the all-engrossing problem of Napoleon's

(*) « Authorities » : The main source of information is the official correspondence preserved in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, and the Public Record Office, London. Specific references to the papers will be made in the footnotes.

The mission of Ali Effendi has been excellently studied by Maurice Herbette in his work, « Une ambassade turque sous le Directoire », Paris 1902. It is based throughout on first-hand material.

The various episodes touched by the embassies are dealt with in the present writer's « Beginnings of the Egyptian Question », (London 1928) and in other works, to which specific references will be made in the footnotes.

97 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 608.

98 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 603.

99 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 604.

100 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 609.

101 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 611.

102 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 612. It happened in that year that the building of the Ashrafiya. Madrassa (School) was completed, and the Sultan saw fit to have the crown of Cyprus suspended on the porch, in commemoration of his victory. Ibn Ayas (Badai' (ed. Cairo) vol. II. p. 18) who lived to 1522, wrote that « up to now it was still hanging on the gate of that school ». A much later writer added that Barsbey paid the expenses of building this school « out of the Cypriot booty in that year ».

103 — A graphic description of the procession is in Abu-l-Mahasin (Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 612-613). As for the number of prisoners it is difficult to obtain a clear estimate. Acocrding to Abu-l-Mahasin (Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 613) they numbered about 1000, besides those who were carried by the volunteers into their districts without permission of the Commander in Chief. Ibn Hadjar (Op. cit. fol. 279 A) estimated them at 37000 prisoners; and Khalil Ibn Shahin (Op. cit. p. 144) at 36000.

104 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 613-614; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 279B.

105 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 614; Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 279 B.

106 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 614.

107 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 615.

108 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 616; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 280 A.

109 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 616-617; Pero Tafur : Op. cit. pp. 67, 70.

110 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 617.

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85 — Khalil ibn Shahin : Op. cit. p. 142; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 278 B; Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 653-55) mentions three envoys, the third of whom, a Cypriot villager, was entrusted with a letter to Janus, the text of which is also in Makhairas, vol. I. pp. 655-57).

86 — Ibid : Op. cit. p. 142; Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 278 B; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 533-36; Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 657.

87 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 172 A; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 536-537; Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 657-658.

88 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. 172 A; Ibid : Op. cit. pp. 537-538; Ibid : Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 657-67. The two Cypriot accounts are sober and detailed, whereas the account of 'Aini is bombastic and engerally vague. See also Cobham : Bishop Graziani's Chronicle, p. 11. The number of slain on both sides must have been great. Abu-l-Mahasin (Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 607) said, on the authority of eyewitnesses, that the Christians left 2000; Khalil Ibn Shahin (Op. cit. p. 143) estimated them at 6000. Well might 'Aini (Op. cit. fol. 172 B.) say boastfully that the number of their slain was incalculable « many others were wounded and non was unhurt save those whose predestined hour had not arrived ». Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 657-667) was in charge of the wine during this campaign, his narrative is full of essential details, but he is also most clear on the causes of the defeat of King Janus.

89 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 172 B. According to Khalil Ibn Shahin Op. cit. 143) and Ibn Hadjar (Op. cit. fol. 279 A) the Mamluks carried the Great Cross with them to Larnaka. Félix Fabri : Wanderings (ed. A. Stewart), (vol. I. p. 192, 195-197) gave a graphic account of the Great Cross which he saw in Cyprus in 1488.

90 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 173 B.

91 — Ibid : Op. cit. fols. 173B-174A; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 539.

92 — Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 279 A. Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 667, vol. II. p. 227) relates that no sea fight took place, for when the Muslims sighted the Chrsitian ships, the Mamluk commander « forced the King to write a letter to the fleet to order it to retire; and they played the coward and retired, taking the King's pay and doing nothing for it ». He mentions, however, (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 671) that the King's ships came back after being dismissed, causing much alarm to the victors.

93 — Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 667-69; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 540.

94 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 669-71; Ibid : Op. cit. p. 540.

95 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 671; Ibid : Op. cit p. 540; 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 173 A.

96 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. 1. p. 671-73; Ibid : Op. cit. p. 541; Ibid Op. cit. 173 A. It is comforting that 'Aini condemned these atrocities in an emphatic way.

69 — See Mas. Latrie : Op. cit. Docs. vol. I. pp. 516-517.

70 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 599; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV., fol. 107 B.

71 — Pero Tafur : Travels (ed. Letts) p. 65. Mosen Saurez is called « the nephew of the Lord of the Catalans », by the Egyptian annalists.

72 — Vertot : Op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 324, 325; 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 171A; Makhairas : Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 667.

73 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 171 A; Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 606.

74 — Khalil B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 142; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 278; Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 651-53; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 535.

75 — Ibid : Op. cit. p. 142; Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 278B. The would be Sultan Ina (The beardless) joined that expedition; he was then only a Lord of the Drum.

76 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. Vol. VI. p. 600.

77 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 599.

78 — Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 278 B.

79 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 775. But Ibn Hadjar (Op. cit. fol. 278 B), who was no friend of 'Aini, said it was Badr-al-Din B. Muzhir who advised the Sultan not to be discouraged. Saleh ibn Yahya (Op. cit. p. 321) was expected to join this expedition too with a transport from Beyrut, but the contrariness of the winds at Damietta delayed his ship till after the general departure.

80 — Salih Ibn Yahya : Op. cit. p. 321. Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 278 B. The latter authority added that as soon as the Alexandria squadron had left the port to join the main fleet off Rosetta, some resident Franks succeeded in informing the Cypriot squadron of the fact, and the latter thereupon sailed into the harbour of Alexandria to do their worst. But the storm which had upset the Egyptian plan, had also confounded the calculations of the Frank spies in Alexandria. Of the flotilla from the day it sailed from Bulak, Abu-l-Mahasin gives a slightly different version (see Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI, pp. 601-603).

81 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 171 B; Strambaldi : Op cit. p. 535.

82 — Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 171 B; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 278 B; Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 653.

83 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI, pp. 604-605. The same authority gives the date of storming the castle as 3 July.

84 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 172 A.

Christians and become a Mameluk to them ». According to the latter authority, « he was one of the courtiers of the lord of Cyprus »; this seems to identify him with Sir John Gasel. (See Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 631; and Mas Latrie : Docs. I. p. 509.

56 — Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 533. According to Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 637) the Prince chafed against the appointement of the counsellors, and « found it very hard to bear that the was held in so tightly ».

57 — Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 637; 'Aini : op. cit. fol. 170A.

58 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 170A.

59 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 593.

60 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 593; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 102 A.

61 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 593; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 534; Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 637) deals at some length with this last stage of the campain. According to Saleh ibn Yahya (Op. cit. p. 319) the destination of the departing flotilla was Paphos, but the contrariness of the winds finally decided the commanders to steer homeward.

62 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI pp. 590, 592; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 102A.

63 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 170B; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 102B.

64 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 593; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 102B.

65 — 'Aini : Op cit. fol. 170 B; Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 593; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 102 B.

66 — Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 534; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 573A. A short necrological notice of Shaik Muhammad, who died in June 1433, is to be found in Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 308A.

67 — Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 274 A.

68 — Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 273 A; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 534, and note 7. Ibn Hadjar, however, put Rabi I, 828 (January, 1425) as the month in which the Shaikh sent his son to Cyprus; it is therefore a case of choosing between Strambaldi and Ibn Hadjar; but it is probable that the latter meant Rabi I, 829 (January 1426). This peace move is dealt with at great length in Makhairas, but the date of it is not mentioned. (Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 639-49; vol. II. pp. 218-19). A letter which the Shaikh had given to his son, to hand to King Janus and which the king was never allowed to see, is preserved in Makhairas too. The son, however, went back to his father with an answer from King Janus. Its main points are that the King defies the Sultan; the kings' army is as good as the Sultan's; that if the Catalans have pillaged in Syria, he is not to blame; that the Cypriots have a right to buy and sell where they please, especially with other Chistians.

38 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 585; Ibid. Op. cit IV. fol. 99 B.

39 — Khalil B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 139; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 274 B.; Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 633.

40 — Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 532; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV, fols. 99B., 100A.

41 — Khaill B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 139; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 274 B.

42 — Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV, fol. 100B; Strambaldi p. 532. The former authority gave Laodicea as the town, while the latter said Jazza, which Mas Latrie corrected to Lajazzo (Ayas), the native town of Captain Fadil. Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 633) mentions only this incident of all that happened to Thomas Provosto.

43 — Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 274 B. Neither Makhairas nor Strambaldi mention any thing of Dan Palol in this connection.

44 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 590; Khalil B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 139; Salih Ibn Yahya (Op. cit. p. 317) commanded the grab from Beirut in this expedition.

45 — Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 532. According to Salih Ibn Yahya Op. cit. p. 317), and 'Aini (Op. cit. fol. 169A) the flotilla stayed for about ten days at the harbour of Tripolis, an interval long enough for a messenger to go to Cyprus and come back. In note No. 2 on the same page in Saleh Ibn Yahya, Janus is said to have been inclined towards peace, but his brother was for war.

46 — According to Makhairas (Op. cit, vol. I. p. 633, vol. II, p. 216) the Muslim fleet first came to Khelones, on the south coast of the Carpasi Peninsula just south of Rizokarpaso.

47 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 590.

48 — Ibid : Op cit. vol. VI p. 590; Khalil ibn Shahin : Op. cit. p. 140.

49 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 169 B.; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 533. Makhairas (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 633) follows the campain very closely.

50 — Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 169 B.; Ibid : Op. cit. p. 533; Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 633-35.

51 — Khalil ibn Shahin : Op. cit. p. 140.

52 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 591; Saleh ibn Yahya : Op. cit. p. 318.

53 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 591.; Ibid : Op. cit. p. 319; Khalil ibn Shahin : Op. cit. pp. 140-141; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 533.

54 — 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 169 B.; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 533.

55 — Ibid : Op. cit. fol. 169B; Khalil ibn Shahin : Op. cit. p. 141. The person in charge of the munition carts was called by both authorities Ayn al-Ghazal who, according to the former authority, « was a Circassian... fallen into the hands of the

24 — Ibn Hadjar (Op. cit. fol. 271a) confuses this puny expedition with the one which took place in the following year, and gives the number of the troops of the latter as that of the first expedition. The version of Saleh ibn Yahya (Op. cit. pp. 315-316), regarding this expedition, tallies in essential detail with the others; but it adds that three of the five ships which constituted the flottilla were fitted with 180 oars each, the other two were of a much less capacity.

25 — Khalil B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 138; Mas Latrie (Op. cit. Docs. vol. I, p. 507, N. 1.) identified Ras Alyak with Cape Gatto south of Limassol.

26 — 'Aini and Strambaldi and Makhairas agree with Khalil B. Shahin's version as to the arrival of the expedition at Cape Gatto, and its immediate advance towards Limassol. Makrizi (Op. cit. vol. IV, fol. 97 A) and Abu-l-Mahasin (Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 882), who copied from the former and was therefore echoing his master's voice, asserted that the expedition arrived first at Famagusta and then proceeded to Limassol. This would mean that Ras Alyak should be identified, not with Cape Gatto, but Cape Elaea north of Famagusta. Ibn Hadjar (Op. cit. fol. 271A), together with a much later disciple (Author Unknown : Life of Kaitbey, fol. 59B), who copied slavishly from him, agreed with Makrizi's assertion, which would be, however, improbable considering the size of the expedition and the distance between Cape Elaea and Limassol.

27 — Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 631; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 531.

28 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 631-33; Ibid : Op. cit. p. 531; Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 582.

29 — Khalil B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 138.

30 — Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 633; Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 531.

31 — Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV, fol. 97A. It is surprising that such a well-informed authority as Ibn Hadjar should say that the number of prisoners was 16000. This is clearly a copyist's mistake, in which Ibn Hadjar's plagiarist (see Note No. 26) could only persist. For the distribution of the booty according to the law of Islam, see Enc. Isl. Arts. Fai' and Ghanima.

32 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 582; Khalil. B. Shahin : Op. cit. p. 138.

33 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 582-583; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fols. 99B, 100B.

34 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 584. Djerbash is the Shirmash of Salih Ibn Yahya (Op. cit. p. 316), and of Aini too (Op. cit. fol. 168B.).

35 — Abu-l-Mahasin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 588.

36 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 588; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV, fols. 100 B., 101 A.

37 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 584; Ibid : Op. cit. vol. IV, fol. 99B.

from Saracen plunder . . . . . » (Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 622-23; vol. II. p. 212 note 2 to Paragraph 636.)

9 — Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 623, 629.

10 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 629; Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 22A.; Ibn Hadjar : Op. cit. fol. 215B.

11 — Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 623.

12 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 629.

13 — Ibid : Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 629-31.

14 — Khalil Ibn Shahin : Op. cit. p. 138.

15 — The only evidence that this was one of Barsbey's motives is the assertion of 'Aini, who was a personal friend of the Sultan Barsbey and in his confidence. (See 'Aini : Op. cit. fol. 168 A.)

16 — Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 101 A. Captain Fadil could not have been the Saracen slave who escaped from Cyprus to Egypt, and told the Sultan how the corsairs were ravaging his coasts, and how the Cypriots purchased the goods from them. Fâdil is identified with the tall Mamlûk who was captured by the Cypriots in 1425. (See Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 631, Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 532.)

17 — Strambaldi : Op. cit. 535. As will be seen, the Genoese in Famagusta actually facilitated the task of the Mamluks during the various stages of their campaign in the Island of Cyprus in 1424 and 1425. Long before then, Janus had tried by war to end the hold of the Genoese over Famagusta, with the sole result that he was compelled in 1409 to sign, on the advice of the Grand Master of Rhodes, an onerous treaty, on the lines of the one which his father had signed in 1374. It was clearly in the interest of the Genoese that Janus should be kept occupied by another foe. (See Vertot : History of the Knights of Rhodes. Vol. I. pp. 308-310; Camb. Med. History. Vol. IV. p. 470; Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. I. pp. 209, 210-211.)

18 — Vertot : Op. cit. vol. I. p. 324; see also Enc. Isl. Art. Djakmak (Cakmak).

19 — Enc. Isl. Art. Cyprus.

20 — Abû-l-Mahâsin : Op. cit. Vol. VI. p. 608.

21 — Enc. Isl. Art. Cyprus.

22 — Abû-l-Mahâsin, Op. cit. Vol. VI. p. 580. Before going any further, it is necessary to point out that the story of the three expeditions against Cyprus, as given here, is based primarily upon 'Aini's version in his chronicle 'Ikd al Djumân (fols. 168 A. — 174 A. (Bibl. Nat. Ms. Ar. No. 1544). There are several other versions in Arabic, as well as that of Makhairas in Cypriot Greek and Strambaldi's in Italian.

23 — Makrizi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 87 A. Regarding the type of boat known in Arabic as « سلورة », Dozy does not go beyond « sorte de barque » in giving its meaning, but also gives a Greek equivalent.

some of these names of ships; see also Charles Bourel la Roncière : Histoire de la Marine Française (Five vols. Paris 1899-1920). The last two names in this list i.e « بنف جرم » need some special explanation. The word « بنف » occurs in the Chronicle of Sâleh ibn Yahya in the plural form as « بنوف », which M. le P. Cheikho was unable to identify. (Ibid : Op. cit. pp. 317, 350 N. 5). But with the change of the last letter « ف » into « ق », the singular form of the resulting word « بنوق » becomes strickingly similar to the English word « pink » i.e a ship with a very narrow stern. Another type of sailing craft which may also help in identifying the « بنف » of Sheikho's text is the « nef ». See Daphne Muir's historical novel : The Lost Crusade p. 91. As for the other type of boat, namely the « جرم », see Makhairas Op. cit. vol. 1. pp. 639, 651, vol. II. 218. 220.
It is interesting to know too that the type of ship called in French « taforèse » meaning « vaisseau plat pour le transport de la cavalerie », is given by Dozy (op. cit.) as equivalent to the remarkably similar Arabic word « طيفور », which does not however, occur in the Egyptian Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century. The English words brigantine, brig and grab, will be used indiscriminately whenever the word « غراب » occurs.

4 — Makrizi : Sulûk, vol. IV. fol. 85A (Brit. Mus. Ms. Or 2902; Abû-l-Mahâsin : Nudjûm, vol. VI. p. 561 (ed. Popper). The Arabic Chronicles do not go beyond the word « Efreng » meaning Frankish, in designating the nationality of the pirates. According to W. Heyd (Histoire de Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age, vol. II. p. 475, the Efreng corsiars on this occasion were Catalans.

5 — Abû-l-Mahâsin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 567; 'Aini : 'Ikd. fol. 159 B. (Bibl. Nat. Ms. Arabe 1544); Ibn Hadjar : Inba, fol. 267 A. (Brit. Mus. Ms. Rich. 7321).

6 — According to Saleh ibn Yahyâ (Sheikho : Op. cit. p. 315), the pirates of this incident were Baskawiya (Basques ?), and it was only one merchant ship which the corsairs did seize. This was laden with soap from Tripolis in Syria; and it was owned by Ahmad Ibn el-Hamîm, a merchant of Damietta.

7 — Abû-l-Mahâsin : Op. cit. vol. VI. p. 580; Makrîzi : Op. cit. vol. IV. fol. 96 A.; Khalil. B. Shahîn : Zubdat etc. (ed. Ravaisse) p. 138.

8 — Camb. Med. Hist. vol. IV. p. 470. Strambaldi : Op. cit. p. 531. Makhairas whose Chronicle is the base of that of Strambaldi expatiates a little more on this subject of the pirates. He also allots a considerable share of responsibility to King Janus. Thus he writes for the year 1409 : « And the said King Janus began the war with the Saracens; and the Cypriots were pillaging them from the year 1404 after Christ onwards. And the Sultan endured it in silence for many years, for many of the emirs were not on good terms with him..... And the rulers were getting rich, and so were all the rest

NOTES.

1 — The subject of this essay is part of chapter IV. of my thesis, presented in October 1930, to the Department of Mediaeval History, University of Liverpool, for the Degree of Ph. D. Since then, the Chronicle of Makhairas, written in Cypriot Greek, has been edited with translation and notes by Professor R.M. Dawkins (Oxford, Clarenden Press, 1932). The edition needs no praise, and the Chronicle itself contains much new information, otherwise lacking or obscure in the sources previously drawn upon. Not only that Makhairas was an eyewitness of the battle of Kherokitia in 1426, which decided the fate of Cyprus in the Fifteenth century, but his narative showed that he was fairly in the know of inner information (See Makhairas: Op. cit. vol. 1 pp. 619, 653, 659, 665). Moreover, the Chronicle of Strambaldi, extracts of which are in M. Mas Latrie's collection of documents relating to the history of Cyprus (Op. cit. vol 1. pp. 527-544), and which the present writer had formerly utilised, is a translation into Italian of the more concise of the two existing versions of Makhairas, from which Dawkins edited his work, (Makhairas : Op. cit. vol. II. Introd. pp. 1, 5.)

For the purpose of this essay too, another contemporary source of information has been consulted. This is a part of a Chronicle written in Arabic by Sâleh Ibn Yahya, who served in one of the Sultan's expeditions against Cyprus as sea captain, and is especially enlightening on the naval side of the war. It is to be found in M. le P. Louis Sheikho: Un Dernier Echo des Croisades : Appendice à l'Histoire de Beyrouth et des émirs d'Al-Garb de Salih ibn Yahya, texte et traduction (Mélange de la Faculté Orientale, Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth, Syrie 1906, Vol. I. pp. 303-375).

2 — See below.

3 — The English equivalent to the Arabic word « غراب », meaning a certain type of war craft, is given in the Dictionary « الفرائد الدرية » as corvet. Johnson's Arabic-Persian-English Dictionary gives the English word grab for it. This is connoted in Webster's International Dictionnary thus : « Grab... a coasting vessel of light draft and broad beam, with square raking stern, and sharp bow with long overhang, used in the East. It has lateen sails and usually two masts ». Dozy (Supp. Dict. Ar.) gives the following as meaning for « غراب », : « galère... brigantin, petit vaisseau à voile et à rames pour aller en course ». Names of various other types of naval and merchant marine of Egypt occur in the Arabic chronicles of the Fifteenth century, but the exact English equivalent to some of them is not always to be found. These are طرادة. سلورة. قرقورة. جرم. بنف. شختورة. شيني. مركب مخروط. مركب مروس. حراقة. نقالة. غراب. حمالة.
Torr's work (Ancient Ships, Cambridge, 1894) throws light on

delight, and his eyes watered out of sheer joy (100). Elaborate preparations and decorations were set afoot for the reception of the victors, whose first arrrivals reached Damietta early in August (101). Cairo went out to witness the entry of the triumphal procession; and its crowds were swollen by innumerable people, who had come especially from the provinces to see the return of the conquerers, after such brief but decisive campaign (102). The crown and the royal banners of Cyprus were carried in triumph through the streets, in front of King Janus and Mosen Saurez, who were mounted on mules, and followed by a couple of thousand prisoners (103). The King was dismounted at Bab-al-Mudarradj of the Citadel, where he kissed the ground, and was then led, bareheaded and in irons, to the presence of the Sultan, who was surrounded by a brilliant Court, at the head of which sat the Sharif of Mecca himself. By a strange coincidence a splendid array of foreign envoys from Turkey, Turkhoman principalities and Tunis, as well as representatives of Syrian governers and vassals, was also present (104). Janus was ordered to kiss the ground before the Sultan, at which he fainted, but on recovery he bowed to adversity and pitifully complied (105). He was then taken aside, so that Brasbey might gloat over the parade of booty and wretched prisoners, which was followed by the march past of the units of the victors (106). Janus was then brought to the presence, and again kissed the ground; he was left standing for a long while until the Sultan had a long look at him, after which he was removed in honourable custody to the tower of the Citadel. Barsbey then bestowed the customary robes of honour on the victorious emirs, and the ceremony was at an end (107).

(To be continued).

dusk till dawn of the next morning (91). Under cover of dark ness, the Egyptians tried to board some of the Cypriot boats, in spite of a heavy discharge of missiles, and they finally managed to capture one caravel in the morning twilight. This seems to have decided the battle, as shortly afterwards the Cypriot flotilla took to the open sea (92).

Taghribardi on the other hand reached Nicosia, from which, contrary to the alarming news, the Bishop had departed to Kerynia with the King's son and daughter, leaving Stathi Burelli as governor (93). The town offered no resistance; indeed some of its dignitaries, who spoke the language of the invaders, took torches and welcomed them into the city in the small hours of the morning of Thurdsay, 11 July (94). Elated but surprised at this strange sucess, Taghribardi betook himself to the King's palace, where he pitched his headquarters. He asked to be informed of the revenues from the royal dues, and was tactfully silenced by a handsome sum of money, with more to follow for the coffers of the Sultan. On that understanding, he issued a proclamation of safety and security, and all was well (95). On the morning of the following Friday, however, a Mamluk corps arrived from Larnaka, but as the soldiers had not heard of the general proclamation, they began to plunder the houses and the churches and the monasteries. Their raid developed into general slaughter and a fierce sword fight; and they crowned their outburst, which had already lasted two days and one night, with setting fire to the King's palace from which al-Mahmudi, their commander-in-chief, was extricated with great difficulty (96). With no more booty to loot, they all left Nicosia in chaos, and returned to the Salt-Pans.

The conquest of the island was accomplished, and the invaders had realised their highest expectations. They decided to go home, and sent a courier to announce the news, but stayed for seven days at the Salt Pans, resting and celebrating their victory (97). The Sultan and his people were indeed thirsting for news, for since the great tidings of the sack of Limassol, which had arrived in Cairo in July, and made the metropolis rejoice, nothing had been heard (98). Thus on the arrival of the courier Cairo went en fête, and the shawms and flutes and hautbois and drums of the Citadel were ordered to play for three days (99). The Sultan was radiant with

when they found themselves face to face with the vanguard and skirmishers of the King's army, which had arrived two days earlier at the village of Kherokitia on the river Vassilipotamo. The vanguard offered no battle, but hurried back to their headquarters with many wounded, who gave Janus painful and palpable assurance that the Egyptians were at hand (87).

Janus arranged his troops in squadrons of 100 and of 50, and gave instructions that the foot-soldiers should advance in "testudo" form.The Egyptians came very quitely over the top of the hill towards the plain,and pounced upon the Cypriots, but were repulsed and forced to retreat. The King failed to follow up his first advantage with a hot pursuit, as his army was unreasonably panic-stricken and would not advance. The greated number of the footmen abandoned their arms and fled, because they were not skilled in fighting. Confusion followed and chaos ruled, and the Mamluks, renewing the battle, won the day. They overtook and slew the King's brother, who had with singular brutality set fire to the hanging dead body of the Mamluk herald, on his return after the first attack. They also captured King Janus, as well as Mosen Saurez, near the gate of the village tower. "Then they turned back, and all those whom they found weary they slew, and the others they hacked to pieces" (88).

The troops followed the victory with the usual ravage and rapine, pillage and plunder, all over the neighbourhood. They crowned their vandalism with setting fire to the Church of the Great Cross on Mount Staurowuno (Djabal al-Salib), after which they repaired as pre-arranged to the Salt-Pans. There, they were shortly joined by the sea forces on 10 July 1426, and the naval commander received the captive King on board (89).

At that juncture,abundant evidence reached the Egyptians that though Janus was now in their hands,his other brother,the Bishop of Nicosia, was fortifying the Cypriot Capital, and arming to give them battle. In consequence the emir Taghribardi al-Mahmudi marched to the Capital, with the main part of the land army (90). Suddenly, however, but much too late to undo the disaster of Kherokitia, a huge Christian fleet appeared off Larnaka, and a great sea fight, in which two pilgrim ships were fatally involved, raged on 10 July from

ended in Egyptian victory, owing to the timely arrival of the greater part of the main flotilla from Rosetta (80).

The combined fleet steered directly to Cyprus this time, and cast anchor on 1st July 1426, at Livadia on the coast of Avdimu, a few miles from Limassol. The land forces disembarked and pitched their tents, while the sea troops remained aboard in full readiness and preparedness for battle in case Frankish ships appeared on the scene (81). Then a mounted detachment of the land forces set out towards the castle of Limassol, which to their astonishment they found to have been throughly repaired and fortified with a new deep moat. They attacked the walls deligently, and succeeded in scaling at one side of the rampart, thanks to the intrepid valour of their commander, Yashbak Karkash, a noted knight, who set the example and was followed by many others. The soldiers of the garrison, who had been boiling tar to pour on the attackers, were surprised and hid themselves; but they were slain to a man, and the Egyptians hoisted the Sultan's standard amid their customary shouts of "Allahu Akbar" (82). Then they proceeded with the work of levelling the castle, and for six days Limassol and its neighbourhood suffered grievously at their hands. This work was partly interrupted by the entry into the port of Limassol of a Cypriot galley which, however, took to flight at sight of two challenging Egyptian grabs. It was pursued along the shore by Egyptian horsemen, who soon descried it at anchor, and spurred their mounts towards its disembarking men, whom they put to the sword. They returned in triumph with five heads, which they suspended from the shattered walls of the castle of Limassol (84).

The sack of Limassol was deemed enough to bring Janus to his kneess, and thus before the Egyptians had taken any further steps, they sent a herald to the King summoning him to surrender (85). Three days earlier, Janus had given the order for a general march from Nicosia, and he was already at Potamia at the head of the army when the Mamluk messenger arrived; the latter was refused audience and was tortured to death (86). In consequence the land and sea forces of the invaders decided on 7 July, which was the first day of the month of Ramadan, to advance separately towards the Salt-Pans. But the former had only covered a very short distance

the war. That prince had everything to gain by the war, for his puny principality was always threatened by the allied powers of the Lusignan and the Karaman, of whom the former held Gorhigos as a sword over his head, and the latter hemmed in his territories on land. And lastly, the news that Janus had applied to the Courts of Europe for aid, to make a concerted attack on the ports of Egypt and Syria, decided Barsbey to abandon any idea of peace, which was at best remote (74).

Barsbey prepared everything on a grand scale, to ensure success for the third expedition. He commisisioned a considerable number of Egyptian emirs, and alloted the land and sea commands, giving the former to Taghribardi al-Mahmudi, Supreme Chief of the Guard, and the latter to Inal al Djakmi, Master of the Audience, with express instructions not to infringe upon each other's sphere of command (75). The army itself numbered about 5000 men, of whom a considerable portion consisted of volunteers, who had calmoured and begged for leave to join the "holy war". Some of these, being refused on account of lack of transport, even joined without the knowledge of the Sultan as camp followers (76). Considerable contingents of Syrian Bedouins, and Mamluk solidery from Damascus, Safad, Gaza, and Tripolis, formed another feature of the army of the expedition. They arrived in Cairo, and paraded the streets amid the loud cheers of the populace; and shortly after, began to make their way to Bulak where all troops assembled ready to sail (77). On June 1st. they set out in a flotilla that consisted of about 100 vessels of all types and sizes, expecting to be joined off Rosetta by a squadron of five caracks from Alexandria. But before that took place, the flotilla met near Rosetta with a violent storm, which wrecked four ships and cost the expedition ten lives and a hundred horses, besides a considerable amount of provisions (78). The mishap nearly decided the Sultan to postpone the expedition till the next year, had it not been for the persuasion of the historian 'Aini (79). The damage was expeditiously repaired, and the flotilla went its way to rejoin the squadron of Alexandria, which had returned to its base until the repairs were completed. There, it was surprised by four Cypriot men-of-war, which had been lying in wait off the coast to repeat more successfully the attempt of the last year. But the encounter

ruse in the presence of the pious man's son, whom the King was not allowed to see, and the peace overtures were brought to a close (68).

Janus was intent upon war, and appealed to Christendom for military aid; but the response was very poor. He applied to Venice for a loan of money on ample surety, and asked for troops and crossbowmen from the Republic; but Venice declined to give any help, and even prohibited its nationals from participating privately in the campaign, thus cutting off the possibility of such private aid as had reached Cyprus from the Venetian sugar merchants during the last campaign (69). Constantinople, decrepit and senile herself, could not possibly give any material aid, but the Emperor sent a messenger to Cairo with a rich gift, to intervene on behalf of the Cypriots. Yet though the Sultan graciously accepted the present, he rejected the mediation for peace (70). Castile sent no official help; but a Castilian adventurer named Mosen Saurez, who became in later years admiral of the Cypriot fleet, joined the King's forces and fought in his ranks (71). Rhodes and the Knights of the Order of St. John, on the other hand, had vested interests in Cyprus, and the Master of the Order prided himself on being the guardian and protector of the Lusignan House. Like the Emperor of Constantinople, he failed in mediating for peace, but sent considerable help of ships, men and munitions (72). Ali of Karaman, who had suffered imprisonment in Cairo at the hands of the Egyptian Sultans, and was then on friendly terms with Cyprus, also gave aid in the form of allowing Janus to hire Karaman soldiery for the campaign (73).

Barsbey was also equally intent on war. He had intended no such hasty return as his troops had made on their own initiative, but meant a permanent conquest of Cyprus. He was further encouraged by the reports of the returning warriors, who related to him that the Cypriots "were not cunning in war", and also by some Genoese nationals in Alexandria, who, apparently on instructions from home, told the Sultan that the King of Cyprus had no forces left to set against his hardy troops. Their idea was clearly to keep Janus occupied with the Egyptians, so that he would have no time to entertain again the dream of recovering Famagusta. Barsbey was also importuned by the Kaikobad prince of 'Alaya to prosecute

return (60). Meanwhile the Cypriot army under the command of the Viscount of Nicosia appeared, but soon retreated after being worsted in several engagements, and the Mamluk commander-in-chief thought it high time to unfurl sail (61) .

The first news from Cyprus concerning the expedition arrived Cairo on 24 August 1425, announcing the land and sea victories at the Salt-Pans. The Mamluk Capital went en fête, and the Sultan ordained that the joyful despatch be read publicly at the mosques of Amr b. al-'As and Al-Ashrafiya. Four days later, however, news came announcing the arrival of the expedition at al-Tina, which was hastily construed as meaning that the initial successes of the epedition had been reversed. The people's glee was damped, and the Sultan swore that he would immediately send a larger expedition. But the courier, who arrived from al-Tina a few days later, explained everything, and the people cheered (62). The victors entered Cairo on 9 September, and went up to the Sultan on the morrow in a triumphal procession with 1060 prisoners and a grand booty, which was carried by 170 porters, 10 camels and 4 mules (63). When all was reviewed by the Sultan, he cammanded that prisoners be publicly sold, and the booty be valued; but to his credit it must be recorded that he gave strict instructions not to separate the parents from their children or other near relatives (64). The sale was conducted by Inal al-Shishmani, Lesser Chief of the Guard, and supervised by Djakmak al-'Alai, Master of the horse, who was destined to become Sultan. On the authority of the former, the proceeds of the sale amounted to the considerable sum of 23,300 Dinars, all of which went to the state treasury after each adventurer had been paid 3½ or 7 Dinars (65).

It appears that in the wake of the victors, a Cypriot peace mission, consisting of Don Thomaso Provosto and Don Jean Podochataro, arrived in Damascus with the intention of approaching the Sultan through one Shaikh Muhammed Ibn Kodaidar, a pious man of great esteem in Syria (66). Indeed, it was rumoured in Cairo that Janus had written to the Governer of Damascus, offering to make peace with the Sultan (67). It is certain, moreover, that Shaikh Muhammed, in order to further the prospects of peace, sent his own son to Cyprus to convince the King of the necessity of mollifying the Sultan, but the King's counsellors could see nothing but a

ers with the intention of boarding their ships, and as a result the Cypriots retreated, and gave up the day. Thus were dashed the hopes of the King's brother, who had quartered himself at Aradippou, and was watching the battle from a distance (53).

The Egyptians then steered into the harbour of al-Mallaha; there they sighted a company of about 300 Cypriots, whom the prince of Galilee had sent to engage the Saracens as soon as they disembarked. They were routed, and the Muslims seized the occasion and saked the salt-Pans and the neighbouring villages including Aradippou.They ravaged much, and captured many prisoners to the number of 492 (54). Their booty was further swollen by the seizure of three munition carts, sent by the King for the assistance of al-Mallaha, which they had just laid in ruins (55). On the following day, 11 August, the Prince of the Galilee gave up the idea of engaging the Mamluks in further battle, on the advice of his consellors, whom "the King had given to the Prince, they being wise men" (56).

A couple of days later the Egyptians proceeded to al-Lamsun, where they arrived on 15 August. Their objective was the castle of the town, and they landed a company of 150 men with some Mamluks for its capture. They had no great difficulty in storming it, as they had been previously informed of an unguarded part of the wall by some escaped Muslim slaves. Thus, although its garrison fought stoutly, its surrender was a foregone conclusion. On 16 August, which coincided with the beginning of the Lesser Bairam, the Muslims triumphantly celebrated the day by hoisting the Sultan's standard on the ramparts of the hapless castle of Limassol (57).

Before the Muslims had decided on the next step, they were warned by a fugitive company of Egyptian prisoners from Piskopi that Venice had just sent aid to the Cypriots (58). This news, added to the rumour that the King of Cyprus was about to send his armies against them under a new command, spread fear in the ranks of the victorious, who were becoming tired of the war, and were perhaps eager to carry their booty into safety by going home (59). The commander-in-chief likewise deemed it opportune to depart, and issued, with the consent of the rest of the emirs, a general order to prepare for

brigs, which had sailed recently from Bulak, he plainly saw the futility of giving battle and sailed away (43).

The eight vessels sailed from Damietta on 7 July, 1425, and were joined first at Beyrut and then at Tripolis by many more ships, Mamluks, volunteers and camp followers. The flotilla now numbered close on forty sail — 5 men-of-war, 19 galleys, 6 horse-transports, and 12 galliots (44). Before the general order to sail from Tripolis was given, Djerbash al-Karimi, the comanmder-in-chief, sent to Janus a message of peace, enjoining him to surrender and pay homage to the sultan; but the King declared for war (45). In consequence the flotilla unfurled sail on 30 July, arrived four days later at Korbass (Karpas) on the north-east coast of Cyprus, and was in the vicinity of Famagusta on 4 August (46). There, all the horsemen and most of the foot soldiers disembarked, and pitched their tents (47). Friendly Famagusta was peacefully surrendered; its Genoese governer hoisted the Sultan's standard on the castle, and told the invaders all he knew of Cypriot preparations (48). For three days the Mamluk troops raided the country west of Famagusta, during which they were timidly followed from one village to another by a small Cypriot army. This was commanded by the King's brother, the Prince of Galilee, who managed to discomfit a scouting party of 20 Egyptians near the village of Stillus, and pushed them back to their boats, less six killed and one prisoner (49).

The flotilla then sailed towards al-Mallaha (Salt-Pans near Larnaka), having left 400 soldiers to watch for the enemy, who was still following them (50). The footsoldiers rejoined the boats in the morning at Ras al-Adjus (Cape Greco), bringing with them a whole company of thirty prisoners, whom they had surprised and captured near by, together with their leading officers, in the small hours of the morning (51). No sooner had they passed Pyla, and were in sight of Larnaka, than a Cypriot fleet of eleven sail came in sight, and without giving battle simply took to flight (52). This was only a feint, which failed to draw the Muslim flotilla to the open sea; and in consequence the Cypriot fleet returned and challenged the Muslims to battle. A hot naval fight ensued, in which the Egyptians hurled missiles from their arquebuses and bombards, and the Cypriots replied with Greek fire. But the Egyptians moved abreast, and approached their challeng-

the number of 300, were sent by land to Tripolis; and two days later all the boats of the flotilla, consisting of eight grabs, were in full trim for sailing. The Sultan rode to Bulak on that day to review the splendid array; and on the morrow his son rode to the harbour to watch the departure of the first four (36).

In spite of his preoccupation with this feverish preparation, Barsbey was not unmindful of the possibility of a retaliatory attack by the King of Cyprus on the Egyptian and Syrian coasts, and he managed in February 1424 to complete the building of a watch tower at the sea town of al-Tina near Damietta. The necessity of that tower had long been felt, but in the circumstances it was quickly built and amply garrisoned (37). A month later, a rumour was in the air that the Franks were about to make a surprise attack on the Sultan's shores, and Barsbey despatched several emirs to put the various ports of Egypt and Syria on guard (38). The rumour was not groundless, for, on hearing of what had befallen his galleys and his army at Limassol in the past year, Janus prepared four galleys for making reprisals (39). Two of them went prowling round the Syrian coast under the command of Thomas Provosto, who surprised the Syrian town of Sur in March 1425, and sailed away after a short battle which cost the garrison 50 killed. They proceeded thence to the little town of Djebel where, however, they did not fare so well (40). Finally, they steered towards the estuary of Nahr-al-Kalb in search of fresh water, but they were ambushed and had to set sail quickly, leaving the landing party to the mercy of their captors (41). But they were soon able to retaliate, for on their way to Cyprus they encountered a Muslim carrier ship, which was bound for Egypt with a cargo of oars from al-Lathikiya (Laodica). They boarded the boat and killed the crew, except for a tall Mamluk whom they captured and put in prison. He was no less a person than Captain Fadil, who had so vigorously encouraged the Sultan to invade Cyprus (42).

The other two galleys, which Janus had fitted out, were commanded by Don Palol, the Bala of the Arabic chronicles, and their mission was to waylay the Egyptian flotilla at the Egyptian sea-ports of embarkation. Bala lay in wait off the estuary of Damietta, but on sighting the flotilla of eight

prisoners. The Egyptians cut off the head of the dead captain, and then pounced upon the neighbourhood, sacking and plundering to their fill (28). The idea of attacking the castle of Limassol was seriously mooted among them, but they soon found that it would entail a long siege, for which they were not prepared (29). In consequence, they sailed away in the direction of Kouklia, in the vicinity of old Paphos, meeting on their way two galleys from Gorhigos, one of which they set on fire, and the other they ultimately towed home, after having committed great havoc at the town of Kouklia (30).

The flotilla departed from Cyprus towards the end of September 1424, and arrived at Bulak on the 14th of the following October, with 23 prisonners and a considerable booty, which consisted of Venetian piece goods of broadcloth, cotton fabrics and furniture, as well as large jars of honey and preserved butter. Barsbey disposed of the booty "according to the law of God", said 'Aini; but on the authority of Makrizi, who had no cause to mince words for the sake of the Sultan, Barsbey was presented with 103 piece-cloth which "were sold to the merchants, and he gave nothing to the warriors (31).

Encouraged by this quick success. and informed of the real attitude of the King of Cyprus, Barsbey resolved upon a grand expedition, and in this he was supported by the people of Cairo, who now yearned for a holy-war (djihad) (32). Thus, hardly had the affairs of the last expedition been settled than he ordered, in November 1424, that new galleys be built at Bulak (33). The work was hastened and diligently supervised by the Sultan himself, who, as soon as some of the boats were launched, began in April 1425 to enlist a considerable number of soldiery, giving the general command to the emir Djerbash al Karimi, grand Chamberlain, who was also known by the name of Kashok (34). He appointed two Mukaddams of a Thousand, two Lords of the Drum, three Emirs of a Twenty, and about 400 of his own Mamluks, to whom were added ten Mamluks from each Mukaddam and two from each Emir of the Drum in Cairo. He also employed a number of retired emirs as well as naphtha throwers, swordmenders and lancers. In short, there were ready for the expedition from Egypt 600 fighters, whom the Sultan paid, and 300 whom the emirs procured (35). On June 7 the horses, to

always predominant. Centuries later, the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus was always a handy and powerfull ally of the Crusaders against the Muslims; and it continued to be a permanent menace to the Mamluk Empire, which was founded in Egypt in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Beybars I, who is rightly considered the founder of that Empire, sent a fleet against Cyprus in 1270, which was however wrecked off Limassol, the town which was to suffer siege and rapine on each of the three expeditions of Barsbey (21).

The first of these expeditions took place in 1423. It consisted of a small flotilla of five sail in all, of which only two brigantines, with eighty Mamluks on board, were fitted out from Egypt (22). These set out from Bulak, the port of Cairo, on 7 August 1424, and were eagerly joined at Damietta by a "sallura" carrying numerous volunteers (23). They were further reinforced by two more ships from Beyrut and Sidon, which raised the total of the troops to a considerable number (24).

It is well to say here once more, that the purpose of this first expedition was to fix the responsibility for the prevalent piracy on the sea, and to make sure of the real attitude of the King of Cyprus to the daring depredations on the Egyptian and Syrian coasts. The flotilla reached the Cypriot shores at at Ras Alyak (Cape Gatto) south of Limassol, where it surprised a merchant ship, and seized its goodly cargo, after the crew had abondoned it in panic (25). Having set fire to the empty boat, the Egyptians proceeded to al-Lamsun (Limassol) "to reprove the Magistracy" for their culpable connivance at the recent outrages on the Sultan's coasts (26).

King Janus had been forewarned of the approach of the flotilla, and had made preparations for the defence of Limassol by land and sea (27). Thus on their arrival at the port of Limassol, the Mamluk ships came up against three fully armoured grabs which they, however, routed and set in flames, after having stripped them of all war tackle. Soon afterwards, the vanguard of the concentrated land forces, numbering seventy horsemen and thirty foot soldiers, headed by captain Philippe Provosto and by the bailiff of Limassol, Philippe de Picquigni, appeared on the scene. The captain met his death early in the encounter, upon which the bailiff fled, and the leaderless vanguard retreated, leaving some slain and a few

of an Egyptian grab, which had been sent with costly gifts to the new Sultan of Turkey (14). Other causes of war by no means lacking: The insulted Sultan "resolved to avenge the people of Alexandria upon the Cypriot Efreng, who had once in 1368 seized the town", and departed with 5000 prisoners (15). He was, moreover, encouraged by one captain Fadil, a certain citizen of Ayas, who assured him of Cypriot guilt and of easy booty and enormous plunder, if only he undertook the campaign (16). To this, it might be as well to add here, was joined the encouragement of the Sultan by the Genoese as well as the Kai-Kobad prince of Alaya, although their sinister machinations did not take place until 1425, and were directed so that the Sultan might prosecute the war, to which he had already committed himself (17). Moreover, in 1422 Barsbey, the strongest of his dynasty, came to the throne and was eagerly playing for popularity during his first years. It is possible, besides, that he saw in the waging of war against the Lusignans a means of occupying his unruly emirs, and of diverting their courage and prowess, often employed against the person of the Sultan, to feats of valour in a campaign that had the semblance of a holy war (18).

Barsbey could not boast, however, that his war against Cyprus was the first of its kind in Muslim annals. As early as the first days of the lightning conquests of Islam, an expedition was sent by Muawiya, first of the Umaiyads, to the Island of Cyprus in 649. It did not result in a permanent occupation, but was merely a robber raid, on the occasion of which the town of Salamis-Constantine was destroyed (19). Yet it was classed by the annalists of the fifteenth century, as the most heroic and most successful of all attempts against the Island, the like of which was vouchsafed only to Sultan Barsbey (20). The second Muslim expedition against the Island took place in 653; and this led to the first step towards the settlement of the Faithful in the country. Muslim suzerainty was made more visible in 688, when it was agreed, between the Umaiyad Khalifa and the Emperor Justinian II, that the Cypriot tribute be divided between the two supreme powers. Under the Abbassids, successful expeditions against Cyprus took place in the reign of Harun al-Rashid and even later, but on all those occasions the permanent occupation of the Island was not thought of, and Byzantine influence was

Janus of Lusignan, King of Cyprus (1399-1432), and his subjects, were directly, though not solely, concerned in these depredations, for Janus himself rashly encouraged Christian pirates to prey upon the Egyptian coasts. They were not necessarily Cypriots, but they used the numeous inlets and creeks of the Island as their base. Janus' subjects, besides, purchased the goods which the pirates pillaged, and bought the prisoners whom they brought for slave work (8). This state of affairs went on intermittently during the period between 1404 and 1414. At last, a peace was made with the ruling Mamluk Sultan, and a Cypriot envoy was expressly sent to Cairo to conduct negotiations. He brought back with him a Mamluk official to fix the terms of peace, and, besides, to buy all Egyptian captives in Cyprus (9). Janus showed remarkable friendliness towards the Egyptian envoy, and on the occasion of ransoming the 535 Muslim prisoners in Cyprus, the King accepted the sum of 10,000 dinars for the release of four hundred of them, and paid the ransom of the remaining 135, amounting to 3375 dinars from his privy purse (10). The conditions of the peace were equally gratifying to the Sultan: Janus "promised not to allow pirates to be received any more in his island, nor to send pirates into Syria; and if pirates should come, he would not give them provisions from Cyprus, and no one was to take upon imself to buy spoil" (11).

It appears, however, that the peace was not at all popular among the people of Cyprus themselves, for they too had become "accustomed to go pillaging upon the Sultan's coasts" (12). Peace with the Sultan therefore meant an irksome stoppage of plunder and booty, and thus they scoffed at the peace proclamation, which was issued at Nicosia in November 1414. To them the anxiety of the Mamluks for peace, belied fear on the part of the Sultan and his emirs. Thus once again piracy became rampant; knights and officials of high position in the King's service abetted the malefactors, "and the spoil was being bought secretly by Philip Picquigny the bailiė of Lemeso and Sir John Gasel, the commander of Aliki" (13).

Barsbey protested against such rank breach of the peace, and threatened dire reprisals, to which Janus replied in defiant terms, and even connived at the seizure by two Cypriot ships

THE MAMLUK CONQUEST OF CYPRUS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.(1)

by

M. Mustafa Ziada

Part I.

In April 1422, the Mamluk Sultan Barsbey stepped on to the throne of Egypt, amid the peculiar intriguing and violent wire-pulling behind the scenes, which characterised the accession of nearly all the Sultans of the Mamluk period. For many years before Barsbey's accession, the relations between Egypt and Cyprus were occasionally strained, owing to the recurrent depredations of Frankish pirates, mostly from Cyprus, on the Egyptian and Syrian Coasts (2). These were becoming serious in 1422. Thus, one night in July of that year, a batch of Frankish pirates, in two grabs (3) hailing from some Cypriot cove, surprised the port of Alexandria, and after an uneven fight that lasted all night, plundered and destroyed a merchant ship with 100,000 dinars' worth of goods. They sailed westward towards Barka, where they ravaged the coast, laying their hands on what they could, and were some days later sighted off Alexandria sailing eastwards (4). About the same time in the following year, it was rumoured in Cairo that the corsairs were going to repeat the process, and, on the strenght of the rumour, Sultan Barsbey despatched several emirs to guard the Egyptian and Syrian shores (5). The corsairs did not make an appearance, however, until June 1424, when they seized near Damietta two Muslim ships, laden with a considerable cargo, and captured more than a hundred men on board (6). Barsbey was enraged, and began to make preparations for a naval expedition to set out, not particularly to Cyprus, but merely to ascertain which of the nationals of the neighbouring countries were pirating the seas (7).

sons. Les trouvères en oublièrent de nommer le «flum»: ils eussent été bien embarrassés.

D'autre part, ils transportaient volontiers d'un pays de légende à l'autre des décors inconnus. Comme sur un tapis magique, notre poète transporte à La Mecque les montagnes, les remparts et les tours d'Antioche, et le pont de fer, avec son « flun » naturellement, qu'il a la naïveté de confondre avec le Jourdain. Naïveté? On ne peut guère employer ce mot quand il s'agit d'un trouvère du XIVème siècle, qui n'est plus un jongleur primitif mais un homme du métier racontant délibérément des fables devant des auditeurs incapables de le contredire. N'oublions pas qu'il est aussi l'auteur du poème héroï-comique de *Baudouin de Sebourg*. Tout compte fait, c'est un plaisant et un pince-sans-rire. Ce jugement ne peut qu'être confirmé par ceux qui le soupçonnent d'avoir écrit aussi la chanson bourgeoise d'*Hugues Capet*.

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pons Ferni fluminis (*Historia nicaena* composée pour Baudouin III, *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 5, 1ère partie, p. 162);

Pons Ferri (Guillaume de Tyr, *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 1, 2ème partie, p. 877);

Pons Faris (Gautier d'Antioche, *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 5, 1ère partie, p. 85);

mais le plus souvent *pons ferreus*, (parfois *farreus*), (*Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, éd. Bréhier, pp. 66, 82, 114; Pierre Tubœuf, *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 3, p. 34; *Tudebovus imitatus*, *ibid.*, t. 3, pp. 185, 186; Robert le Moine, *ibid.*, t. 3, pp. 784, 771; Raoul de Caen, *ibid.*, t. 3, p. 671; Baudri de Bourgueil, *ibid.*, t. 4, pp. 40, 46, 47, 61, 78; l'anonyme rhénan de l'*Historia ducis Gotfridi*, *ibid.* t. 5, 2ème partie, pp. 459, 468; Caffaro de Caschifelone, *ibid.* t. 5, 1ère partie, pp. 51, 56; Henri de Huntingdon, *ibid.*, t. 5, 2ème partie, p. 376). (1).

Et en français: *le pont del Fer* (*Estoire d'Eracles*, *ibid.*, t. 2, p. 877).

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Pour en revenir à notre auteur du *Bâtard de Bouillon*, une chose est sûre, c'est qu'il n'a pas fait toute cette discussion. Il a pris sans hésiter le *pontem Ferreum* des manuscrits latins, ou le *pont del Fer* des récits français pour un pont de fer. Un détail comme celui-là, pittoresque et frisant la légende, lui convenait à merveille; aussi le répète-t-il d'une laisse à l'autre de son poème. Ce pont de fer a dû faire fortune; nous sommes convaincu qu'on le retrouverait dans d'autres chan-

(1) Citons comme une curiosité le bizarre poème de Gilon de Toucy (XIIème siècle) : « Ad historiam gestorum viae nostri temporis hierosolymitanae », dont presque tous les vers contiennent des allitérations et des rimes intérieures. C'est pour les besoins de cette savante versification que le poète écrit, au vers 3 du deuxième livre :

« Pons tamen in ferro fit pervius antea ferro » (Hist. occ., t. 5, 2ème part., p. 739).

Il faudrait une majuscule au premier « ferro ». L'auteur vient de dire qu'Antioche, close de murs, est entièrement cernée par les assiégeants; « cependant le pont sur le Fer, devant la ville », permet des sorties et « livre passage au fer ».

Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium, l'anonyme de l'*Historia ducis Gotfridi*, l'anonyme de l'*Historia nicaena* composée pour Baudouin III),

Fernus (Foucher de Chartres, son abréviateur des *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, et l'*Historia nicaena*);

Ferna (Albert d'Aix);

Fer (une note dans un manuscrit de Pierre Tubœuf: « fluvius Orontes, vulgo Fer », *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 3, p. 34; et Guillaume de Tyr, mais celui-ci use de préférence du nom savant d'*Orontes* que donnent aussi les historiens grecs);

Far (Gautier d'Antioche et l'anonyme rhénan de l'*Historia ducis Gotfridi*).

Et dans les textes français:

le Fer, ou *li Fers*, ou *li fluns d'Elfer* (*L'estoire d'Eracles*. Savoir: «le Fer» ou «li Fers», *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 1, lère partie, pp. 195, 679; t. 2, pp. 849, 876, 877, 1066. « Li fluns d'Elfer », *ibid.*, t. 2, p. 751).

le Fel (*Estorie de Jerusalem et d'Antioche. Historiens occidentaux*, t. 5, 2ème partie, pp. 633 et 644). (1).

Pour le pont, au contraire, — qu'il s'agisse du pont situé à sept milles d'Antioche, ou de celui qui touche aux murs de la ville, car nos textes ne leur donnent pas d'appellations distinctes, — son nom est tiré, presque toujours, du simple Far ou Fer; il est appelé:

pons pharphareus (Guibert de Nogent, *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 4, p. 177), ou *pharpharicus* (*ibid.*, pp. 178, 180, 181, 190, 207), ou *Pharpharis* (*ibid.*, p. 229);

pons Fernae (Albert d'Aix, *Historiens occidentaux*, t. 4, pp. 360, 361, 362, 372, 434, 448); mais il écrit aussi *pons Farfar* (*ibid.*, t. 4, pp. 369, 371-372, 620);

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(1) Le prince arménien Hayton, dans le livre qu'il a dicté : « La flor des estoires d'Orient », dit que l'Oronte est appelé « Revel » (Documents arméniens, t. 2, p. 249). Ce mot, mis pour « Rebelle », est la traduction de l'arabe « Nahr-el-Assy ».

nous l'avons vu, fait de ce nom « Ferna » (*ibid.*, t. 4, pp. 360, 361, 386, 411, 423, 434, 448), mais il use tout aussi souvent du nom de Farfar (« Ferna quod dictur Farfar » *ibid.*, p 362; « Ferna vel Farfar », *ibid.*, p. 372; « Farfar », *ibid.*, pp. 369, 371, 372, 383, 425, 620). Un seul auteur, mais il est du pays, Gautier, chancelier d'Antioche, appelle l'Oronte le « Far »; il écrit, en parlant du pont: « pons Faris » (*ibid.*, t. 5, 1ère partie, p. 85). L'anonyme rhénan cité plus haut avait signalé ce nom, mais ne l'employait pas.

En sa qualité d'historien le plus illustre de l'Orient chrétien, Guillaume de Tyr, né à Jérusalem vers 1127, va s'appliquer à corriger l'erreur:

« Fluvius autem, cui pons superpositus est praedictus, Orontes appellatur, verbo vulgari Fer dictus, qui ab eo loco secus Antiochiam defluens, inde ad mare descendit. De hoc quidam somniare solent quod sit Farfar, Damasci fluvius, sed compertum habemus quod errore trahuntur qui hoc asserunt. Farfar enim et Albana [les deux fleuves de Damas nommés par Naaman dans la Bible] a Libano trahentes originem, per agrum damascenum secus ipsam urbem defluentes, in Orientem properant, ubi in arenosa solitudine deficere dicuntur; Orontes vero secus Heliopolim, quae alio nomine appellatur Malbec [Baalbek], primum habens exordium, per Caesaream et praedictam Antiochiam in mare descendit mediterraneum » (1).

Le Far arrosant Antioche, et le Farfar arrosant Damas, sont donc deux fleuves distincts. Le premier est l'Oronte, aujourd'hui, de son nom arabe, le Nahr-el-Assy (2). L'autre, le Farfar, est le Barada actuel.

En résumé, l'Oronte à Antioche est appelé dans nos textes latins:

Farfar, ou *Pharphar* (Histoire anonyme de la première croisade, Pierre Tubœuf, *Tudebovus imitatus*, Baudri de Bourgueil, Raoul de Caen, Guibert de Nogent, Albert d'Aix, Robert le Moine, Hugues de Sainte-Marie, l'anonyme des

(1) Hist. occ., t. 1, 1ère part., p. 164.

(2) « La rivière rebelle ». Il avait reçu aussi le surnom d' « El-Maqloub », « le Renversé », parce que seul de tous les cours d'eau de la Syrie il coule du Sud au Nord (« Documents arméniens », t. 2, p. 249, note).

prophète Elysée, pour le guérir de la lèpre, ordonne de se plonger sept fois dans le Jourdain, réplique avec mauvaise humeur que les fleuves de Damas, l'Abana et le Pharphar, valent mieux que toutes les eaux d'Israël:

« Interea exercitus Christianorum Antiochiam Syriae pervenit; transitoque Oronte fluvio, quem Parthi ita vocant, Syri quoque Farfar, Antiocheni vero Fernum, unde Naaman, princeps Syriae, Helysaeo indignans, respondit *quia meliores sunt aquae Damasci, Farfar et Abanes, quam Jordanis*, urbem Antiochiam obsidione circumdant » (1).

Guibert de Nogent, dans ses *Gesta Dei per Francos*, fait allusion au même passage de la Bible quand il désigne l'Oronte par cette périphrase: « flumen quoddam sacrae paginae non incognitum, quod Pharphar dicitur » (*Historiens occidentaux*, t. 4, p. 211); et il lui garde partout ce nom de Pharphar (*ibid.*, pp. 169, 180, 206, 214). Raoul de Caen, dans les *Gesta Tancredi* l'appelle aussi Farfar (*ibid.*, t. 3, p. 641), et le qualifie même de « Damascenus Farfar » (*ibid.*, p. 642). L'anonyme rhénan, auteur de l'*Historia et gesta ducis Gotfridi*, en donnant dans la même erreur, a le mérite de nous l'exposer clairement: « Orontes fluvius hanc [urbem Antiochiam] praeterfluens, nascitur enim in Oriente, ultra montem Galaad, in Persia [Parthia], et fluens Damascum et in Syriam, et ibi vocatur Farfar, et decurrens ad occasum montis Libani, descendit Antiochiam, et ibi Far appellatur » (*ibid.*, t. 5, 1ère partie, p. 461). Cela n'empêche pas cet auteur de l'appeler quand même Farfar sous les murs d'Antioche (*ibid.*, p. 489). Presque tous les autres historiens latins de la première croisade, sans mentionner son passage à Damas, l'appellent néanmoins Farfar, ou Pharphar, et non Far ou Fer. Ce sont: Pierre Tubœuf (*ibid.*, t. 3, pp. 47, 49), son imitateur (*ibid.*, t. 3, p. 186), Robert le Moine (*ibid.*, t. 3, p. 844), Baudri de Bourgeuil (*ibid.*, t. 4, p. 84), Hugues de Ste-Marie (*ibid.*, t. 5, 2ᵉ part. p. 365). Foucher de Chartres l'appelle « Fernus sive Orontes » (*ibid.*, t. 3, pp. 339, 342, 423, 497), et il est naturellement imité par son abréviateur, l'anonyme des *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, que nous avons cité, et aussi par le compilateur qui écrivit l'*Historia nicaena vel antiochena*, sur l'ordre et sous la direction de Baudouin III (*ibid.*, t. 5, 1ère partie, pp. 85, 150, 162). Albert d'Aix,

(1) Hist. occ., t. 3, p. 497.

bili arte et antiquo opere in modum arcus formam accepit, subter quem Farfar fluvius Damasci, Ferna vulgariter dictus, cursu rapidissimo alveum perluit. In utraque pontis fronte duae prominebant turres ferro insolubiles, et ad resistendum aptissimae, in quibus Turcorum semper erat custodia » (1).

M. Bréhier a raison de qualifier cette explication d'enfantine (2). Mais le texte a néanmoins pour nous son importance, car, où qu'Albert d'Aix ait pris ces renseignements, c'est la seule description détaillée que nous connaissions du fameux pont de fer, et elle prouve une chose: c'est que ce nom ne lui venait pas de sa construction. Non, décidément, ce pont « en forme d'arche » n'était pas en fer. Il n'était même pas bardé de fer comme cet autre pont que les Sarrasins jetèrent sur le Nil pendant la cinquième croisade pour défendre le chemin du Caire. (Curieuse époque où l'on construisait des ponts là où la stratégie moderne les ferait plutôt sauter). Après la perte de Damiette en 1219, « il firent un pont sur le flum là endroit où l'aigue forche, et le covrirent tout de fer, por ce qu'il ne voloient pas que li Crestien alassent en l'autre bras dou flum por aller vers Babiloine [Le Caire]. Et por ce apeloit l'en cel pont le *Pont de Fer* » (3). Rien de semblable ici, sur l'Oronte; ou bien Albert d'Aix n'aurait pas manqué de nous le dire, lui qui semble chercher une explication.

Guillaume de Tyr, lui, sait de quoi il retourne; aussi affecte-t-il d'appeler le pont sur le Fer: *pons. Ferri*, forme qu'aucun auteur ne donne avant lui (presque tous écrivent *pons Ferreus*). Et il nous explique très bien que le Fer qui arrose Antioche, c'est l'Oronte et non le Farfar qui coule à Damas. Bon nombre d'historiens de la première croisade avaient fait cette confusion qui provient de la présence en Syrie de deux fleuves presque homonymes, et d'un redoublement de la syllabe Far. Citons, par exemple, l'abréviateur de Foucher de Chartres dans ses *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*. Pour lui, le Far et le Farfar, ou Pharphar, ne font qu'un; il est trop heureux d'y reconnaître un fleuve dont il est parlé dans la Bible (au *second Livre des Rois*, chap. V, 12), là où Naaman, chef de l'armée royale de Syrie, à qui le

(1) Hist. occ., t. 4, p. 362.
(2) Histoire anonyme de la première croisade, p. 66, note.
(3) L'estoire d'Eracles l'empereur. Hist. occ., t. 2. p. 355-356.

Mais ce fleuve que l'anonyme de la première croisade appelle le Farfar (*op. cit.*, éd. Bréhier, pp. 181, 220), et qu'il devrait appeler simplement le Far, c'est l'Oronte; et en venant avec les croisés sur Antioche, à sept milles de la ville, là où le chemin d'Alep passe l'Oronte, nous trouvons un pont. Il en est parlé par notre anonyme au début de sa *Narratio quinta:* « Cum cepissemus appropinquare ad pontem Farreum » (1), « comme nous commencions à approcher du pont du Far ». Notons, c'est très important, que deux manuscrits sur trois portent « ad pontem Ferreum » (*ibid.*, p. 66, note c), et que nous ne savons pas bien si le nom du fleuve se prononçait Fer ou Far. En tous cas, pour le lecteur que n'embarrassaient pas les connaissances toponymiques, le sens de ce *pons Ferreus* était clair: c'était un pont de fer. Nous avons là un cas d'étymologie populaire. Notre trouvère du *Bâtard de Bouillon*, en adoptant ce pont de fer, ne fait que reproduire une erreur déjà commune en Orient deux bons siècles avant lui. Elle y avait été si naturelle et elle avait eu tant de force qu'elle avait passé dans le nom arabe de l'endroit: « Ce pont, dit l'éditeur des *Historiens des croisades*, dans sa notice sur la carte générale du théâtre des opérations (2), porte encore le même nom, en arabe: « *Djesr-el-Hadid* ». Il en est parlé dans la *Chronique d'Alep* par Kemal-el-Dine (*Historiens orientaux*, t. 3, pp. 582, 677, 678, 684), et par Ibn-Cheddâd dans les *Anecdotes et beaux traits du Sultan Youssef* [Saladin] (*ibid.*; t. 3, p. 115).

Or ce pont eut aussi sa célébrité au moyen âge, car il fut le théâtre de plusieurs faits importants dans l'histoire des croisades. Albert d'Aix-la-Chapelle l'appelle « pons fluvii Fernae », l'Oronte prenant chez lui le nom de *Ferna;* et, comme beaucoup d'autres, il confond ce fleuve avec le Farfar, cours d'eau qui arrose Damas — nous reviendrons dans un moment sur cette erreur. — Le nom vulgaire du « pont de fer » provient, d'après cet auteur, de quatre tours qui le défendaient et qui étaient « inattaquables par le fer ».

« Omnis igitur populus... usque ad pontem fluvii Fernae, quod dicitur Farfar, profecti sunt... Pons denique iste mira-

(1) Histoire anonyme de la première croisade, éd. par L. Bréhier, p. 66.
(2) Hist. occ. t. 1, 1ère part., p. XXXVI.

encore signalé: on s'attendrait à le trouver ici, sur le Farfar, au pied des murs.

Il y avait bien un pont à Antioche, mais les historiens qui en parlent ne nous disent pas qu'il était en fer. Albert d'Aix — mais il n'y est pas allé voir (1) — lui donne l'épithète de « lapideus » (*Historiens occidentaux,* t. 4, p. 423). Un autre, Benoît Accolti d'Arezzo — mais il est du XVème siècle — dit aussi, incidemment, que c'était un pont de pierre (*ibid.*, t. 5, 2ème partie, p. 572). Dans l'*Histoire anonyme de la première croisade,* nous apprenons que ce pont était étroit (« angustus », *op. cit.*, p. 92), et qu'il reposait sur des piliers (« si forte aliquis eorum [Turcorum] voluisset reptare super pontis columnas, ..., vulneratus est a nostris undique stantibus », *ibid.*), détails qui sont répétés par Pierre Tubœuf. Or, ces piliers étaient de bois, si nous en croyons Robert le Moine qui, dans un récit plus saisissant que celui de l'anonyme, nous montre les Turcs bousculés dans le fleuve très rapide en cet endroit, qui se cramponnent aux piliers du pont: « pontis ligneas columnas amplexabantur »; des vingt-deux manuscrits qui reproduisent ce passage, vingt portent les mots « ligneas columnas », un manuscrit porte « lignei », et un « ferrei » (Voir *Historiens occidentaux,* t. 3, p. 787, note 24, et l'index des manuscrits, p. 817). *Ferrei* est vraisemblablement une rectification erronée due à un copiste qui, pour des raisons que nous verrons plus loin, pensait à un pont de fer. On a d'ailleurs discuté si Robert le Moine est ou n'est pas allé outremer, et, faute d'arguments concluants, nous ne savons pas s'il a vraiment vu le pont d'Antioche. Les autres historiens disent seulement que ce pont touchait aux remparts et qu'il joignait une porte de la ville; citons Guillaume de Tyr:

« In parte autem occidentali inferius, circa partes civitatis novissimas, ita moenibus et monti fit fluvius vicinus, ut pons, quo transitur, portae civitatis et muro continuetur » (2).

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(1) Au début de son « Historia hierosolymitana », il nous dit ses regrets de ne pas avoir pu faire le pèlerinage de Terre-Sainte; mais tout ce qu'il racontera, il le tient, « auditu et relatione », de témoins oculaires. (Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux, t. 4, p. 271.)

(2) Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux, t. 1, 1ère part., p. 169.

La physionomie du texte révèle un auteur flamand ou picard. On sent bien d'abord que le poète reproduit pour La Mecque le décor conventionnel et « à volonté » des villes fortes d'outremer. Les montagnes, les tours qui défendent La Mecque sont seulement plus hautes et plus merveilleuses que celles des autres villes; et cela n'est que juste. Mais le détail du pont de fer a son intérêt propre. Pas plus que le reste le trouvère ne l'a créé; ce pont de fer se retrouverait peut-être dans des chansons antérieures, élaborées, comme la nôtre, avec les données d'autres chansons déjà plus ou moins fantaisistes, ou, en fin de compte, inspirées des sources premières de documentation qu'étaient les chroniques latines de la croisade. Pour prendre la question *ab ovo*, il nous faut donc rechercher ce pont de fer dans les premiers historiens des expéditions d'outremer.

Lisons, dans l'*Histoire anonyme de la première croisade* la description d'Antioche (1), première ville de Syrie conquise par les croisés. Un double siège, d'abord des Turcs par les croisés (1097-1098), puis des croisés par Kerboga (1098), l'avait rendue célèbre au moyen âge.

« Haec urbs Antiochia scilicet valde pulchra et honorabilis, quia infra muros ejus sunt IV montanee maxime et nimis alte. In altiori quoque est castellum edificatum, mirabilis et nimis forte... Clauditur civitas duobus muris, major quoque valde est altus et mirabiliter latus magnisque lapidibus compositus, in quo sunt ordinate CCCCL turres (1) modisque omnibus est civitas formosa; ab oriente clauditur IV magnis montaneis; ab occidente secus muros urbis fluit quoddam flumen cui nomen Farfar ».

Cette description, M. Bréhier montre qu'elle est interpolée (2); mais elle est ancienne, car tous les manuscrits la reproduisent. Et ce sont déjà les montagnes, les remparts, les tours et même le fleuve (celui-ci naturellement débaptisé) qui serviront pour La Mecque. Cependant le pont de fer n'est pas

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(1) « Histoire anonyme de la première croisade (Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum) éditée et traduite par Louis Bréhier », Paris, Champion, 1924, in-12, p. 220. (Collection des Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge.)

(1) En y comprenant sans doute les tours de guet.

(2) Ibid. pp. 170-171.

teur n'est certainement jamais allé en Arabie, ni même outremer; et il n'a pu trouver nulle part, au XIVème siècle. de renseignements véridiques sur la ville qu'il décrit Pourtant certains détails de sa description sentent le déjà vu, ou le copié, et ne sauraient avoir été inventés de toutes pièces pour les besoins d'un poème, d'ailleurs diffus et médiocre, qui n'apporte rien de neuf, pas même l'idée du bâtard, car, dans la chanson précédente, l'auteur en avait déjà donné trente à Baudouin de Sebourg. La Mecque est défendue d'un côté par la mer (!), de l'autre par des remparts et par trente tours assises sur des rochers aigus. Au pied des murs coule le Jourdain (!). Un pont de fer donne accès à la ville.

Mais lisons notre poème. Les émirs entreprennent de défendre La Mecque, ils font travailler aux fossés.

Un pont de fer i ot moult large et estendu,
L'iauve du flun Jourdain a pardessous couru.
Dessus cheste riviere, a che pont qui fors fu, (à l'extérieur)
I avoit trente tours, lé menre ot on veü
De quinses grandes lieuves et bien apercheü;
Chascune tours estoit sus un rochier agu,
Haute fu de murage de maint quaillel cornu (caillou)
Et couverte de coevre et de laton batu.

Seigneur, cheste chités qui Mickes est clamée,
Au lés vers Rochebrune, estoit avironnée
Dou flun Jourdain, c'est l'iawe qui n'est mie salée.
De Paradis terrestre est cheste iauve avalée
Et desseure cheste iawe qui est moult rade et lée (rapide et large)
Avoit un pont de fer, ch'est vérités prouvée.
Par où on va entrant en le chité lée
Par d'encoste le pont, à destre, i ot valée;
Quinse tours i avoit, chascune est bien fondée
Oiant à l'autre lé, ch'est bien chose avérée,
Et si dit on pour vrai ch'est le plus foible entrée.
Car à l'autre lés vient la haute mer salée,
De coi la chités est autour avironnée;
En toute paiennie n'a ville si fremée. (fortifiée).

glorieux père. Sa mère sera une princesse sarrasine convertie, sœur de cinq rois. Toutes les qualités morales qui manquent à son frère consanguin Ourri, fils légitime de Baudouin, il les aura. Autant Ourri est cruel et félon, autant le Bâtard est brave et loyal; autant l'un est détesté de tous, autant l'autre est populaire. Le Bâtard finira par percer Ourri de son couteau de chasse le jour où celui-ci lui proposera d'empoisonner leur père. Il n'est pas jusqu'au roi Arthur de Bretagne lui-même qui ne s'intéresse au Bâtard: du pays de Féérie (1) où il séjourne avec sa sœur, la fée Morgue, il lui envoie en présents son propre haubert et son destrier Blanchard, car, dit-il au roi Baudouin:

« ...sachiez de chertain, tel chevalier n'i a
Ou regne de Surie, ne jamais n'avera ».

C'est ainsi que l'histoire de Baudouin de Bouillon qui se rattachait déjà, par son grand-père, à la légende lorraine de Lohengrin, s'en va rejoindre, par son fils, la légende celtique du roi Arthur.

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La chanson du *Bastars de Buillon* qui raconte tout cela et bien d'autres choses encore, dans ses 6559 vers, s'ouvre sur une expédition fort peu historique conduite par le roi Baudouin contre La Mecque. Il s'agissait de réduire la résistance de cinq émirs, Saudoine, Esclamart, Taillefer, Marbrun et Ector de Salorie qui gouvernaient alors en commun le royaume de La Mecque. Ces cinq rois sont cinq frères, mais une si belle famille ne s'arrête pas là: ils ont une sœur, la belle Synamonde. C'est elle qui, après la prise de la ville par Baudouin, deviendra la mère du Bâtard. Celui-ci a donné son nom à la chanson, bien que sa naissance et ses premiers exploits n'en occupent que la seconde moitié.

Dans cette prétendue campagne de La Mecque, l'attention du lecteur est attirée par une description de la ville, contenue dans les laisses 55 et 56 du poème, et qui en est l'unique morceau descriptif. Il va sans dire qu'elle est entièrement fictive. L'au-

(1) Selon la géographie fantaisiste du poète, ce « pays de Faerie » est le désert d'Egypte bordant la mer Rouge.

Il en va tout autrement des chansons composées dans la suite. Dès le XIIème siècle, elles cessent d'avoir rien d'historique; elles sont inventées par des trouvères qui font aux récits anciens des suites et des « préfaces », mettant sur le compte des héros de Terre-Sainte des exploits nouveaux, racontant leurs « enfances » fabuleuses, introduisant dans le cycle leurs ancêtres légendaires. L'histoire de Godefroid de Bouillon reçut de ces développements dans le *Chevalier au cygne* et dans les *Enfances Godefroi.* Les *Enfances Godefroi* racontent comment le héros de la première croisade avait émerveillé les « païens » par sa beauté. Une prédiction ayant annoncé aux Arabes qu'ils seraient battus par les fils du comte Eustache de Boulogne de la maison de Bouillon, le sultan effrayé envoie un ambassadeur en Europe avec la mission secrète de faire périr les jeunes comtes encore enfants. L'ambassadeur Cornumarant, qui est le propre fils du sultan, arrive à Boulogne, mais, étonné de la force et de la valeur intellectuelle du jeune Godefroid, il se lie d'amitié avec lui et renonce à sa mission. Le *Chevalier au cygne* est le grand-père de Godefroid de Bouillon. Voici son histoire. Une duchesse de Bouillon demandait justice à l'empereur Othon, à Nimègue, contre le duc de Saxe, Renier; mais aucun champion n'osait se présenter pour soutenir sa cause en duel judiciaire. Au dernier moment arrive un chevalier dans une barque tirée par un cygne. Il combat l'adversaire et, vainqueur, épouse la fille de la duchesse de Bouillon, Béatrix. Pendant sept ans ils vivent heureux, mais nul ne sait le secret de la naissance du chevalier: il y a défense à quiconque de le lui demander. A bout de curiosité, sa femme finit par l'interroger: au même instant apparaît le cygne qui doit l'emporter dans la barque. Après des adieux douloureux, le chevalier au cygne disparaît pour toujours Cependant Béatrix a de lui une fille, Ida, qui épousera le comte Eustache de Boulogne et sera la mère de Godefroid de Bouillon.

Ce qu'on avait fait pour Godefroid au XIIème siècle, on le fit aussi, au XIVème, pour son frère et successeur Baudouin de Bouillon: la chanson qui nous occupe lui donne un descendant. Seulement les temps ont changé, la littérature épique en décadence s'est embourgeoisée et même, quelquefois, encanaillée. Ce descendant de Baudouin n'est qu'un bâtard, mais quel bâtard! Il s'appellera Baudouin comme son

D'UN PONT DE FER A LA MECQUE DANS UNE CHANSON DE GESTE DU XIVe SIÈCLE.

par Herman Dopp.

La chanson du *Bâtard de Bouillon* (1) fait suite, dans l'esprit de son auteur, un poète du XIVe siècle, à la chanson de *Baudouin de Sebourg*, troisième roi de Jérusalem, et termine avec elle le groupe des suites poétiques que reçurent alors les poèmes du cycle de la croisade. Ces œuvres nouvelles sont loin des « chansons d'Antioche » primitives (2). La forme diffère peu des unes aux autres, si ce n'est que la rime a depuis longtemps remplacé l'assonance et que la laisse s'est allongée et délayée; le vers, dans les plus anciens poèmes conservés, est déjà l'alexandrin. Les premiers trouvères avaient donné à leurs récits la forme des chansons de geste, parce que c'était la seule connue et la seule qui pût alors atteindre le grand public. Elle était d'ailleurs en rapport avec le sujet. Mais leurs chansons étaient sobres, naïves et en quelque sorte fidèles: ils avaient été témoins des événements, tel ce Richard le Pèlerin dont la *Chanson d'Antioche* ouvrit, vers 1130, le cycle de la croisade, ou ils avaient pu recueillir les témoignages des croisés, comme l'inconnu qui, continuant Richard, écrivit la *Conquête de Jérusalem* (3). De telles œuvres, et les récits antérieurs dont elles sont l'aboutissement, ont été, suivant une idée qu'affectionnait Gaston Paris, le point de départ de l'historiographie française.

(1) « Li Bastars de Buillon, poème du XIVème siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après le ms unique de la B.N. de Paris par Aug. Scheler... » Bruxelles, Mathieu Closson et Cie, 1877, in-8°. (Publication de l'Académie royale de Belgique).

(2) On appelait ainsi au moyen âge les poèmes relatifs à la croisade du nom des premières chansons qui doivent avoir été composées après la prise d'Antioche en 1098, mais avant celle de Jérusalem en 1099. Seul un fragment de l'une d'elles nous est conservé.

(3) Ces deux chansons de geste dont les originaux sont perdus (sauf un fragment de la seconde), nous sont connues par un remaniement de Graindor de Douai, trouvère de la fin du XIIe siècle.

3. καὶ ταχύτερον εἰς πέπανσιν	وثماره اصغر واقل نضوجا
4 δυνηθείημεν διερευνῆσαι τούτων τὸν μυελὸν ἐρεύνῃ συνοπτικῇ	قادرون على فحص اقدر من هذا
5. καὶ γνωρίσαι	نفحص
6 καὶ τὰς βοήθειαν χορηγούσας	وعن النبات الحري الشرابى وعن النبات الطبيعى
7. —	وفي زمان دون زمانها
8. ἐρευνῆσαί τε καὶ τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ῥιζῶν· καὶ πῶς τινῶν μὲν καρποὶ μαλθάσσονται, τινῶν δ᾽ οὔ.	ومنها ما يلين ثمارها ومنها ما لا يلين ثمارها ونفحص عن خواص سائر النبات وبخاصة عن الاصول

f. 108 a

1. καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας διαφορὰς *καὶ πῶς τινῶν μέν οἱ καρποὶ ποιοῦσι γάλα, τινῶν δ᾽ οὔ*	ولبعضها اختلاف كثير عظيم

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4. —	واما بزر الاترج فان سحقه الانسان وشربه مع الخمر بعد شرب الادوية القتالة انقذه من الموت وذلك لانه يصل الى البطن ويخرج السم

f. 107 a

1. παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν	يقرب البحر الاحمر
2. εἰς ἕτερον εἶδος	وصارا شلما
3. *χοιρείας κόπρου*	من البزر الحجازى
4. —	ومن النبات ما يحتاج الي الغرس ومنه ما لا يحتاج الى ذلك
5. τῇ Ῥώμῃ	فرونية وافرنسية
6. ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ξύλων	من خشبه الاملس
7. —	ومنه ما يورق من كل مكان فيه
8. καὶ τινὰ μὲν πλήσιον τῆς γῆς, τινὰ δὲ πόρρω, τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ	ومنه ما يقرب فيه التوريق ومنه ما يتأخر فيه ومنه ما يتوسط فى ذلك
9 —	ومنه ما يختلف وقت توريقه

f. 107 b

1. ὡς αἱ συκαί, *τινὰ ἐν ἑνὶ καρποφοροῦσιν ἔτει, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἀνακτῶνται ἑαυτά, ὡς αἱ ἐλάται πολλοὺς κλάδους προβαλλόμεναι, αἷς καὶ περικαλύπτονται*	كالتين
2. τῶν *ἀγρίων καὶ* τῶν κηπαίων	البستانى

5. τινὰ δὲ βραδέως	ومنه ما يبطىء فى ذلك ومنه ما يتم ثماره ومنه ما لا يتم ومنه ما يجف ثماره ومنه ما لا ينضج
6. *τῶν φύλλων* καὶ τῶν καρπῶν *καὶ τῶν οἷον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑφασμάτων*	الزهر والثمار
7. τινὰ δὲ εἰς λευκότητα καὶ τινὰ εἰς ἐρυθρότητα *διὰ τὴν θερμότητα τὴν ἐκκαίουσαν τὸν ἀέρα τὸν κεκραμένον μετά ιοῦ προσγείου*	والى الحمرة والى البياض
8. ἄγρια	†حرس†
9. τινῶν μὲν ἡ ῥίζα, τινῶν ὁ φλοιός, τινῶν τὸ ξύλον. (Latin: aliarum radix, aliarum cortex, *quarundam flos*, quarundam lignum).	فى قشره ومنه ما له ذلك فى زهره ومنه ما فى خشبه
. καὶ ἄμπελος ἐν ἀμπέλῳ 10 καὶ *ἀμυγδαλῆ ἐν ἀμυγδαλῇ*	والكرم مع الكرم

f. 106 b

1. *τινὰ χεῖρον.* καὶ ἐκ τινῶν κακῶν σπερμάτων καλὰ δένδρα προβαίνουσιν	ومنه ما يخرج البزر الردى شجرا جيدا
2. ἐν δὲ τοῖς φοίνιξιν ἂν φύλλα ἢ ψῆνες ἢ φλοιός τοῦ ἄρρενος φοίνικος τοῖς φύλλοις τοῦ θήλεος συντεθείη *ἵνα πως συναφθῶσι.*	فاذا انثر في طلعة من طلع النخل الذكر مع دقيقه وقشره
3. ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ἔκ τινος τούτων ἢ ἐκ πάντων συμβαίνει	ويكون طلعه ايضا دقيقا

8. ὡς οἱ τῆς ἐλαίας, τῆς πεύκης καὶ τῆς καρύας, τινῶν δ᾽ οὔ
(Latin: ut olivae succus et nucis et pinei: quidam non sunt.)

كالزيتون والجوز والصنوبر ·

9. κενταυρέα

القنطوريون

10. σύνθετοι ἐκ σαρκῶν καὶ κόκκων *καὶ λεμμάτων*, ὡς *οἱ σικυοί*.
(Latin: compositi *ex carne et osse et grano, ut pruna;* alii e carne et grano, *ut cucumeres*)

مركب من لحم ونوى مثل الاجاص والقثاء

11. τινὰ δὲ τὸ ὀστοῦν ἐντὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐκτὸς
(Latin: quidam carnem foris, os intus)

ومنها ما له لحم من خارج وحب من داخل

f. 106 a

1. καὶ τινὲς καρποὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἄβρωτοι, ἄλλοις δὲ βρώσιμοι, *ὡς ὁ ὑοσκύαμος καὶ ὁ ἐλλέβορος ἀνθρώποις μὲν δηλητήριον, τροφὴ δὲ τοῖς ὄρτυξι. πάλιν τινὲς τῶν καρπῶν εἰσὶν ἐν θήκαις, ὡς οἱ κόκκοι τοῦ κυάμου· τινὲς ἐν περικαλύμματι καὶ ἐν λέμματι οἷον ὑφάσματί τινι, ὡς ἐν σίτῳ εὑρίσκεται καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς.*

من الثمار ثمار يأكله بعض الناس ولا يأكله بعضهم ومنه ما يأكله بعض الحيوان ولا يأكله بعض

2. οἷον ἐν *οἰκίσκοις*, ὡς αἱ βάλανοι

في قشر كالبلوط واللفاح

3. τῆς μορέας *καὶ τοῦ κεράσου*

كالتوت

4. ὡς οἱ καρποὶ *οἱ ἄγριοι*

كثمر الجبال

7. ἐν τόποις ὑψηλοῖς, *τινὰ δὲ χθαμαλοῖς*	على التلول
8. καὶ τινὰ μὲν ζῶσιν ἐν τόποις ὑγροῖς, τινὰ δὲ ἐν ξηροῖς, τινὰ δὲ ἐν ἑκατέροις	على البر والماء •
9. ὡς ἡ ἰτέα	مثل العرف والطرفاء والاشنه
10. πάλιν *τῶν φυτῶν τινὰ* μὲν τῇ γῇ πεπήγασι καὶ οὐ φιλοῦσι χωρίζεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς· τινὰ δὲ ἐν τόποις κρείττοσι *μετατίθενται.*	وتغير النبات لا حق بالارض غير مفارق لها ومن الاماكن مكان اجود من مكان وتربة اجود من تربة

f 105 b

1. καὶ τινῶν μὲν φυτῶν τὰ φύλλα σκληρά εἰσι, τινῶν δὲ λεῖα	ومن النبات ما ورقه املس ومنه ما ورقه غليظ ومنه دقيق الورق
2. τῶν ἀμπέλων καὶ τῶν συκῶν	الكرم ومنه ما له قشر واحد مثل التين
3. ἑτέρων δὲ κατὰ πολὺ ἐσχισμένα, ὡς τὰ τῆς πεύκης	ومنه ما له قشور كثيرة كالصنوبر
4. τινὰ δὲ φυτά εἰσιν ὅλως φλοιὸς *μεσιτεύων*	ومن النبات ما هو بكليته قشر محض مثل † اللاس †
5. καὶ τινὰ ἔχουσι πολλοὺς *κλάδους, ὡς ἡ ἀγρία μορέα,* τινὰ δ' οὔ.	ومنه ما لا غصن له كالشيل ومنه ما أغصانه كثيرة مثل العليق
6. αὕτη δὲ γεννᾶται ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους. καὶ ἀραιῶς πρόεισιν, ὅτι ὑποκάτω πλατύνεται, καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσα μᾶλλον διακρίνεται τῷ ἡλίῳ· ὅταν γὰρ προσβάλλῃ αὐτῇ, αὐξάνει	لانه انما تنبت له شعبة واحدة ويغوص الى اسفل والى قعر كبير وكان كبر وقرب من الشمس نما وازداد
7. καὶ λοιπῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν ἄποτοι δὲ ἄλλων φυτῶν	والتوت والاس

3. θάμνοι	† نامسو او حبوب †
4. μέσον δένδρων *καὶ βοτάνων σμικρῶν*	بين الشجر
5. —	مثل النبات المعروف †بعار السوس†
6. αἱ κράμβαι *καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα*	والكرنب
7. ὡς τὸ λεγόμενον λάχανον βασιλικόν. *εἰσὶ δὲ ἄλλαι αἱ λεγόμεναι ἐν ταὐτῷ βοτάναι καὶ λάχανα*	مثل البقلة المعروفة بالملوخية لانها عشب وبقل وكذلك السلق
8. ἐν σχήματι στάχυος	على شكل نبات الحبوب †والفاسوا†
9. καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τὸ λεγόμενον *ἡλιοσκόπιον*	†والمحكسب† والنبات المعروف †بعار السوس†
10. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅμοια *δένδρα*	والرمان فى مثل هذه الاشياء

f. 105 a

1. πολλοὶ *καὶ μάταιοι*	كثيرة جدا
2. τοιουτοτρόπως δὲ λέγομεν *ὄχνας* καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἴδη φυτῶν	وكذلك الحيوان ايضا منه كذلك واحسب ان كل نوع من النبات
3. τινὰ δι' οὔ, *ὡς ἰτέαι καὶ τινα εἴδη* δρυῶν	ومنه ما لا يحمل
4. ἔλαιον	الزهر
5. ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ *καὶ τινὰ ἐν τόποις μὲν ἄλλοις* μεγάλα, ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ μικρὰ	فى البحر الاحمر يكون كبيرا وفى غيره يكون صغيرا
6. ἐν τόποις ξηροτάτοις, *ὡς τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν Αἰθιόπων*	فى الصحراء.

4. καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν ταῦτα τοιούτου τρόπου	ومنه ما لا يكون على حال
5. ἀπηώρηται	معلق
6. τὰ λεγόμενα μαργαρῖται	المعروف † بارحسو او ما فوق †
7. καὶ τινῶν *οἱ καρποὶ καὶ* τὰ φύλλα	ومن النبات ما ورقه •
8. ἀδιάκριτοὶ εἰσι· καὶ τινῶν τὰ φύλλα πρὸς ἄλληλα ὅμοια, ἄλλων δ' οὔ.	غير مستور ومن النبات ما ورقه مستور
9. τινὰ δὲ οὐ τοιούτους	مثل النبات الذى له ثلثة اغصان
10. ἐν *πάσι τοῖς δένδροις*	فى جملة النبات
11. ἀνθρώπων	الحيوان
12. ἡλικία *ἀνθρώπου*	قامة الشجر
13. ἀπό τῆς *ῥίζης τοῦ δένδρου*	من قامة النبات
14. οὐκ εὑρίσκονται δὲ ταῦτα	وليس الاغصان بموجودة
15. καὶ πάλιν τῶν κλάδους ἐχόντων τινὰ μὲν εἰσι διηνεκῆ, τινὰ δὲ οὐχί.	ومن النبات ما له اغصان ليست بالدائمة ابدا
16. οἱ μύκητες *καὶ τὰ ὅμοια* (Latin· fungi *et tubera*)	الكماة والفطر

f. 104 b.

1. ταῦτα *δὲ* καὶ αἱ φλέβες	والعقد والعروق
2. εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν ἐπιτήδειοι *ἄνθη, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰτεῶν*. τινὲς δὲ καὶ *ἄνθη* καὶ καρποὺς *ἐν τοῖς δένδροις, καὶ τἄλλ' ὁπόσα* γεννῶνται ἐκ σπέρματος.	التى فيها ورق النبات وكذلك الثمرة والغصن والفقاح النابت من البزور

4. *ὡς τρίχες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὄνυχες. πλὴν γεννῶνται τρίχες ἢ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς μέρεσιν ὅθεν ἐξέπεσον, ἢ ἐκτὸς ἐν ἄλλοις.* καὶ ἤδη φανερὸν γέγονεν ὅτι τὰ μέρη τοῦ φυτοῦ οὐκ εἰσὶ διωρισμένα, εἴτε καὶ μή, *ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀδιόριστα*	فنبت بدلها اما فوق مكانها واما اسفلها فقد صح ان اجزاء النبات غير محدودة ان كانت هذه الاجزاء هى اجزاء النبات وان كانت غير اجزائه
5. μὴ εἶναι μέρη αὐτοῦ	ليس بجزئه ومما ينبغى لنا ان لا نجعل ثمر النبات من اجزائه لان الجنين ليس هو بجزء لامه
6. *κατὰ μικρὸν* ἐκπίπτωσιν	ينتثر ويسقط
7. ἐν τῇ δυνάμει *καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ*	والقوة
8. ἀρχέγονος	صعترى
9. ἐν τῷ ὀριγάνῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ φυτῷ τῷ λεγομένῳ *ὀπιγαίς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις*	فى السعتر والنبات المعروف باوريقانون

f. 104 a

1. *ἔστι φυτὸν τὸ ἔχον μέρη ξηρά, ἕτερον ὑγρά, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.* Καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἔχον μέρη διακεκριμένα, οὔτε ὅμοια οὔτε ἴσα. Καὶ τινὰ ἔχει μέρη ὅμοια μέν, οὐκ ἴσα δέ· τινὰ ἴσα μέν, οὐχ ὅμοια δέ.	من النبات نباتا له اجزاء محدودة معروفة ومنها ما له اجزاء محدودة غير متشابهة ولا مستوية ومنها ما له اجزاء متشابهة وغير متشابهة
2. ἐκ τῆς τραχύτητος	وخشونته ولينه
3. αὐξήσει *φυσικῇ*	زيادة العدد

5. καὶ τινὰ μὲν τῶν μερῶν διαιροῦνταί πως διὰ μερῶν ἀνομοίων, τινὰ δὲ δι' ὁμοίων	وكل جزء من هذه الاجزاء تتجزأ على جهة لاجزاء متشابهة ÷ وتتجزأ الاجزاء غير متشابهة ÷
6. οἷον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ· οὗτος γὰρ ἑνὶ τρόπῳ διαιρεῖται διὰ τῆς γῆς μόνον, καὶ ἀλλοτρόπως διὰ τῶν στοιχείων. ὡσαύτως ὁ πνεύμων καὶ ἡ σάρξ διαιροῦνται μὲν πρώτως, κοὶ εἰσὶ μέρη τσύτων σὰρξ καὶ πνεύμων· ἄλλως δὲ διαιροῦνται καὶ διὰ τῶν στοιχείων· ὁμοίως καὶ αἱ τῶν φυτῶν ῥίζαι	لان الطين يتجزأ على جهة للتراب فقط ويتجزأ على جهة للماء والتربة واللحم يتجزأ فيصير اجزاؤه لحما وهو يتجزأ على جهة اخرى للاستقصات والاصل
7. εἰς ἄλλα φύλλα	للورق
8. αὗται (sc. αἱ ἐλαίαι) γὰρ ἔχουσι φλοιὸν σάρκα *καί τι ὀστρακῶδες* καὶ σπέρμα *καὶ καρπὸν*	لان للزيتون اربع طبقات جلده ولحمه ونواه وزره
9. τινὰ δὲ ἔχουσι καὶ περικαλύμματα	ومن الثمار ما هو ذو ثلثة طبقات
10. ἴσην διαθέσει ψυχῆς	مثل الحيوان

f. 103 b

1. καὶ τυχὸν οὐδὲ δυνηθείημεν διαξελθεῖν ἂν ταῦτα, μεγάλαις διαφοραῖς ἀπαριθμοῦντες τὰ μέρη τῶν φυτῶν	ولعلنا لا نسلم فى صفتنا لاجزاء النبات من الاختلاف الكثير
2. διά τινα αἰτίαν	وبسببه
3. μέρη τινὰ *μὴ διωρισμένα*	اجزاء كثيرة

f. 102 b

1· κατὰ πολὺ σταθηρᾶς *καὶ συνεχοῦς* καὶ μὴ *ῥᾳδίως* διαφθειρομένης	كثير قايم غير متصل غير منقطع
2. κρεῖττον	افضل واشرف
3. παρὰ *πᾶν ἔργον* τοῦ φυτοῦ	من النبات
4. *οὐ* γεννᾶται ζῷον	تولد الحيوان
5. γηράσκουσι	مرض
6. τινὰ *τῶν φυτῶν* ἔχουσί τι *ὑγρὸν*	ومن الشجر ما له صمغ
7. δεσμοὺς καὶ φλέβας καὶ *κοιλίαν*	عقد وعروق
8. ὑπὸ τὸν φλοιὸν *ἤγουν ἐντὸς τοῦ φλοιοῦ καὶ τοῦ φιτροῦ*	تحت قشوره

f. 103 a

1. καὶ φύλλα	وغير ذلك
2. λύγους, φύλλα, κλάδους, ἄνθη καὶ βλαστοὺς καὶ φλοιὸν τὸν περικυκλοῦντα τὸν καρπὸν	مثل الاصول والقضبان والورق والاغصان والزهر والفقاح والاستدارة والقشر الذى يحوى الثمار
3. *σύνθετα* εἰσὶν ὅμοια μέλεσι ζῴου	نظير لعضو من اعضاء الحيوان
4. ὅμοιός ἐστι *φυσικῶς* δέρματι ζῴου	نظير لجلد الحيوان واصل النبات نظير للحم الحيوان

6. τραχύτερον καὶ σκληρότερον *καὶ μᾶλλον φρίσσον*	خشن صلب
7. *ἀσθενέστερον καὶ* καρπόφορον πλέον	كثيرة الثمر
8. εὑρέθη γοῦν *ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς* πρὸ τῆς κράσεως *κρᾶσις*	لقد كان النبات موجودا قبل اختلاطه

f. 102 a

1. καὶ εὐκρασίας *καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος*	والاعتدال
2. ὅτι *ἡ ὑγρότης* τούτων ἐστὶν ἀπὸ *τῆς γῆς*	ان بزره من الهواء
3. ἔφη *πρὸς* Λεχίνεον	قال رجل يقال له القناون
4. εἰ μὴ *ἐκ τῆς φύσεως* τοῦ σπέρματος	انما ينبت فى حر البزر
5. καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον κινεῖ αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ παραυτίκα	†والسب والماه محركه†
6. ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὅτι καὶ *ἡ μῖξις* τῶν φυτῶν ἐστὶν ἐν διοικήσει τινὶ	ومن الحيوان ما يشبه النبات فى حالة من الحالات
7. *τὰ γένη καὶ* αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν γενῶν	قوتهما
8. οἵ (sc. αἱ δυνάμεις) ἦσαν πρότερον κεχωρισμέναι *καὶ προῆλθεν ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων πρᾶγμά τι ἕν· ὃ δὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ὅτε μίγνυνται τὰ γένη, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γίνονται κεχωρισμέναι*	بعد ما كانا مفترقين
9. διὰ τὰς πολλὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ *καὶ διὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήμας*	لكثرة افعاله

4. ἔχει ψυχὴν	ذو نفس كاملة
5. ἀδιόριστα	نفير محدود للطبيعة
6. ἡ ποιοῦσα ἐν αὐτοῖς γεννᾶσθαι τὰς κινήσεις	المنشئة للحركات من الاماكن والشهوات
7. δεῖται (sc. *πᾶν τὸ τρεφόμενον*)	احتاج الحيوان
8. ἡ δὲ θερμότης καὶ ἡ ψυχρότης εὑρίσκεται ἐν βρώμασι ξηροῖς καὶ ὑγροῖς	لان الحر والبرد موجودان فى الغذاء الرطب والغذاء اليابس
9. καὶ ὀφείλουσι χρῆσθαι *ταύτῃ* (sc. τῇ τροφῇ) *τό ζῶον καί* τὸ φυτὸν τοιαύτῃ *ὁποῖόν ἐστιν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν*	وينبغى ان يستعمل فى النبات نظير ذلك

f. 101 b

1. διερευνήσωμεν οὖν	وان يفحص
2. καὶ εἴ τι ἀπολύεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ φυτοῦ, *ὅσον εἰς πνοήν*	وما يتحلل منه وليس للنبات نسيم
3. ἔν τισι δὲ τῶν ζώων ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ ἀποθυμίασις πολλή καὶ τέως ὀλίγον ὑπνώττουσιν	وارتفاع هذا البخار فى بعض الحيوان كثير ووقت نومه طويل وارتفاعه فى بعضه قليل ووقت نومه قصير
4. τὸ ἄρρεν. ὅτε γεννᾷ, εἰς ἄλλο γεννᾷ, καὶ εἰσὶν ἄμφω κεχωρισμένα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων	من شأن الذكر ان يولد الولد فى غيره ومن شأن الانثى ان تلد من غيرها وان يكون فى كل واحد منهما معتزل عن صاحبه
5. ἐπεὶ γοῦν εὑρίσκομεν ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ὅτι ἔχει τὰ φυτὰ γένος ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ	وليس يوجد فى النبات شىء من هذا

6. τὸ γένος

لجنس (في الاصل الحس)

7. εἰσί τε *ἄλλα ἃ* αὐξάνουσιν *ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢ ἐκ δένδρων*

ومنه ما ينمو

8. τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ζῴου; τί ἄλλω εἰ μὴ τὸ εὐγενὲς ζῷον, ὃ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιοδεύει, τὸν ἥλιον, τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τοὺς πλάνητας, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνειρμένης ἐξωτερικὰ ἀμφιβολίας, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἀπαθῆ εἰσίν; ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησις τῶν αἰσθανομένων πάθος.

فاما الذى هو ابتداء حياة هذا الحيوان وما يخاص جنس الحيوان الكريم من الشك العظيم كالذى يجد ذلك فيا يحويه السماء من الكواكب وغير ذلك لانه ليس خارج السماء شيء محسوس ساس شيء عليه وكذلك فى الشمس وفى جميع الكواكب وذلك لانها غير واقعة تحت الالم والحس هو الالم وانفعال فى الحس.

9. συλλογισώμεθα τοίνυν πόθεν ἂν ταύτῃ ζωή, *ἵνα ποιήσωμεν καὶ αὐτὰ αἰσθητικά*. οὐ γὰρ περιέχει ταῦτα ἓν πρᾶγμα κοινόν.

اعا ذا نفس الحياة وعا ذا يشبهها ما نجد لها شيئا عاما

10. τῆς ζωῆς τῶν ζῴων κοινὴ ἐστιν *αἰτία* ἡ αἴσθησις

العام للحياة هو الحس

f. 101 a

1. τῇ ταύτης γοῦν στερήσει δεῖ ἵνα πᾶς τις ἀποχωρῇ τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μέσον. ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ἐστι μέσον.

وليس ينبغى لاحد ان يزوغ عن هذه الاشياء لانه ليس له متوسط بين المتنفس وغير المتنفس ولا بين الحياة وعدمها ولكن بين الحياة والمتنفس واسطة

2. *καὶ* οὐ *λέγομεν*

او لا نقول

3. εἰ ἔχει δὲ ψυχήν, *οὐ λέγομεν ὅτι καὶ τινα ἤδη ἔχει αἴσθησιν, πρᾶγμα γὰρ τὸ τὸ τρεφόμενον οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ ψυχῆς*

كان ذا نفس

3. τοῦ *ἡμετέρου* θελήματος	ارادتها
4. οὔτε τι ἀκόλουθον τούτῳ.	ولا ادراك شيء من الاشياء
5. οὔτε ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ	ولا مثالا
6. οὔτε *τοπικὴν* κίνησιν (om. τοπικὴν N″n)	ولا حركة
7. πρός *τι* αἰσθητὸν	الى المحسوس
8. ὁπόταν γοῦν τὸ τόιοῦτόν φυτὸν εὑρίσκωμέν τι μέρος ψυχῆς τοιαύτης ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχον, *ἐξ ἀνάγκης νοοῦμεν καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχειν αὐτό·* ὅτε δὲ	فان وجدنا النبات دليلا اوجب له جزءا من اجزاء النفس
9. ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησις αἰτία ἐστὶν ἐλλάμψεως *ζωῆς*. τὸ δὲ θρεπτικὸν *αἰτία* ἐστὶν αὐξήσεως πράγματός τινος ζῶντος	لأن الحس هو سبب صفاء الجبلة واما الغذاء فهو نمو حياة الحي وعيشته لان الغذاء رئيس العيش فاما الحس فهو رئيس صفاء الحياة

f. 100 b

1. τὸ γὰρ τὰ φυτὰ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόφασκον οὕτως, τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐκ αἰσθάνονται. καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ καί τινα ζῶα γνώσεως ἐστερημένα.	فاما الذي يدفع ان يكون حيا لا حس له فقد نجد في الحيوان ما لا معرفة له ولا عقل
2. ἀσύμφωνόν ἐστι	يسمح
3. τιθῶμεν	نضع (في الاصل نضع)
4. κογχύλια	خراطيم الماء والاصداف
5. τὰ δὲ εἴδη τοῖς οἰκείοις *ἀτόμοις* ὀνόματα	فاما الانواع فلا تعطى انواعها الا اسماءها

APPENDIX

f. 99 b

1. ζήτησιν	بحث واستقصاء
2. τῇ τε ἀπορροῇ τῶν φύλλων *καὶ τῇ αὐξήσει*	انتثار ورقه في حينه
3. γένος ἐν τούτοις κεκραμένον	ذكوره واناثه مختلطة
4. ὁ ἐὰν συσταίῃ, ἥδεσθαι ὄντως αὐτὰ καὶ λυπεῖσθαι αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ σύμφωνον ἔσται. ἂν δὲ συσταίῃ τοῦτο τῷ ἐπιθυμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἀεὶ τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀνακτῶνται καὶ ἐγείρονται ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσι, σύμφωνον ἔσται. ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν ζητήσωμεν εἰ πνοὴν καὶ γένος ἐκ συγκράσεως ἔχουσιν ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον, πολλὴν ἂν τὴν περὶ τούτου ἀμφιβολίαν καὶ μακρὰν ποιήσωμεν τὴν ζήτησιν. τὸ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραλιμπάνειν καὶ μὴ εὐαναλώτοις περὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐρεύναις ἐνδιατρίβειν πρέπον ἐστίν.	وان صح للنبات قوة الشهوة وجيت له اللذة والحزن والحس فليت شعرى نوم ويقظة للنبات وذكور واناث او شيء يجتمع من الذكر والانثي على ما زعم همفدوقليس ام ليس له نفس فان كثرة الاختلاف الواقع فى نفس النبات مما يخرجنا الى البحث الطويل عن جميع حالاته واصلاح الاشياء قطعة ونفي للشك عنا فيه لئلا يحتاج فى سائر الاشياء الى بحث طويل

f. 100 a

1. τούτου ἄρα θαυμάσιος μέν, *οὐ μὴν φαῦλος* πλανᾶται σκόπος, ὃς καὶ τὰ φυτὰ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐδόξασεν.	فقد صح ان راى الذى زعم ان للنبات حسا وشهوة راى عجيب
2. καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος καὶ ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.	وهمفدوقليس وديمقراطيس

كل (١) واحـد منها ورداتها وبقاء ثمارها وفنائها ولم صار ثمار بعضها يعفن سريعا وبعضها لا يعفن وإن منها مايلين ثمارها ومنها ما لا يلين ثمارها ونفحص عن خواص سائر النبات وبخاصة 108 a § عن الاصول وكيف صار بعضها يهيج شهوة الجماع وبعضها يجلب النوم وبعضها قتال ولبعضها اختلاف كثير عظيم .

تمت المقالة الاولى من كتاب النبات لارسطوطاليس والحمد لله رب العالمين .

(١) واحدا

منه زمانا طويلا وإذا فعل الانسان مثل هذا الفعل ذمل كثيرا من النبات البرى إلى البستاني والمكان والفلاحة مما يعينان على ذلك وبخاصة أزمنة السنة التي يغرس فيها ومن النبات ما يحتاج الي الغرس ومنه مالا يحتاج الى ذلك واكثر النبات يغرس فى الربيع والقليل منه يغرس فى الشتاء والخريف وأما أقل النبات الذى يغرس بعد طلوع الكوكب المعروف بكلب الجبار وأقل المواضع التى يغرس الغرس فيها فى هذا الوقت وانما يغرس الغرس بعد طلوع الكوكب المعروف بكلب الجبار فى بلد فرونية وأفرنسية وأما فى مصر فما يغرس فيها الا مرة واحدة في السنة ومن الشجر ما يورق من أصوله ومنه مايورق من عيونه ومنه مايورق من خشبه الأملس ومنه مايورق من كل مكان ومنه ما يقرب فيه التوريق ومنه مايتأخر فيه ومنه مايتوسط فى ذلك ومنه مايختلف وقت توريقه ومن النبات مايحمل فى السنة مرة واحدة ومنه ما يحمل فى السنة b 107 § مرارا كثيرة ولا ينضج ثماره بل تبقى فجةغير نضيجة ومنه ما يدوم كثرة حمله كالتين ومنه مايحمل فى وقت كبره وهرمه اكثر من حمله فى شبيبته كاللوز والكمثرى والبلوط وبعض الناس يزعم أن اختلاف النبات البستانى يعرف من طبع ذكورته واناثه اذا ميز كل واحد منه بالخاصة الموجودة له لأن الذكر أكثف من الأنثى وأكثر أغصانا وأقل رطوبة وثماره أصغر وأقل نضوجا وورقه مخالف وكذلك شعبه وينبغى لنا اذا نقدنا هذه الاشياء أن نغرس فى الشجر على حدته وكذلك أيضا فى الحشيش والعشب وسنذكر قول القدماء فيما وتمارس علومهم وكتبهم الموضوعة فى هذه الاشياء ونحن قادرون على فحص أقدر من هذا أعنى انما (١) نفحص عن العشب البعلى والعشب الذى يكون منه البزر وعن النبات الخمرى الشرابى وعن النبات الطبيعى وعن نبات الادوية وعن النبات القتال وهذه الاشياء كلها معروفة من الاشجار والنبات فاما علم أسبابها فينبغى ان نطلب ابتداء كونها وكيف صار بعضها ينبت فى مكان دون مكان وفى زمان دون زمانها وحين نباتها وأصولها واختلاف عصارتها وروايحها ولبنها وصموغها وجودة

(١) يفحص

اذا زرع ومنه ما ينبت من تلقاء نفسه والنبات المغروس أما يقطع من أصله فيغرس وأما من أغصانه أو قضبانه أو بزره أو كله أو اذا دقت قطع صغار منه ومنه ما يغرس فى الأرض ومنه ما يغرس فى الشجر مثل الشيء الذى يطاعم وانما ينبغى أن يطاعم الشجر بما يشبهه ويشا كله لأنه اذا فعل ذلك نما نموا حسنا أعنى أن يطاعم التفاح مع الكمثرى والتين مع التين والكرم مع الكرم وقد يطاعم الشجر مع الشجر المختلف الجنس 106 b § كالفستق فى اللوز والبطم بالزيتون والعليق فى أشجار كثيرة والشجر البرى مع البستانى والنبات كله لا يخرج بزرا شبيها ببزره لكن من النبات ما يخرج بزرا أجود من بزره ومنه ما يخرج البزر الردى شجرا جيدا كاللوز المر والرمان الحامض ومنه ما اذا ضعف لم يخرج بزرا أصلا مثل الصنوبر والنخل وليس ينبت من البزر الردى نبات جيد بسهولة ومن البزر الجيد نبات ردى وأما فى الحيوان فقد يتولد من الردى جيد ومن الجيد ردى والشجر الصلب القشر الذى لا يثمر إن شق انسان أصله وأدخل فيه حجرا أثمر فاما النخل فاذا انثر فى طلعة من طلع النخل الذكر مع دقيقه وقشره انضج ثماره ومنع من الانتثار ومما يعرف الذكر من النخل مما يتقدم فيصير طلعه رقيقا ومن رايحته ويكون طلعه أيضا دقيقا وربما هبت ريح شديدة فادت من رايحة الذكر إلى الانثى فينضج ثمارها ولا ينتثر اذا جعل فيها من طلع الذكر واما بزر الأترج فان سحقه الانسان وشربه مع الخمر بعد شرب الأدوية القتالة أنقذه من الموت وذلك لأنه يصل الى البطن ويخرج السم والتين الجبلى الممتد على الأرض نافع للتين البستانى والجلنار للزيتون اذا غرسا فى مكان واحد .

٧ ــ ومن النبات ما يتغير ويصير شىء بدل شىء مثل الجوز اذا شاخ ويزعمون ان النمام ربما تغير وصار نعنعا 107 a § والباذروج اذا حصد وصير بقرب البحر الأحمر ربما صار (١) شاهسفرم وأما الحنطة والكتان انهما يزعمون ربما تغيرا وصارا شلما وأما اللبخ فقد كان فى أرض (٢) فارس قتالا فنقل الى أرض مصر والشام فصار مأكولا واللوز والرمان يتغيران عن رداءتهما فاذا عنى الفلاح بفلاحتهما أما الرمان فهو يجود إذا طرح فى أصله من بزر الخبازى وسقى بماء بارد عذب وأما اللوز فاذا ضرب الانسان فيه شكة من حديد وأخرج منه الصمغ السايل

(١) شاهفرم (٢) فاسد

اجود من تربة وكذلك الثمار فانه فى مكان اجود منه فى آخر ومن النبات 105 b §ماورقه املس ومنه ما ورقه غليظ ومنه دقيق الورق ومنه مشطب الورق مثل ورق الكرم ومنه ما له قشر واحد مثل التين ومنه ما له قشور كثيرة كالصنوبر ومن النبات ما هو بكليته (١)قشر محض مثل †البلاس† ومن النبات ما له عقد مثل القصب ومنه ما له شوك مثل العوسج ومنه ما لا غصن له كالثيل ومنه ما أغصانه كثيرة مثل العليق ومنه ما فيه اختلاف كثير واما اختلافه العظيم الذى منه ما يخرج فراخا ومنه ما لا يخرج فانما يكون ذلك من اختلاف الاصول ومن النبات ما له أصل واحد مثل العنصلان لأنه انما (٢) تنبت له شعبة واحدة ويغوص إلى أسفل وإلى قعر كبير وكلما كبر وقرب من الشمس نما وازداد لان الشمس هى المولدة للفراخ وأما القطرات التى فى الثمار فمنها مشروبة خمرية مثل ثمر الكرم والتفاح والرمان والتوت والاس ومنها عصارة دسمة كالزيتون والجوز والصنوبر ومنها حلوة عسلية كالتمر والتين ومنها حارة حريفة كالسعتر والخردل ومنها عصارة مرة مثل عصارة (٣) الافسنتين والقنطوريون والثمار أيضا منها ما هو مركب من لحم ونوى مثل الاجاص والقثاء ومنها ما هو مركب من رطوبة وحب كالرمان ومنها ما له قشر من خارج ولحم من داخل ومنها ما له لحم من خارج وحب من داخل ومنها ما يتولد فيه البزر من ساعته مثل القثاء المغشى عليه كالتمر واللوز ومنها ما لا يتولد فيه وأما المأكول من الثمار وغير المأكول فانه بالعرض لانه من الثمار(٤) ثمارا يا كله بعض الناس ولا يا كله بعضهم 106 a § ومنه ما يا كله بعض الحيوان ولا يا كله بعض ومن الثمار ما هو فى لحم كالتمر ومنه ما هو فى قشر كالبلوط والتفاح ومنه ما هو فى قشور كثيرة وفى صفايق ونوى كالجوز ومنه ما ينضج سريعا كالتوت ومنه ما يبطىء نضجه كثمر الجبال كلها أو أكثرها ومن النبات ما يسرع فى اخراج الثمار والورق ومنه ما يبطيء فى ذلك ومنه ما يتم ثماره ومنه مالا يتم ومنه ما يجف ثماره ومنه مالا ينضج ومنه ما يدرك ثماره فى الشتاء من غير أن ينضج وأما لون الزهر والثمار فكثير مختلف الألوان والنبات بكليته أخضر ومنه ما يميل الى السواد والى الحمرة والى البياض وأما شكل الثمار فما كان منه(٥) جزئين فهو مختلف وليس الثمار كله ذو زوايا وليس كله على خط مستو.

٦ــومن النبات ما له رائحة طيبة فى قشره ومنه ماله ذلك فى زهره ومنه فى خشبه ومنه ما طيبه فى أجزائه كلها مثل البلسان وبعض النبات ينبت اذا غرس وبعضه

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(١) قشور (٢) بيت (٣) لافستين (٤) ثمارا (٥) فى الاصل حرس

من أصله قايمة يتشعب منها أغصان كثيرة كالزيتون والتين وأما النبات الذى بين الشجر الذى قلنا أنه يسمى † ثامسو أو حموب † فهو ما كثرت أغصانه من أصله مثل النبات المعروف † بعار الدوس † ومثل القصب والعوسج وأماالبقول فهى التى لها قوايم كثيرة من أصلها كثيرة الاغصان مثل السذاب والكرنب وأما العشب فهو الذى يحمل الورق من أصله وليس له قوايم ومنه ما ينبت فى كل سنة ويجف مثل الحنطة والبقول وانما جعلنا هذه الاشياء قياسات ومثالا ورسما ومن النبات ما يميل الى طرفين مثل البقلة المعروفة بالمؤخية لانها عشب وبقل وكذلك السلق ومنه ماينبت فى أول مرة على شكل نبات الحبوب † والعاسوا † ثم يصير بعد ذلك شجرا مثل التين والفنجكست والنبات المعروف † بعار السوس † والعليق وربما دخل الآس والتفاح والكمثرى والرمان فى مثل هذه الاشياء a 105 § لان شعب هذه كلها من أصولها كثيرة جدا ولذلك احتجنا إلى أن نحدها لتصير لنا شبه المثال والقياس وماينبغى لنا ان نطلب فيها كلها استقصاء الحدود والنبات كله منه أهلى ومنه بستانى ومنه برى وكذلك الحيوان أيضا منه كذلك وأحسب ان كل نوع من النبات اذا لم يعد بفلاحته صار بريا ومن النبات ما يحمل الثمار ومنه مالا يحمل ومنه ما يخرج الزهر ومنه مالا يخرج ومنه ماله ورق ومنه ما ليس له ورق ومنه ما ينتثر ورقه ومنه مالا ينتثر ورقه واختلاف النبات بعضه من بعض في الكبر والصغر والحسن والسماجة وجودة الثمار ورداءته كثير جدا والاشجار البرية اكثر [(١)] ثمارا من البستانية والبستانية اجود ثمارا من البرية ومن النبات ما يكون فى مكان جاف يابس ومنه ما ينبت فى البحار ومنه ما ينبت فى الانهار ومنه ما ينبت فى البحر الأحمر [(٢)] يكون كبيرا وفى غيره يكون صغيرا ومن النبات ما ينبت على شاطىء الماء ومنه ما ينبت في الاجام وأما النبات الذى يكون فى المواضع اليابسة وإن منه ما ينبت فى الجبال ومنه ما ينبت فى البقاع ومنه ما [(٣)] يعشب فى الصحراء أكثر من عشبه فى غيره ومنه ما يعشب على التلول ومنه ما يعشب على البر والماء مثل العرف والطرفاء والاشنة والنبات يتغير فى الأماكن تغيرا عظيما فلذلك احتجنا الى أحصاء اختلافه

٥ — وتغير النبات لاحق الأرض غير مفارق لها ومن الاماكن مكان أجود من مكان وتربة

(١) ثمار (٢) أنظر الى الشرح (٣) يمشى

في السعتر والنبات المعروف بأوريقانون a 104 § وفى جملة القول ان من النبات نباتا له أجزاء محدودة معروفة ومنها ماله أجزاء محدودة غير متشابهة ولا مستوية ومنها ما له أجزاء متشابهة وغير متشابهة ليس مكانها في موضع واختلاف النبات فى أجزائه معروف من شكله وتلونه وسخافته وكثافته وخشونته ولينه وسائر ما يعرض فيه من الاختلاف فى الإستواء وزيادة العدد ونقصانه ومن كبره وصغره ومنه ما لا يكون على حال بل فيه اختلاف كثير على ما قلنا .

٤ .ــ أعني من النبات ما يحمل ثمره فوق ورقه ومنه ما يحمل ثمره تحت ورقه ومنه ما ثمره (١) معلق بقامته ومنه ما ثمره معلق في أصله مثل الشجر الذى بمصر المعروف † بارحسو او ما ووى † ومنه ما ثمره فى وسطه ومن النبات ما ورقه وعقده غير مستور ومن النبات ما ورقه مستور ومنه ماله أغصان متساوية مثل النبات الذى له ثلثة أغصان وهذه الأجزاء التى أذكرها هى (٢) فى جملة النبات وهى نامية متزيدة أيضاً أعنى الأصل والقضبان وقوائم النبات وأغصانه وهى تعدل أعضاء الحيوان التى تحوى سائر الأغصان وأصل النبات هو الذى يكون الغذاء بوساطته ولذلك سماه اليونانيين أصل النبات وسبب حياته لأن الأصل هو المؤدى الى النبات سبب الحياة وأما قضيب النبات فهو الذى ينبت من الأرض مفرداً وحده وهو شبيه بقائمة الشجر وأما الشعب فهو ما يتشعب من قائمة النبات وأما الأغصان فهى التى تنبت من فوق الشعب وليس الاغصان بموجودة فى جميع النبات ومن النبات ماله أغصان ليست بالدائمة ابدا بل انما تكون سنة بعد سنة ومن النبات مالا أغصان له ولا ورق مثل الكماة والفطر والأغصان إنما تنبت b 104 § فى الاشجار فقط والقشر والخشب ولب الشجر نبت من الرطوبة ومن الناس من يسمى لب الشجر رحم (٣) الشجر ومنهم من يسميه معاء الشجر ومنهم من يسميه قلب الشجر والعقد والعروق واللحم في جميع النبات من الأربعة الاسطقسات وقد يوجد فى النبات أجزاء أخر تصلح للنتلج مثل الورق والزهر والقضبان الصغار التى فيها ورق النبات وكذلك الثمرة والغصن والفقاح النابت من البزور وماحوله ومن النبات مايسمى شجرا ومنه ماهو بين الشجر والحشيش ويسمى † نامسو او حموب † ومنه ما يسمى حشيشا ومنه ما يسمى عشبا والنبات كله الا قليل منه داخل فى هذه الاسماء والشجر هو الذى له

(١) ملدق أنظر الى الشرح (٢) غير موجود فى الاصل فانظر الى الشرح
(٣) غير موجود فى الاصل

وتتجزأ لأجزاء غير متشابهة لأن الطين يتجزأ على جهة (١) للتراب فقط ويتجزأ على جهة (٢) للماء والتربة واللحم يتجزأ فيصير اجزاؤه لحما وهو يتجزأ على جهة أخرى للاستقصات والاصل وليس تنقسم اليد ليد أخرى ولا الاصل لاصل أخر ولا الورق للورق ولكن فى الأصل والورق تركيب وأما الثمار فمنه ما هو مركب من أجزاء يسيرة ومنه ما هو مركب من اجزاء كثيرة مثل الزيتون لأن (٣) للزيتون أربع طبقات جلده ولحمه ونواه وبزره ومن الثمار ما هو ذو ثلثة طبقات وجميع البزورهى ذات قشرين واجزاء النبات هى ما وصفنا وجملة اقول أن تحديد اجزاء النبات وجميع طبقاته واختلاف طبايعه شديدة لا سيما حدود قوامه ولونه ووقت بقائه والالام العارضة عليه وليس للنبات اخلاق النفس ولا فعل مثل الحيوان وأن قسنا 103 b § أجزاء الحيوان بأجزاء النبات طال كلامنا ولعلنا لا نسلم فى صفتنا لاجزاء النبات من الاختلاف الكثير لأن (٤) جزء الشىء هو جنسه وجوهره الخاص واذا تكون بقى على حاله أبداً إلا أن يسقط عن حاله بسبب مرض أو زمانة أو هرم ومن زهر النبات وقفاحه وورقة وثماره ما يكون فى كل سنة ومنه ما لا يكون فى كل سنة ولا يبقى مثل القشور والجرم الساقط من الشئ رميه (٥) وبسببه وليس ذلك فى النبات لأنه قد تسقط من النبات أجزاء كثيرة فنبت بدلها أما فوق مكانها وأما أسفله فقد صح ان أجزاء النبات غير محدودة ان كانت هذه الأجزاء هى أجزاء النبات وان كانت غير أجزائه وقبيح بنا أن نقول فى الشئ الذى به ينمو الحيوان ويكمل إنه ليس بجزئه ومما ينبغى لنا أن لا نجعل ثمر النبات من أجزائه لأن الجنين ليس هو (٦) بجزء لأمه وأما الورق وسائر ما فيه فانه من أجزائه وان كان غير محدود وكان ينتثر ويسقط لأن قرون الايل وشعر بعض الحيوان وريش بعضه الذى يحتفر فى الشتاء فى الكهوف وتحت الأرض يتساقط أيضاً وهذا شبيه بانتشار ورق النبات وينبغى لنا أن نتكلم فى الأشياء التى ذكرنا آنفا وأن نأخذ فى ذكر الأجزاء الخاصية والعامية والاختلاف الذى فيها فنقول فى أجزاء النبات اختلاف عظيم فى الكثرة والقلة والصغر والكبر والقوة و... لأن الرطوبة التى فى ... منها ما هو لبن مثل لبن التين ومنها ما هو شبيه بالزفت مثل الرطوبة التى فى الكرم ومنها صعترى مثل الرطوبة التى

(١) التراب (٢) الماء (٣) الزيتون (٤) جزو (٥) وسببه (٦) جزو

لا يجامع فيها لكثرة أفعاله ومن الناس من يظن أن النبات تام كامل من أجل القوتين اللتين له ومن أجل b 102 § غذائه المعد ولطول ابقائه ومدته وأنه اذا أورق وولد دامت له حياته وعاد اليه شبابه ولم يتولد فيه شيء من الفضول والنبات مستغن عن النوم لاسباب كثيرة وذلك لأن النبات منتصب مغروس فى الأرض مربوط بها وليس له حركة من ذاته ولا لأجزائه (١) حد محدود ولا له حس ولا حركة ارادية ولا له نفس كاملة بل انما له (٢) جزء من اجزائها والنبات انما خلق من أجل الحيوان ولم يخلق الحيوان من أجل النبات وان قلت إن النبات محتاج الى غذاء خسيس ردى فانه يحتاج منه الى شيء (٣) كثير قايم غير متصل غير منقطع وان صح أن للنبات على الحيوان فضل وجب أن يكون الاشياء الغير متنفسة أكرم من الاشياء المتنفسة وفعل من أفعال الحيوان أفضل وأشرف (٤) من النبات وقد نجد للحيوان جميع فضايل النبات وفضايل كثيرة معها وقد اصاب همفدوقليس فى زعمه أن النبات تولد والعالم ناقص لم يستتم كامله فلما كمل وتم تولد الحيوان غير أنه ما قال قولا مستقيما لأن العالم بكليته ازلى دايم لم يزل يولد الحيوان والنبات وكل نوع من انواعها وفى كل نوع من أنواع النبات رطوبة وحرارة غريزية فاذا فقدها مرض وفسد وجف ومن الناس من سمى هذا فسادا ومنهم من لايسميه ذلك

٣ . — ومن الشجر ماله صمغ كالراتينج واللوز والمر والكندر والصمغ العربى ومن الشجر ماله عقد وعروق وخشب وقشر (٥) ولحم داخل ومنه ما أكثره قشور ومنه ماثمرته تحت قشوره . ومن أجزاء الشجرة اجزاء بسيطة كالرطوبة الموجودة فيه والعقد والعروق a 103 § ومنها ماهو مركب من هذه الاشياء مثل ساير ما فى الشجر من الأغصان والقضبان وغير ذلك وليس هذه الأشياء كلها موجودة لجميع النبات بل منه ماله هذه الاجزاء ومنه ماليس له شيء والنبات اجزاء غير هذه مثل الاصول والقضبان والورق والأغصان والزهر والغفاح والاستدارة والقشر الذى يحوى الثمار وكما أن فى الحيوان أعضاء متشابهة الأجزاء كذلك فى النبات أيضا وكل (٦) جزء من أجزاء النبات نظير لعضو من أعضاء الحيوان لأن قشر النبات نظير لجلد الحيوان وأصل النبات نظير لفم الحيوان والعقد التى فيه نظيرة لأعصاب الحيوان وكذلك سائر الاشياء التى فيه وكل جزء من هذه الأجزاء تتجزأ على جهة لاجزاء (٧) متشابهة

(١) حدا (٢) جزءا (٣) كسر (٤) انظر الى الشرح
(٥) لحم (٦) جزو (٧) انظر الى الشرح

بعضه قليل ووقت نومه قصير والنوم سكون الحركة والسكون راحة للمتحرك وأخص الأشياء كلها بهذا العلم البحث عما قال همفدوقليس هل يوجد فى النبات أناث وذكور أو نوع جامع للذكر والأنثى على ما زعم لأن من شأن الذكر أن يولد الولد فى غيره ومن شأن الأنثى أن تلد من غيرها وأن يكون فى كل واحد منهما معتزل عن صاحبه وليس يوجد فى النبات شئ من هذا لأن كل نوع من النبات الذكر منه ما كان خشن صلب والأنثى كثيرة الثمر وينبغى أن نبحث هل يوجد الصنفان في نبات واحد بعينه كما زعم همبدوقليس أما أنا فما أحسب ان هذا شئ يكون لأن الشيء الذى يختلط ينبغى أولاً أن يكون مفرداً فى ذاته وكل ما كان منه ذكراً وأنثى ثم اختلط واختلاط الشئ إنما يكون من أجل كونه فقد كان النبات موجوداً قبل اختلاطه وما ينبغى أن يكون 102 a § الفاعل والمنفعل فى وقت واحد معا وأيضا أنه ليس يوجد جوهرا من الجواهر اناثه وذكوره فى شيء واحد معا ولو كان هذا هكذا لكان النبات أكمل من الحيوان لان كان لا يحتاج فى توليده الى شيء من خارج بل هو محتاج الى أزمنة السنة والى الشمس والاعتدال أكثر من كل شيء ونجده يحتاج الى ذلك فى وقت ابراز الثمر ومبتدأ غذاء النبات من الأرض ومبتدأ توليده من الشمس الا أن انكساغورس زعم أن بزره من الهواء ولذلك قال رجل يقال له القناون أن الأرض ام النبات والشمس أبوه وأما اختلاط ذكور النبات باناثه قلنا أن نتخيله على جهة أخرى لأن بزر النبات شبيه بالحبل وهو اختلاط الذكر بالانثى وكما أن فى البيضة قوة تولد الفروج ومادة غذائه الى وقت نمائه وخروجه منها والانثى تبيض البيضة فى وقت واحد وكذلك النبات أيضا وقد جود همفدوقليس فى قوله أن الشجر الطوال لا تولد فراخا لان الشيء النابت انما ينبت فى حر [1] البزر ويصير ما فيه فى [2] بدء الأمر غذاء الاصل والسبب والمادة محرك † على المكان وكذلك ينبغى لنا أن نفكر فى اختلاط ذكور النبات باناثه ومن الحيوان ما يشبه النبات فى حالة من الحالات لأن الحيوان اذا واقع ذكوره باناثه اختلطت قوتهما بعد ما كانا متفرقين فان كانت الطبيعة خلطت ذكور النبات باناثه فقد فعلت الصواب وما نجد النبات فعالا سوى توليد الثمار وانما صار الحيوان منفردا معتزلا فى الأوقات التى

(١) البرد فى الاصل فنظر الى الشرح (٢) بدو

وينبغى أن يكون للحيوان الكامل والناقص أمر يعمهما أعنى وجود الحياة وعدمها وليس ينبغى لأحد ان يزوغ عن هذه الاشياء لانه ليس له متوسط بين المتنفس وغير المتنفس ولا بين الحياة وعدمها ولكن بين الحياة والتنفس واسطة لأن الغير متنفس هو مالا نفس له ولا جزء من اجزائها فأما النبات فليس هو بغير ذى نفس وذلك لان فيه جزءا من اجزائها ولا هو حيوان أيضا لان ليس له حس وهو منتقل من الحياة الى عدمها قليلا قليلا كالذى فى سائر الأشياء. ولنا أن نقول ان النبات متنفس على جهة أخرى أو لا نقول أنه غير متنفس ان كان ذا نفس والحيوان هو ذو نفس كاملة وأما النبات فهو شىء غير كامل والحيوان محدود الأعضاء وأما النبات فغير محدود للطبيعة والنبات طبيعة خاصية من أجل الحركة التى فى ذاته وللقايل أن يقول ان له نفساً لأن النفس هى المنشئة للحركات من الأماكن والشهوات والشهوة والحركة فى الاماكن انما تكون مع الحس وأما اجتذاب الغذاء فيكون من المبدأ الطبيعى وهذا عام للنبات والحيوان وليس يكون مع اجتذاب الغذاء حس على كل حال لأن كل مغتذى يستعمل فى غذائه شيئين وهما الحرارة والبرودة ولذلك احتاج الحيوان الى غذاء رطب وغذاء يابس لأن(١) الحر والبرد(٢) موجودان فى(٣) الغذاء الرطب والغذاء اليابس وذلك ان كل طبيعة من هاتين الطبيعتين غير مفارقة لصاحبتها ولذلك صار غذاء المغتذى دائماً متصلا الى وقت فساده.

٢. — وينبغى أن يستعمل فى النبات نظير ذلك § 101 h وأن يفحص عما سلف من قولنا فى شهوة النبات وحركته ونفسه وما يتحلل منه وليس للنبات نسيم على ان انكساغورس زعم ان له نسيما وقد نجد كثيراً من الحيوان ليس له نسيم ونجد للنبات عياناً ليس له نوم ولا يقظة وذلك ان اليقظة هى من فعل الحس والنوم هو ضعف فى الحس وليس يوجد شىء من هذا فى الشىء الذى يغتذى فى جميع الأوقات على حال واحدة وهو فى طبيعته غير حاس وأحسب أن الحيوان اذا اغتذى وترقى البخار من غذائه الى رأسه نام واذا انقطع البخار المرتقى الى رأسه استيقظ من نومه وارتفاع هذا البخار فى بعض الحيوان كثير ووقت نومه طويل وارتفاعه فى

(١) « الحر و» غير موجود فى الاصل فانظر الى الشرح (٢) موجود (٣) « الغذاء الرطب » غير موجود فى الاصل فانظر الى الشرح .

ولا عضوا حاسا ولا متألما ولا صورة محدودة ولا ادراك شيء ولا حركة ولا (١)
نهوضا الى المحسوس ولا دليلا يوجب له الحس كالدلايل التى أوجبت له الاغتذاء
والنماء وانما يصح له بجزء الاغتذاء والنماء (٢) جزء من أجزاء النفس فان وجدنا للنبات دليلا
أوجب له جزءا من أجزاء النفس وبطل عنه الحس فما ينبغى لنا أن نقول أن له حسا
لأن الحس هو سبب صفاء الجبلة وأما الغذاء فهو نمو حياة الحى وعيشته لأن الغـذاء
رئيس العيش فأما الحس فهو رئيس صفاء الحياة وما وقعت هذه الاختلافات الا فى
مواضعها لأن معرفة الشىء المتوسط بين الحياة وعدمها صعب جدا ولعل قليلا يقول
إن كان النبات ذات حياة فهو حيوان وقد يصعب علينا أن (٣) يوجد للنبات
رئيس 100 b § سوى رئيس حياة الحيوان فأما الذى يدفع أن يكون حيا لا حس
له فقد (٤) نجد فى الحيوان مالا معرفة له ولا عقل على أن الطبيعة مقللة بحياة الحيوان
بالموت ومثبتة لأجناسه بالتولد والتناسل ومع هذا فانه يسمح أن (٥) نضع بين
مالا نفس له وبين ماله نفس شيئا بتوسطها نحن نعلم أن خراطيم الماء والأصـداف
حيوان لا معرفة له ولا عقل وأنه نبات وحيوان فما الذى حمـل الناس على أن سموه
حيوان إلا لسبب الحس فقط وذلك أن للأجناس أن تعطى أنواعهـا أسمـاءها
وحدودها فأما الأنواع فلا تعطى أنواعها إلا (٦) اسمـائها فقط وينبغى أن يـكون
الجنس من أجل سبب واحد والا يكون من أجل أسباب كثيرة ووجود السبب
الذى من اجله صح (٧) الجنس صعب جدا ومن الحيوان حيوان ليس له أنثى ومنه
ما ليس له نتاج ومنه ما لا حركة له ومنه ما هو متلون مختلط ومنه ما يلد مالا يشبهه
ومنه ما(٨) ينمو فأما الذى هو ابتداء حياة هذا الحيوان وما يخلص جنس الحيوان
الـكريم من الشك المظلم كالذى نجد ذلك فيما يحويه السماء من الـكواكب وغير ذلك
لأنه ليس خارج السماء شىء محسوس ساس (٩) شىء عليه وكذلك فى الشمس وفى
جميع الـكواكب وذلك لأنها غير واقعة تحت الألم والحس هو الألم وانفعال فى
الحس وليس للنبات حركة فى ذاته لأنه مربوط بالأرض والأرض غير متحركة بما
ذا نفس الحياة وبما ذا يشبهها ما (١٠) نجد لها(١١) شيئا عاما ولكن ينبغى لنا أن نقول
أن العام للحياة هو الحس لأن الحس هو المميز للحياة من الموت a 101 §
وأما السماء فلان لها رئيسا أكرم وأجل من رئيسنا فهى متباعدة عن هذه الأشياء

(١) نهوض (٢) جزو (٣) يوجد (٤) يجد (٥) يضع (٦) اسمؤها (٧) الحس
(٨) ينموا (٩) سى (١٠) يحد (١١) شى

المقالة الاولى

من كتاب ارسطوطاليس فى النبات

تفسير نيقولاوس ترجمة اسحاق بن حنين باصلاح ثابت بن قرة (١)

١ – قال الفليسوف ارسطوطاليس أن الحياة موجودة فى الحيوان والنبات غير أن حياة الحيوان بينة ظاهرة وحياة النبات خفية غامضة يحتاج فيها الى بحث واستقصاء حتى يوصل الى سبيل الحق فيها ليت شعرى للنبات نفس وقواها كالقوة الشهية والقوة المميزة للغم واللذة أو ليس له شيء من ذلك أما انكساغورس وهمفدوقليس (٢) فزعما أن للنبات شهوة وحسا وغما ولذة فزعم انكساغورس أنه حيوان وانه يفرح ويحزن وزعم أن دليله على ذلك انتثار ورقه فى حينه وأما همفدوقليس فزعم أن ذكوره واناثه مختلطة وأما أفلاطون فقال أن للنبات قوة الشهوة فقط وذلك لاضطراره الى الغذاء وان صح للنبات قوة الشهوة وجبت له اللذة والحزن والحس فليت شعرى نوم ويقظة للنبات وذكور واناث أو شيء يجتمع من الذكر والأنثى على ما زعم همفدوقليس أم ليس له نفس فان كثرة الاختلاف الواقع فى نفس النبات مما يخرجنا إلى البحث الطويل عن جميع حالاته وأصلاح الأشياء قطعة ونفى للشك عنا فيه لئلا يحتاج فى ساير الاشياء الى بحث طويل ومن الناس 100 a § من قال ان للنبات نفسا لما رأى من توالده واغتذائه ونمائه وشبابه وهرمه اذا لم يجد فى شيء من هذه الأشياء التى لا نفس لها مما يشارك النبات فى هذه الأشياء وإذ وجبت هذه الاشياء للنبات وجبت له الشهوة أيضا والواجب علينا أن نتكلم فى الاشياء الظاهرة ثم نتكلم فى الاشياء الخفية فنقول أن الشيء المغتذى له شهوة وهو يجد اللذة عند الشبع والاذاء عند الجوع وهذه الحالات انما تكون مع الحس فقد صح أن رأى الذى زعم أن للنبات حسا وشهوة رأى عجيب فاما انكساغورس وهمدوقليس وديمقراطيس فزعموا أن للنبات عقلا وفهما الا أن ينبغى لنا أن نمسك عن هذه الأقاويل القبيحة ونبدأ بالقول الصحيح ليس للنبات حس ولا شهوة لأن الشهوة انما تكون بالحس ومنتهى (٣) أراداتها راجع اليه ولسنا نجد للنبات حسا

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(١) وهو مقالتان (٢) يزعما (٣) كذا فى الاصل والاصح أرادتنا فانظر الى الشرح

year 298: the translation was corrected and re-edited by Thabit ibn Kurra (d. 288).

In one respect this translation is unique, in that the original Greek from which it was translated is now lost. The title-page of the manuscript describes the work as "The Book of Plants of Aristotle: the commentary of Nicolaus, translated by Ishak ibn Hunayn, with the corrections of Thabit ibn Kurra". The history of this work is somewhat romantic. The Arabic version was translated into Latin in the thirteenth century by a certain Englishman named Alfredus, and from this Latin a Greek version was made later, which is now included in the Corpus of Aristotle (1). The first scholar to investigate and establish the nature of the treatise was E. H. F. Meyer (2); he showed that the Greek version as known from the manuscripts was is reality three times removed from the original work, which he held to be the composition of Nicolaus Damascenus, who lived in the latter half of the fifth century A.D.; and he published the Latin version of Alfredus. The Greek text was published by O. Apelt in the Teubner series in 1888. In his introduction he writes, "De plantis qui sunt libri duo tam viles sunt, ut taedeat quidquam in eos operae impendere". The Latin version of Alfredus was translated into English by E. S. Forster.

In now publishing the Arabic version of the lost Greek original, it is hoped to be able to go one step further towards establishing a correct text. This paper contains only Book I of the Arabic, and an Appendix noting the variations exhibited by this text as compared with the published Greek. The Latin version of Alfredus has not been available to the writer, but he has used the anonymous Latin version published by Bekker (Berlin, 1831). In a later number of the Bulletin it is hoped to publish the second book of the Arabic, and then a complete table of comparison with both the Latin and the Greek versions, and a Commentary.

The foliation is that of the Istanbul M.S., while the division into chapters follows that established by Bekker.

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(1) « The Works of Aristotle translated into English », Vol. VI. No. IV De Plantis, by E. S. Forster. Introduction (Oxford, 1913).

(2) Nicolai Damasceni de plantis libri duo Aristoteli vulgo adscripti. Lipsiae 1841.

AN EARLY ARABIC TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK.

By A. J. Arberry.

It is well-known that, during the second half of the second century of the Hijra, and especially under the patronage of the Caliph Al-Ma'mun (A.H. 198-218), there was a demand among learned Arabs for translations to be made of the works of many famous Greek authors: and that this impetus to translate continued strong throughout the whole of the third century. During this period, a very great number of most valuable translations were made, translations which were destined to play an important role in the history of Muslim philosophy and science.

Comparatively little appears to have survived of the work done by this school of translators: for the most part, our knowledge of the very titles of the books translated depends on references made by later Arabic writers, notably, Muhammad ibn Ishak the author of Kitabu 'l-Fihrist, Jamal al-Din al-Kifti, Ibn Abi Usaybia, and Hajji Khalifa. The most authoritative modern account of these translations is that given by the German scholar Steinschneider in two monographs entitled "Die arabischen Ubersetzungen aus dem Griechischen", and published at Leipzig in 1888 and 1892.

It is therefore an event of considerable importance, when a manuscript of any of these translations comes to light. A manuscript has recently been discovered at Istanbul, which contains a number of translations made from the Greek by different authors: among these is the translation which forms the subject of this paper; it has become available to the present writer though a photograph of the manuscript now in the possession of the Library of the Egyptian University (No. 90).

The author of this translation is Ishak ibn Hunayn, the son of the more famous Hunayn ibn Ishak, who died in the

when winter is already past, there are extraordinarily heavy falls of snow continuing for many days; and in the northern parts of India, at definite times hailstones of incredible size and quantity come dashing down. Near the river Hydaspes at the beginning of summer there are continuous rains, and some days after, the same thing happens in Ethiopia; and these climatic conditions, always encircling the whole region,
8 cause wintry weather there. It is therefore not at all surprising (he says), if in Ethiopia which stands higher than Egypt, continuous torrents of rain among the mountains pour down in summer and swell the river, especially as the manifest fact
9 is attested by the natives who dwell in these regions. Although their statements are at variance with our experience, one must not on that account disbelieve them. For the south wind, which is for us a stormy wind, in Ethiopia brings a clear sky: and in Europe breezes from the North are invigorating, whereas in that country they are sluggish and mild.

10 With regard, then, to the flooding of the Nile, although I could use greater variety of argument in criticising all these theories, I shall be satisfied with the above account, so as not to overstep the limit of brevity which I laid down to begin with. And since I have, on account of its bulk, divided this book into two parts, in order to preserve balance in my work, I shall here conclude the first part of my historical inquiries, and set forth in the second part the continuation of my history of Egypt, beginning with the account of the kings of Egypt and life in Egypt in the most ancient times.

is altogether absurd. For if the river became sweet through boiling in the heat, it would not be productive of life, nor would it maintain varied kinds of fish and animals. All water whose nature has been changed by the fiery element is altog-
8 ether alien to the creation of living things. Therefore, as the nature of the Nile is completely opposed to the suggested theory of boiling, one must regard the above causes of the
XLI flooding as erroneous. Oenopides of Chios (1) points out that in the summer season subterranean water is cold, but in winter on the contrary it is warm: this is evident in the case of deep wells. In the depth of winter the water in them is far from cold, while in the greatest heat very cold water is drawn.
2 Wherefore (he says) it is reasonable that in winter the Nile shrinks and is small, because the heat in the earth absorbs the greater part of its moisture, and no rains fall in Egypt. But in summer, when there is no longer any absorption of water in regions deep down, the natural flow of the river
3 swells (he says) without let or hindrance. In reply, it must be said that many rivers in Libya with their mouths similarly situated and flowing in like direction, have no rising analogous to that the Nile. On the contrary, they swell in winter and dry up in summer; and thus prove the falsity of this
4 attempt to combat Truth by plausibilities. The writer who has come nearest the truth is Agatharchides of Cnidus (2). He maintains that every year on the mountains of Ethiopia there are continuous rains from the summer solstice to the autumnal
5 equinox. It is reasonable, therefore, that the Nile should shrink in winter when it has its natural flow from its springs alone, and swell in summer owing to the rains that pour into
6 it. If no one up to the present has been able to give the causes of these rains, it is not right (he says) that his particular explanation should be rejected. For Nature offers many contradictions; and their causes it is not possible for men to discover
7 accurately. His own statements (he says) are attested by what happens in certain regions of Asia. On the frontiers of Scythia where they border on the Caucasus Mountains, every year

(1) Oenopides, a distinguished astronomer and mathematician (see below, 98., 3), was probably a contemporary of Anaxagoras in the 5th century B.C.

(2) Agatharchides of Cnidus (2nd century B.C.) wrote several historical and geographical works (e.g. « On the Red Sea », « On the Troglodytes »).

one of the phenomena connected with the Nile's overflow is
13 observed to take place. Similarly, in Acarnania, the river
Achelous, as it is called, and in Boeotia the Cephisus which
flows out of Phocis, have formed large alluvial areas, in both
of which the historian's statement is plainly disproved. How-
ever, no one can by any means look for accuracy in Ephorus,
considering how he has disregarded truth on many occasions.
XL Certain of the philosophers at Memphis have attempted to
account for the Nile's rising by an explanation which is not
so much plausible as impossible to disprove, and many have
2 given their assent to it. They divide the world into three
parts, and state that one of these is the part which we inhabit,
another is that which experiences the opposite seasons from
ours, while the third lies between these two and is uninhabit-
3 ed owing to heat. If, then, the Nile rose during the winter
season, it would be clear that it finds its increase in our zone,
since it is just about this time that heavy rains fall with us.
But since, on the contrary, it floods about summer-time, it
is plausible (they say) that storms arise in the Antipodes, and
that the excess of the water that falls in those regions is borne
4 into our part of the world. This (they say) is why no one can
approach the sources of the Nile, since the river flows from
the Antipodes through the uninhabited zone. These theories
are attested by the excessive sweetness of the Nile water.
Flowing through the torrid zone, it is softened by boiling,
and therefore the Nile is the sweetest of all rivers; for the fiery
5 element naturally sweetens all moisture. To this explanation,
however, there is a refutation ready at hand: it seems to be
altogether impossible that a river should flow up from the
Antipodes into our zone, especially if it be granted that the
earth is spherical. For, even if one is overbold in argument
and does violence to manifest truth, the nature of the facts
will by no means permit the theory. In short, by placing the
uninhabited region in the middle, they propose an explanation
difficult to disprove; and in this way they think to escape all
6 accurate examination. But it is right that those who maintain
bold theories on certain subjects should either furnish manifest
proof thereof or make use of conclusions which have from
the first won assent. How can it be that the Nile is the only
river to flow from that part of the world to our regions?
Probably there are other rivers also, corresponding to those
7 in our parts. The reason alleged for the sweetness of the water

the summer equinox, before the etesian winds begin to blow;
and it subsides after the autumnal equinox, when those winds
5 have long since ceased to blow. Whenever, therefore, the
truth of experience prevails over the plausibility of the account,
one must admit the philosopher's ingenuity, while refraining
6 from giving credence to his statements. I pass over the fact
that one may find the etesian winds blowing quite as much
from the West as from the North. For it is not only the north
winds (Boreas and Aparktias), but also the north west winds
blowing from the summer setting, that come under the com-
mon name of etesian winds. Further, the statement that the
mountains of Ethiopia are really the highest in the world is
not only incapable of proof: it does not even command the
7 credence that is granted to self-evident truths. Ephorus,
again, adducing an altogether new reason, aims at plausibil-
ity in his account, but he is observed to miss the truth com-
pletely. He says that the whole of Egypt is alluvial and por-
ous, like pumice stone in character, with great continuous
cracks; and through these the soil absorbs a great quantity of
moisture. During the winter season, it holds this moisture
within it; but in summer-time it exudes the moisture every-
where like streams of sweat, and these streams swell the river.
8 This writer, it seems to me, so far from having observed the
nature of the land of Egypt, has not even learned carefully
9 from those who know the characteristics of this country. In
the first place, if the Nile received its increase from Egypt
itself, it would not swell in its upper reaches where it flows
through rocky, barren country. As a matter of fact, flowing
as it does for more than 6000 stades through Ethiopia, it rises
10 in flood before touching Egypt. Next, if the bed of the Nile were
lower than the crevices of the alluvial soil, there would appear
on the surface the cracks in which it was impossible for so
great a mass of water to be held. But if the river flowed at a
higher level than the crevices, it would be impossible that
the waters should flow together from the lower hollows on to
11 the higher area. In short, who can consider it possible that
exudations from these crevices in the earth can make such
increase in the river that practically the whole of Egypt is
inundated by it? I pass by the false assertions about the al-
luvial soil and the waters lodged in the crevices, since the
12 error here is manifest. In Asia, for instance, the river Mean-
der has made a large tract of alluvial land, in which no single

one were to admit that there is an abundance of snow in the high lands of Ethiopia, nevertheless the assertion is proved to
7 be false. Admittedly, every river that flows from snow gives off cold currents of air and produces mist. The Nile is the only river about which there are no dense clouds nor cold airs nor
8 mists. Herodotus says (1) that the Nile is normally as great as it becomes at flood-time; but in winter-time the sun, in its course over Libya, attracts to itself much moisture out of the Nile, and therefore at such times the river becomes smaller
9 than its natural size. When summer comes on, the sun withdraws in its orbit to the North, drying up and diminishing the rivers of Greece and those of other countries which are simil-
10 arly situated. The phenomenon of the Nile, therefore, (he says) is no longer surprising: for the river does not increase in the heat of summer, but it diminishes in winter-time, for the
11 reason given. Now in reply to Herodotus, it must be said that it would be reasonable that, just as the sun in the winter season attracts to itself the moisture from the Nile, so it should also take up part of the water of the rivers of Libya as well,
12 and shrink the flow of their streams. But since no such phenomenon is observed anywhere in Libya, manifestly the historian is detected as talking at random. For the rivers of Greece have their rising in winter, not because the sun is farther distant, but because of the amount of the rainfall. Demo-
XXXIX critus of Abdera says that it is not the region towards the South that is covered with snow, as Euripides and Anaxagoras have said, but the northward region; and this is evident to
2 all. The vast drifts of snow in the North remain frozen (he says) at the winter equinox; but in summer when the ice is thawed by the heat, there is a general melting, and this gives rise to many thick clouds in the more elevated regions, where
3 the vapour is borne upwards in abundance. These clouds (he continues) are driven by the etesian winds, until they strike upon the highest mountains in the world, as he declares the mountains of Ethiopia to be. Then, colliding violently with these high mountains, they produce very heavy rains, which flood the river (he says), just at the time of the etesian winds.
4 It is easy to refute this philosopher also, by examining attentively the times of the rising. For the Nile begins its flood at

(1) Heroodtus II. 25 : cf. Aristophanes « Clouds » 272.

truest account is that which is farthest removed from the fict-
11 itious. I am not unaware, however, that Herodotus, who dis-
tinguishes Libya to the E. of this river from Libya to the W.,
ascribes the accurate investigation of the stream to the Libyans
named Nasamonians (1), and says that the Nile rises in a
certain lake and flows through an untold stretch of Ethiopian
territory. But neither to the Libyans who told the tale, if
indeed they spoke the truth, nor to the historian who gives
no proof of his statements, can credence at once be given.

XXXVIII Having now spoken about the sources and course of the
2 Nile, I shall try to give the causes of its flooding. Thus
Thales (2), one of the seven Wise Men, says that the etesian
winds blow against the mouths of the river and prevent the
stream from pouring out into the sea: hence the river rises and
3 inundates Egypt which is a low-lying plain. Although this ac-
count appears plausible, it is easily proved to be false. For if
the above statement were true, all rivers that have their
mouths facing the etesian winds would rise in like manner;
but as this happens in no other part of the world, we must
4 seek elsewhere the true explanation of the flooding. Anaxa-
goras the natural philosopher (3) asserted the cause of the
rising to be the melting of snow in Ethiopia, and this view
was adopted by his disciple, the poet Euripides, who says in-
deed (4): "Leaving the fairest stream on earth, the Nile
which flows in flood from the land of the dark-skinned Ethio-
5 pians whenever the snow melts"... As it happens, this asser-
tion does not need much refutation, for it is evident to all that,
owing to the excessive heat, it is impossible for snow to fall
6 in the neighbourhood of Ethiopia. In these regions, in short,
there is neither frost nor cold nor indeed any indication of
winter, especially at the time of the Nile's rising. Even if

(1) The Nasamones (Herodotus II. 32 f.) dwelt on the shore of the Greater Syrtis in N. Africa.

(2) Thales, the Ionian philosopher, of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. His theory is refuted by Herodotus (II. 20. 2). The estesian winds are the regular N. W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.

(3) Anaxagoras, another philosopher of the Ionian school, of the 5th century B.C. — already mentioned above (7. 7). His theory, which is very near the truth, is rejected by Herodotus (II. 22).

(4) Fragment 230 : cf. Aeschylus fr. 304 (300 : 161 in the Loeb edition).

are commended for the truth of their histories, have refrained
altogether from describing the land of Egypt. The schools of
Ephorus and Theopompus have devoted themselves most
earnestly to this task, but with least success in attaining to the
truth. The complete failure of all these writers is due, not to
5 carelessness, but to the peculiar character of the country. From
ancient times down to Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, so far
from any Greeks having penetrated into Ethiopia, they did
not even advance to the frontiers of Egypt: so inhospitable and
altogether dangerous were these regions. The above-mention-
ed king was the first to make an expedition with a Greek army
into Ethiopia, and a more accurate knowledge of that country
6 was gained from that time on. Such, then, were the reasons,
as it happened, for the ignorance of earlier historians. As for
the sources of the Nile, and the region where it begins to flow,
no one down to the writing of these Histories has claimed
to have seen them, nor has given hearsay evidence from any
7 who affirm for certain that they have seen them. Thus the
question is left to supposition and plausible conjecture. The
priests of Egypt claim that the Nile finds its origin in the
stream of Ocean (1) which girdles the world, yet there is no
truth in their tale: they merely solve one problem by posing
another, and bring forward as proof an argument which itself
8 needs strong proof. Those of the Troglodytes who removed
from the upper reaches because of the heat, — the Bolgii by
name, — say that in those parts there are certain indications
from which one would infer that many springs meet in one
place and form the river Nile. Hence (they say) it is the most
9 highly fertilising of all known rivers. The inhabitants of the
island called Meroe, with whom one might most readily agree,
since they are least likely to indulge in plausible and ingen-
iously invented explanations, and they live very near to the
regions under discussion, are so far from giving any exact
account of these questions that they have called the river Ast-
apus, which, being interpreted into Greek speech, means
10 "water of darkness". Because of their want of observation of
those regions and their own ignorance, they have applied to
the Nile a peculiar name of their own. In my opinion the

(1) Herodotus (II. 21, 23) refutes this theory, which he probably quoted from Hecataeus of Miletus

villages, and farm houses stand upon artificial banks, its
9 appearance resembles the Cyclades (1). The majority of the
land animals are caught by the flood and drowned in the
depths; but some save their lives by fleeing to the higher
ground, while the flocks are fed during the period of the
rising in the villages and farm-houses where fodder is stored
10 for them beforehand. All the time of the inundation, the
people, released from labour, turn to recreation, feasting in-
cessantly and indulging without let or hindrance in every
11 thing that pertains to pleasure. Because of their anxious
interest in the rising of the river, a Nilometer has been con-
structed by the kings at Memphis. Those in charge of this
instrument measure the rising accurately on it, and send out
letters to the towns, informing them how many cubits or
finger's breadths the river has risen and when it has begun
12 to decrease. By some such method as this, the whole people
are released from their anxiety, when they learn of the
change from increase to decrease; and they all straightway
foretell the amount of their future crops, for this observation
has been accurately recorded in Egypt for many years.

XXXVII Since the flooding of the Nile presents a difficult problem,
many philosophers and historians have attempted to explain
its causes, and I shall speak of them briefly, so as neither to
make long digressions nor to leave untouched the question
2 which all seek to investigate. In general, with regard to the
rising and the sources of the Nile, its outflow into the sea,
and the other characteristics that distinguish this, the great-
est river in the world, from all other rivers, some chroniclers
have simply not ventured to say anything, although accustom-
ed to expatiate at times about some ordinary winter torrent;
while others have set themselves to speak of the questions in
3 dispute, but have strayed far from the truth. The followers of
Hellanicus, Cadmus, Hecataeus, and all such writers, belong-
ing to quite ancient times, have resorted to fabulous explana-
4 tions. Herodotus, who was an exceptionally assiduous inquirer,
with wide experience of historical study, has attempted to give
an explanation of these phenomena; but he is found to have
followed conflicting theories. Xenophon and Thucydides, who

1 Cf. Herodotus II. 97. 1, Strabo p. 788.

LXXVI Besides the animals mentioned, the Nile contains all kinds of fish in incredible numbers. The natives not only enjoy abundant supplies of fresh fish, but are furnished with a
2 never-failing stock for salting. In general, the Nile surpasses all the rivers in the world in its services to men. Beginning to rise in the summer solstice, it increases until the autumnal equinox; and always bringing new mud, it irrigates the land, — the fallow land as well as the seed-land, and that planted
3 with trees — for as long a time as the cultivators wish. For, as the water comes up gently, they easily turn it aside by means of low dikes; and again with little effort, they admit the water by destroying these dikes when they deem it ad-
4 vantageous. Indeed, the river makes agriculture so easy and so profitable that the majority of the farmers stand by as their fields are drying up, and while sowing the seed, they drive in their herds to tread it down (1): then four or five months later, they return for the harvest. Some farmers, however, use light ploughs to scrape the surface of the inundated land; and after wards they gather up their crops in heaps with little
5 expense and trouble. Among other nations, all the work of farming in general is carried out with great hardship and expenditure: in Egypt alone it demands very little labour and expense. Vineyards, similarly watered, yield an abundance of
6 wine to the native cultivators. Some allow the inundated land to dry up, and leave it as a grazing place for their flocks; and because of the richness of the pasture, the sheep bear twice a year, and are twice shorn to their owners' profit.

7 The phenomenon of the flooding of the Nile is marvellous to an eyewitness, and altogether incredible to one who merely hears the tale. For whereas all other rivers dwindle about the summer solstice, and always shrink further during the succeeding period of the summer, the Nile alone begins its rising at that time and increases so much every day that finally it inun-
8 dates almost the whole of Egypt. In the same way, when it changes again and does the reverse, for an equal period it shrinks every day little by little until it reaches its previous state. Since the country is a level plain, and the towns,

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(1) Herodotus (II. 14. 2) says that swine were driven into the fields to tread down the seed : this statement is confirmed by the monuments, which also show sheep performing the same task.

at one time they used thick nets as some men catch fish, while at other times iron harpoons were rained from skiffs to strike
6 the crocodile on the head. There is a countless number of crocodiles in the river and the adjoining lakes; for they are prolific, and are seldom killed by men. The majority of the natives, indeed, have the custom of worshipping the crocodile as a god; while in the eyes of foreigners crocodile-hunting is
7 altogether unprofitable, since its flesh is not edible. Nevertheless, as crocodiles multiply to the danger of men, Nature has provided an effective remedy. The *ichneumon* (1), as it is called, a creature like a small dog, goes about smashing the eggs which the crocodile lays at the river-side, and — most astonishing of all — although the *ichneumon* neither devours the eggs nor is benefited in any way, it continues active in the performance of a natural and necessary duty for the service of
8 mankind. The animal called "river-horse" (2) is no less than 5 cubits long: it is a quadruped with cloven hooves like an ox, and has tusks larger than the wild boar's, three on each side. It resembles the horse in its ears, tail, and voice; but its whole body is not unlike an elephant's, and its hide is stouter
9 than that of almost any other animal. Being amphibious, it spends its days in the water, exercising in the depths, while at night on land, it grazes on corn and grass, so that if this creature were prolific and bore offspring every year, it would
10 completely devastate the tilled lands of Egypt. This animal, too, is caught by a multitude of men who strike it with iron harpoons, Wherever the creature is seen, they collect boats to attack it, and having surrounded it, they wound it with a kind of chisel at the end of a harpoon; then, fastening the end of a rope to one of the weapons implanted in its body, they slacken the rope and wait until the monster is exhausted by
11 loss of blood. Its flesh, however, is tough and indigestible; and none of the inward parts is edible, neither entrails nor intestines.

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(1) The ichneumon (called « ichneutes » by Herodotus II. 67 : both words mean « tracker ») is an animal like a weasel : see Aristotle « Hist. Anim ».

(2) Cf. Herodotus II. 71, Aristotle H. A. II. 7. The hippopotamus has not cloven hooves, nor a horse's tail : it is practically hairless.

from which the Egyptians prepare loaves that can satisfy the natural need of the body; and the *ciborium* (1) which is found in the greatest abundance bears the Egyptian bean, as it is
7 called. There are also several species of trees. the *perseae*, as they are called, have a fruit of surpassing sweetness, the tree having been imported from Ethiopia by Persians at the time
8 when Cambyses conquered those parts. Of the fig-mulberry trees, some bear mulberry fruit, others a fruit like figs; and as it is produced during practically the whole year, the result
9 is that the needy have a ready refuge from distress. What are called blackberries are gathered when the river sinks, and
10 because of their natural sweetness are eaten as dessert. From barley, too, the Egyptians prepare a drink which, in fragrance, is little inferior to wine: this they call *zythos* or beer.
11 To burn in their lamps, instead of olive oil they pour in and use juice extracted from a certain plant, and known by the name of *kiki* (2) or castor oil. Many other plants which can satisfy the essential needs of men grow abundantly in Egypt, but it would be tedious to write about them.

XXXV Among the many beasts of extraordinary form which the Nile rears, there are two conspicuous species — the crocodile
2 and the so-called horse (or hippopotamus). Now the crocodile (3), very small to begin with, grows to a huge size; for this creature's eggs are like those of a goose, whereas the
3 hatched crocodile will attain a length of 16 cubits. It is long-lived compared with man, and it has no tongue. Its body is marvellously fortified by Nature; for its hide is altogether composed of horny scales of extraordinary hardness, both its jaws are furnished with many teeth, and it has two tusks, far
4 surpassing the teeth in size. It eats the flesh, not only of men, but also of such other land creatures as approach the river. Its bite is powerful and dangerous, and with its claws it gives cruel wounds: any gash made in the flesh is quite impossible
5 to heal. In ancient times the Egyptians used to hunt crocodiles by means of hooks baited with swine's flesh; later on,

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(1) « Ciborium » is the fruit, or rather the seed-vessel, of the « Nymphaea Nelumbo » or Egyptian bean.

(2) For « Kiki » see Herodotus II. 94 : it is the juice of the castor-oil plant, « Ricinus communis.

(3) See Herodotus II. 68-70. Aristotle « Historia Animalium » V. 33. The crocodile has a tongue, but it is very small.

ichus, who first attempted to construct this canal (1): then Darius the Persian carried on the work and, after making
10 some progress, finally left it uncompleted. For he was informed by certain men that if he cut a canal through the isthmus, he would cause Egypt to be inundated. They pointed out that
11 the Red Sea stood at a higher level than Egypt. Afterwards the second Ptolemy (2) completed the canal, and at the most suitable place he devised an elaborate lock. This he would open whenever he wished to sail through; then he would promptly close it again, and the operation was successfullly
12 accomplished. The river that flows through this canal is named Ptolemaic after its maker; and at its mouth it has the town called Arsinoe.

XXXIV Now the Delta, which resembles Sicily in shape, has each of its sides 750 stades in length, and its base which is
2 washed by the sea, 1300 stades. This island is traversed by many artificial canals, and contains the finest land in Egypt. Being composed of alluvial soil, and watered by the river, it yields many crops of all kinds; for at its annual rising, the river always deposits fresh mud, and the inhabitants easily water it all by means of a contrivance invented by Archimedes
3 of Syracuse and called from its shape "the snail" (3). As the Nile flows along gently, carrying down much soil of all kinds, and leaving pools in the hollow places, marsh-meadows of
4 great fertility are formed. Therein grow roots of every sort of flavour, and peculiar kinds of fruits and herbs, contributing
5 much to the sustenance of the needy and the sick. For not only do these furnish varied fare, ready and abundant, to all who are in want, but they also yield no small supplies of the
6 necessaries of life. The lotus (4) grows there in profusion,

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(1) Cf. Herodotus II. 158. Necos (Necho or Nekaw), 609-593 B.C. : Darius I., 521-486 B.C. The statement of Herodotus that Darius completed the canal is corroborated by inscriptions found between the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea and now preserved in the museum at Ismailia. Diodorus is wrong also in saying that Necho's was the first attempt : a canal was constructed there in the XIXth Dynasty by Sethos I. (1326-1300 B.C.), but it had silted up by the time of Necho.

(2) Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus), 285-246 B.C.

(3) The well-known screw of Archimedes (3rd century B.C.) : see Diodorus V. 37, Strabo XVII, I. 30, 52.

(4) Herodotus (II. 92. 2) describes how loaves were made from the lotus, « Nymphaea Lotus ».

uity. There are indeed several such cataracts but the greatest is that on the frontiers of Ethiopia and Egypt.

XXXIII In its course also the river forms islands, especially near Ethiopia. Among them there is one large island called Meroe, in which there is indeed a notable town, of the same name as the island, founded by Cambyses who called it after his mother
2 Meroe. This island, they say, resembles in shape an ablong shield, while in size it far surpasses the other islands in these parts. Its length is said to be 3000 stades, its breadth 1000 stades. It contains not a few towns, the most famous of them
3 being Meroe. In the direction of Libya along the whole riverside of the island, there stretches a line of immense sandbanks; towards Arabia there are rugged crags. In the island there are also mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper; and besides these a quantity of ebony and precious stones of all
4 kinds. In general the river forms an incredibly large number of islands. For apart from the land surrounded by the Nile in the region called Delta, there are more than 700 islands: some of these are irrigated by Ethiopians, and bear crops of millet; others, being infested with snakes, dog-faced baboons, and all kinds of monsters, are therefore inaccessible to man.

5 In Egypt, however, the Nile divides into many parts,
6 and forms what is called from its shape the Delta. Its sides are described by the branches of the river, while its base is
7 completed by the sea which receives their outflow. The Nile debouches into the sea through seven mouths (1): the first, facing the East, is called Pelusiac, the second Tanitic, then come the Mendesian, the Phatnitic, the Sebennytic, the Bolbitine, and lastly the Canopic, which some name Heracleotic.
8 There are also other mouths which are artificial, but there is no urgent need to write about them. Upon each stands a fortified town, divided by the river, and diversified on either side of the estuary with bridges and well-planted guard-posts. From the Pelusiac mouth an artificial canal runs to the Ara-
9 bian Gulf and the Red Sea It was Necos, son of Psammet-

(1) Cf. Herodotus II. 17. 4 : the second from the East (the Tanitic) is called by Herodotus « Saitic », the fourth from the East (the Phatnitic) is named « Bucolic ».

XXXII The Nile flows from south to north, and its sources lie
in unseen regions, situated in the desert on the farthest boundary
ary of Ethiopia, — a district which is inaccessible by reason
2 of the extreme heat. The greatest of all rivers, it forms great
windings in its course through a long stretch of territory,
sometimes turning towards Arabia in the East, at times
deviating towards Libya in the west. The length of its course
from the Ethiopian mountains until it debouches into the sea
3 is roughly 12,000 stades, if we include the windings. In the
southern regions it is increasingly diminished in size, as the
4 water is withdrawn towards both continents. Of the two
streams that separate, that which turns in the direction of Libya
is swallowed up by sand of an incredible depth, whereas the
other, flowing in the opposite direction into Arabia, turns
aside into vast marshes and great lakes with many tribes
5 dwelling around them. Once it has entered Egypt, it is in
some places 10 stades broad, in others less than that: it does
not flow in a straight line, but makes all kinds of windings.
At times it wheels to the east, again to the west, and occasion-
6 ally to the south, completely reversing its course. For hills
stretch along the river on either side, covering a great part of
the bank and diversified by ravines and narrow rocky defiles.
When the stream strikes against these, it rushes quickly back
through the level plain, and after flowing towards the South
over a sufficient space, it settles down once again into its
7 natural course. Possessing such a superiority in all respects,
this river is the only one in the world that flows along without
violence or rushing waves, except at the so-called Cataracts.
8 For there is a stretch about 10 stades long where the river
flows down a steep place, confined by crags into a narrow
gorge, all rugged and full of chasms, with many huge boulders
like cliffs. As the current is somwhat violently divided round
these rocks, and is often forced by obstacles to reverse its
9 course, amazing whirlpools are formed. As a result of the
back-wash of the water, the whole of the middle region is
filled with foam, to the great amazement of travellers. For the
river rushes down with such rapidity and violence as to seem
10 no less swift than an arrow. During the flooding of the Nile,
when the cliffs are submerged and the whole rugged region
is covered by the mass of water, some men sail down the
cataract, taking advantage of contrary winds, but no one can
sail upstream; for the force of the river baffles human ingen-

depths have no chance of rescue, since the banks of sand slide down along with them. Such is the nature of these plains which have found the appropriate name of Pits.

XXXI Now that I have described the character of the three landward regions that protect Egypt, one remains to be added.
2 The fourth side, then, faces the Egyptian Sea, and is washed, for practically all its length, by harbourless waters. The coastline is a very long one, and there is difficulty of safe landing. From Paraetonium in Libya as far as Iope in Coele Syria, a distance along the coast of approximately 5000 stades,
3 one can find no secure haven but Pharos. Apart from this a ribbon of sand extends along practically the whole of Egypt,
4 invisible to inexperienced voyagers. Wherefore men who think they are safe from the danger of the deep and are joyfully, in their blindness, putting in to land, suddenly find their vessels running aground, and they suffer unexpected shipwreck.
5 Some, indeed, being unable beforehand to distinguish the low coastline, are shipwrecked before they realise it, either on swampy regions with stagnant pools or on a deserted strand.

6 Egypt, then, is naturally defended on all sides, as I have described it. It is oblong in shape: while it has a sea-board of 2000 stades, it extends inland for approximately 6000 stades. In population it was, of old, far in excess of all the known regions of the world, and in our days too, it is reputed to be
7 inferior to none. In ancient times it had more than 18,000 notable towns and villages, as one can see recorded in the sacred archives; and in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus (1), more than 30,000 were enumerated, the majority of which have continued in existence down to our own times.
8 The number of the whole people long ago is said to have been
9 about 7 millions; and in ours time too, not less. Wherefore, thanks to the multitude of hands, it is told, the ancient kings of Egypt erected great and marvellous works, and left behind them immortal memorials of their renown. But these I shall describe in detail a little later: I shall now give an account of the nature of the river and the unique features of the country.

(1) Ptolemy I. (Soter) ruled over Egypt, 323-285 B.C. It is significant that it was in his reign that Hecataeus of Teos or Abdera visited Egypt : from Hecataeus, Diodorus probably borrowed his reference to this census.

of the Nile, and such of the mountains as march with these.
3 From the land of the Troglodytes (1) and the frontiers of
Ethiopia for a distance of 5,500 stades (2), it is not easy
either to sail on the river or to travel on foot without a royal
4 or exceedingly great equipment. Of the regions that lie to the
east, some are protected by the river, others are surrounded
by the desert and the swampy plains called Barathra (or Pits.)
For between Coele Syria (3) and Egypt there is a marsh,
quite narrow but of prodigious depth, extending for a distance
of 200 stades, called the Serbonian Bog (4), which offers
5 unforeseen perils to inexperienced travellers. Its bed is narrow
like a ribbon, and great sandbanks stretch out on all sides;
and when south winds blow without ceasing, a quantity of
6 sand is strewn over the lake. This covers the surface of the
water, and makes the shape of the lake continuous with dry
land and altogether indistinguishable from it. Wherefore,
many who were ignorant of the peculiar nature of the region
have vanished along with whole armies through missing the
7 path before them. For the sand, even if lightly trodden, gives
way beneath, and deludes the traveller with a kind of malice
prepense, until, forming a suspicion of what will be his fate,
he tries to save his life, although there is no longer any poss-
8 ibility of flight or safety. For he who is being swallowed up
by the swamp is unable to swim, since the mud impedes the
movement of his body, nor has he strength to extricate him-
self, having nothing solid for a foot-hold. The sand, you see,
is mixed with water, and therefore the nature of both is alter-
ed; thus the region is impossible alike for marching and for
9 sailing. Wherefore travellers in these parts who sink into the

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(1) The Troglodytes (« Cave-dwellers ») are defined by Strabo (I. 2. 34) as « that tribe of Arabians who live on the shore of the Arabian Gulf next to Egypt and Ethiopia ».

(2) About 700 miles (1 stade = 1 furlong).

(3) Cœle Syria (« Hollow Syria ») is properly the valley between the two ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

(4) Herodotus also refers (II. 6) to the Serbonian Marsh, but without describing it. Cf. Milton, « Paradise Lost », II. 592 ff.

« A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk. »

A modern description of the region (with a photograph) may be found in « Yesterday and To-day in Sinai » by Major C. S. Jarvis (Blackwood, 1931), pp. 176 ff.

Athenians, brought a supply of corn from Egypt to Athens. In return, the grateful Athenians appointed their benefactor
2 as king. On assuming the sovereignty, he instituted the rites of Demeter at Eleusis and celebrated the Mysteries, transferring the practice of these from Egypt The tradition has been handed down that about this time the epiphany of the goddess took place in Attica, on the reasonable ground that the fruits called after her name (cereals) were then imported into Athens, and for that reason it was thought that the discovery of the seed was made anew, as at the beginning, by the gift of
3 Demeter. The Athenians agree that, in the reign of Erechtheus when the fruits of the field were destroyed through lack of rain, the epiphany of Demeter took place among them, accompanied by the gift of corn. Further, the rites and mys-
4 teries of this goddess were then established at Eleusis. In regard to sacrifices and ancient ceremonies (they say) the Athenians and the Egyptians are alike. The Eumolpidae, indeed, derive from the Egyptian priests, the Kerykes (or heralds) from the shrine-bearers. Alone of the Greeks, the Athenians swear by Isis; and in their opinions and customs
5 they bear the closest resemblance to the Egyptians. With many other statements similar to these, based on national pride, as it appears to me, rather than on strict truth, the Egyptians lay claim to Athens as their colony because of the fame of the city. In general, the Egyptians allege that their ancestors sent out numerous colonies to many parts of the world owing both to the pre-eminence of their rulers and to
6 the excess of their population. But since no accurate proof is brought forward, and no reliable historian bears witness to these statements, I judged that the accounts were not worth recording. So much must suffice concerning the Egyptian stories of the gods, since I aim at balance in my History. I shall try now to give in brief a description of the land of Egypt, the Nile, and other features worthy of remark.

XXX Egypt lies chiefly towards the south, and in advantage of situation and beauty of scenery it is reputed to be far
2 superior to all kingdoms. On the west it has the barrier of the Libyan desert, infested by wild beasts: this desert extends for a great distance; and because of its dearth of water and scarcity of food, it is not only toilsome, but also extremely dangerous, to cross. In the southern regions are the cataracts

founded Argos, which is perhaps the most ancient of the
Greek cities, and that the tribe of the Colchians in Pontus
and the race of the Jews between Arabia and Syria were settl-
3 ed by emigrants from Egypt. So it comes that among these
races the practice of circumcising boys at birth has been hand-
ed down from of old, this usage having been transferred from
Egypt. The Athenians, too, are alleged to be a colony from
4 Sais in Egypt; the Egyptians say so, and try to give proofs
of this relationship. For instance, in no other Greek state is
the city called *asty*, this term being transferred from the
Egyptian Asty (near Sais). Further, their constitution has
adopted the same system and division as in Egypt, where there
5 are three classes. The first is composed of those called Eupa-
tridae (the Nobles), who have been most assiduous in educa-
tion and have been deemed worthy of the greatest honour,
like the priests in Egypt. The second class is that of the land-
owners who were bound to possess arms and wage war for the
state, like the class of farmers in Egypt which provides the
fighting men. In the last class come the artisans who practise
the mechanical arts and perform the essential public duties:
6 in Egypt the corresponding class does exactly the same. Cer-
tain of the Athenian generals, too, were Egyptians: for ins-
tance, Petes, the father of Menestheus who took the field
against Troy, was obviously of Egyptian origin, but after-
wards obtained both citizenship and kingship at Athens.
7 [The same is told of Cecrops (1), also, who] was born with a
double nature: the Athenians could not, for reasons of their
own, give the true cause of this characteristic, but it is com-
mon knowledge that, as he was citizen of two states, Greek
and barbarian, he was regarded as of two natures, half man,
half beast.

XXIX Similarly, they say, Erechtheus, an Egyptian (2) by
birth, became King of Athens; and they give some such proofs
as these. When severe droughts, as is generally agreed,
occurred over almost the whole world, and destruction came
upon crops and population alike, except in Egypt because of its
peculiarly fine climate, Erechteus, through his kinship with the

(1) There is a gap here in the original: the following words certainly refer to Cecrops, the ancient king of Athens, who was said to be part man, part serpent.

(2) This is not an old tradition, but a late invention.

which Dionysus was named Nysaeus; and that there is also in honour of each deity a pillar inscribed with sacred charact-
4 ers. The Isis-pillar is inscribed thus: "I am Isis, queen of the whole land, she who was brought up by Hermes; nor can anyone loose the laws that I have ordained. I am the eldest daughter of Cronus, the youngest god. I am wife and sister of King Osiris. I am she that first discovered fruit for man's use. I am mother of King Horus. I am she that rises with the dog-star. In honour of me was the city of Bubastis built.
5 Hail, Egypt! Hail, land that nurtured me!" The Osiris-pillar is said to be inscribed as follows: "My father is Cronus, youngest of all gods, and I am Osiris the King, who went with a host over the whole world even to the desert regions of India, to tracts that slope to the North, as far as the springs of the River Danube, and again to other lands as far as Ocean. I am the eldest son of Cronus, and, born from an egg fair and noble, I became a seed of kindred birth with Day. Nor is there a region of the world which I have not visited, while lavishing upon all men the blessings of which I was the dis-
6 coverer". So much of the inscriptions on the pillars, they say, can be read, but the remainder which is longer has been obliterated by Time. Divergent accounts, therefore, of the burial of these deities are current among the common people, because the priests, having received among their *arcana* the exact record of the divinities, do not choose to divulge the truth to the multitude, on the ground that perils would befall those who should reveal to the public the *arcana* of these deities.

XXVIII Thereafter, the Egyptians say, numerous colonies were planted from Egypt broadcast over the whole world. For instance, Belus, who was believed to be the son of Poseidon and Libya, led settlers to Babylon. He established himself beside the River Euphrates, and appointed priests, who were, like those in Egypt, free from taxes and exempt from all public duties. These priests whom the Babylonians name Chaldeans, make observations of the stars, imitating the Egyptian priests,
2 natural philosophers, and astronomers. They say also that Danaus (1) and his followers set out likewise from Egypt and

(1) Herodotus (II. 91) also refers to the Argive tradition that Danaus who was a descendant of Perseus came from Egypt to Greece.

ement round the sun was recognised, it was the practice to
4 reckon the year by the moon's period. As the year was thus 30 days long, it is not impossible that some men lived for 1200 years; inasmuch as now, when the year is 12 months long, not
5 a few men live over 100 years. They give a similar explanation also about those who are reputed to have ruled for 300 years. In those days, they say, the year was made up of 4 months which comprised the term of each season (*hora*), such as Spring, Summer, and Winter. For this reason, by some of the Greeks the years are called "horoi" (periods or seasons), and yearly records are styled "horographiai" (annals or chronicles).

6 Moreover, according to Egyptian myths, about the time of Isis there were born certain many-bodied creatures who were called Giants by the Greeks: on the temple-walls the Egyptians depicted them in prodigious array, being smitten
7 by the followers of Osiris. Some, however, maintain that the Giants were born of Earth at the time when the birth of living things from the earth was recent: others affirm that, because the Giants excelled in strength of body and accomplished many great deeds, they were on this account fabled to
8 be many-bodied. It is generally agreed, however, that having undertaken war against Zeus, Osiris, and their attendant gods, the Giants were all slain.

XXVII Contrary to the universal usage of men, the Egyptians may marry their sisters, and this practice was ordained by law because of the success that Isis attained among them. She, indeed, lived in wedlock with her brother Osiris, and on his death she vowed never to accept union with any man. Then she avenged her husband's death and continued to rule as queen according to strict law; and, altogether, she was the
2 cause of numerous great blessings to all men. For these reasons, you must know, the custom was introduced that the queen should have greater power and honour than the king, and that among the common people the woman should have authority over her husband; for in contracts relating to dowry the bridegroom adds a promise to be obedient to his bride in all things.

3 I am well aware that certain historians declare that the tombs of these deities are extant at Nysa in Arabia, from

XXV In general, there is a great divergence of opinion about these gods. The same goddess is called by different men Isis, Demeter, Thesmophoros (the Lawgiver), the Moon, and Hera;
2 while all these titles are used by some. Osiris is named Sarapis, Dionysus, Pluto, Ammon, and sometimes Zeus; while many identify him with Pan. Some say that Sarapis is the deity named Pluto in Greece. Egyptians declare that Isis is the inventress of many elixirs for good health, and has great
3 experience in medical science. Wherefore, having attained immortality, she takes the greatest joy in healing the sick; and in dreams she gives remedies to those who ask for them, clearly manifesting her own presence and her beneficence
4 towards her petitioners on earth. In proof of this they bring, they say, not myths like the Greeks, but manifest acts. Almost the whole world bears witness for the Egyptians nations, vying with one another in doing honour to her, because of
5 her manifestation of divine power in healing men. Standing near them in dreams, she gives to the sick relief from their diseases, and those who gives heed to her are miraculously cured. Many men who have been given up in despair by doctors because of the seriousness of their illness, are saved by Isis; and not a few who have been completely blinded, or maimed in some member of the body, are restored to their original con-
6 dition after having recourse to this goddess. She discovered also the elixir of immortality; and by means of this, when her son Horus was plotted against by the Titans and was found a corpse under water, she not only raised him from the dead by giving him the breath of life, but also secured for him the
7 gift of immortality. It is agreed that he was the last of the gods to become king after the translation of his father Osiris to heaven. Horus, by interpretation, is Apollo, they say; being instructed by his mother Isis in the arts of medicine and divination, he was a benefactor of the human race through his oracles and his healing of the sick.

XXVI Reckoning up the time from the reign of Helios (the Sun) to Alexander's invasion of Asia, the Egyptian priests affirm
2 that it is approximately 23,000 years. In their myths they say also that the most ancient of their gods reigned as kings for more than 1,200 years, and their successors for not less
3 than 300. As this great number of years is incredible, some men attempt to explain that of old, before the earth's mov-

2 on the frontiers of Libya. With regard to this the Egyptians endeavour to find proofs in the Greek story. For, while it is admitted by all that Heracles aided the Olympian gods in their war against the Giants, they say that it is altogether improbable that the earth had given birth to the Giants at the time when according to the Greek story, Heracles was born, — a generation earlier than the Trojan war, — but rather, as they themselves say, at the primal creation of mankind. From the creation, Egyptian reckoning gives more than 10,000
3 years; from the Trojan war, less than 1,200 years. Likewise, the club and the lion's skin suit the ancient Heracles because in those days weapons had not yet been invented, and so men defended themselves with staves against their adversaries, and used the skins of wild beasts as protective armour. The Egyptians declare Heracles to be son of Zeus; but who his mother
4 was, they say they do not know. The son of Alcmene, on the other hand, was born more than 10,000 years later, and was called Alcaeus at birth; then afterwards his name was changed to Heracles ("Hera-renowned"), not because he had "renown" through "Hera", as Matris says, but because he emulated the same career as the ancient Heracles and inherited both his
5 renown and his appellation. In harmony with their assertions is the tradition current among the Greeks from ages past, that Heracles freed the earth from wild beasts. Now this is by no means applicable to the hero who was born practically at the time of the Trojan war, when most parts of the inhabited world had been civilised by agriculture, cities, and wides-
6 pread population. This civilising of the land, then, is more appropriate to the Heracles who was born in ancient days, while men were still overmastered by the multitude of wild beasts, especially in Egypt and the upper region which is to
7 the present day desert and infested by wild beasts. It is reasonable that Heracles, taking thought for this district which was his native-land, should free it from wild beasts, hand it over to the husbandmen, and for this service obtain divine
8 honour. They say that Perseus (1), too, was born in Egypt, and that the birth of Isis was transferred to Argos by the Greeks, who tell the story of Io (2) metamorphosed into a cow.

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(1) Cf. Herodotus II. 91.
(2) Cf. Herodotus II. 41.

Partly through ignorance, partly because they wished Dionys-
us to be regarded as a Greek, the common people quietly
3 accepted these rites and mysteries. In thus altering the trad-
4 ition Orpheus used the following pretexts. Cadmus who came
from Egyptian Thebes had, among other children, a daughter,
Semele; and she, being violated by someone unknown, became
pregnant, and after the lapse of seven months gave birth to a
baby of such appearance as the Egyptians believe Osiris to
have had. Such a child is not usually born alive, whether it be
that the gods will not have it so, or that Nature does not
5 admit of it. On perceiving what had happened, being enjoined
by an oracle to maintain the ancestral rites, Cadmus covered
the babe with gold and performed the sacrifices appropriate to
him, as if an epiphany of Osiris had taken place among men.
6 He also ascribed the birth to Zeus, thereby magnifying Osiris
and removing the reproach from the violated maiden. Where-
fore among the Greeks also, the story was given out that
Semele, daughter of Cadmus, became the mother of Osiris by
Zeus. In later times Orpheus, who had great renown among
the Greeks for his singing, his rites, and his discourses about
the gods, became intimate with the Cadmeans and was held
7 in exceptionally high esteem in Thebes. Having acquired the
theological beliefs of the Egyptians, he transferred the birth
of the ancient deity Osiris to a later date; and to gratify the
Cadmeans, he established a new rite, in which he taught the
participants that Dionysus was begotten of Semele and Zeus.
Whether deceived owing to their ignorance, or giving heed
to Orpheus because of his reliability and repute in such matters,
the people, for the most part, gladly accepted the belief that
the god was Greek, as has already been said; and they accord-
8 ingly adopted the rites. Then, when the mythologists and
poets took over the story of the god's birth, they filled the
theatres with it, and it became a fixed and unchangeable belief
for men of a later age.

XXIV In general, they say, the Greeks appropriate to them-
selves the most eminent heroes and gods, not to mention
settlements founded from Egypt. For instance, Heracles (1),
who was of Egyptian birth, traversed in his manly strength
a great part of the civilised world, and set up his inscription

(1) Compare Herodotus II. 43.

honours and was buried in Memphis, where her sepulchre is pointed out to this day, standing in the precinct of Hephaestus.
3 But some say that the bodies of these two deities lie, not in Memphis, but near the borders between Ethiopia and Egypt on the island in the Nile that lies near the place called Philae and is named "Holy Plain" from the divine sepulture. As
4 proof of this they point to the tomb erected to Osiris and honoured by the priests of all Egypt: on this island the tomb
5 still remains, surrounded by its 360 urns. These are filled with milk every day by the priests appointed to the duty, amid lamentation and invocation of the names of the deities. For
6 this reason also, access to this island is forbidden to strangers. All the dwellers in the Thebaid, which is the oldest part of Egypt, deem it a most sacred oath to swear by Osiris who lie in Philae.

So the members of Osiris that were found were duly buried, they say, as has been related; but his genital organ which was thrown into the river, it is said, by Typhon because he wished none of the votaries to find it, was by Isis deemed worthy of divine honours like the other members. In the temples she provided an image of it, and appointed it for worship: during the ceremonies and sacrifices in honour of this god, she caused the image to receive the highest honour and
7 the greatest reverence. Wherefore the Greeks also, who borrowed from Egypt their orgiastic rites and Dionysiac festivals, honour this member both in the Mysteries and in the rites and ceremonies of this god (Dionysus): they call it the *phallus* (1).

XXIII From Osiris and Isis to the reign of Alexander who founded in Egypt the city that bears his name, the number of years was, they say, more than 10,000, but according to
2 certain writers, little short of 23,000. Those who claim that Osiris was born of Semele and Zeus at Boeotian Thebes are, they say, drawing a bow at a venture. For Orpheus journeyed to Egypt, and having been initiated in the ritual and Mysteries of Dionysus, he made them his own. Then, being a friend of the Cadmeans (2) and held in high esteem by them, he altered the account of the god's birth, seeking to gratify them.

(1) Cf. Herodotus II. 48. 2.

(2) The founders of Boeotian Thebes in Greece. According to Herodotus (II. 49. 3) Cadmus was a Phoenician from Tyre.

murder with the active aid of her son Horus. She put to death
4 Typhon and his accomplices, and became queen of Egypt. The battle was fought on the river bank near the village now called Antaeus, which lies, they say, in the region over against Arabia and takes its name from Antaeus who lived in the time
5 of Osiris and was punished by Heracles. Be that as it may. Isis found all the parts of the body but his genitals. Wishing to conceal her husband's tomb, and yet to have it honoured by all dwellers in Egypt, she fulfilled her resolve in some such way as this. Round each of the parts, they say, she moulded
6 out of spices and wax a lifelike image, similar to Osiris in stature. She then summoned the priests class by class, and bound them all by oath not to reveal to anyone the charge that was to be entrusted to them. To each company of them in private she said that it was to them alone that she was assigning the burial of the body; and reminding them of the services rendered by Osiris, she exhorted them to bury the body within their own precincts, to honour Osiris as a god, to dedicate one of their animals, — any one they chose, — and while it lived, to honour it, just as they had previously honoured Osiris, and
7 after its death to deem it worthy of a funeral like his. Wishing to induce the priests to maintain these honours from motives of self-interest, Isis gave them one third of the country
8 for the worship and service of the gods. The priests, it is said, remembering the good deeds of Osiris and wishing to gratify the request of Isis, and, in addition, moved by the appeal to their self-interest, did everything in accordance with the
9 suggestion of Isis. Wherefore even to this day, each company of priests believes that Osiris is buried within its particular precinct: they honour the animals that were consecrated of
10 old, and when these die, the mourning for Osiris is renewed at their tombs. The sacred bulls called Apis and Mnevis, were consecrated to Osiris, and the worship of these as gods was
11 appointed for all Egypt in common. For these animals gave the greatest aid to the discoverers of corn-crops, both in sowing and in other agricultural tasks of common advantage.

XXII After the death of Osiris, Isis, they say, took an oath not to give herself in marriage again, and for the rest of her life she continued to rule as queen according to strict law, surpass-
2 ing all others in benefactions to her subjects. And when she likewise departed from among men, she attained immortal

8 where this plant still grows. Throughout India he left many
other tokens of his sojourn, and these have induced a later
generation of Indians to lay claim to the god and allege that
he was an Indian by birth.

XX Osiris also engaged in elephant-hunting, and everywhere
left inscriptions relating to his expedition. He passed through
2 the other tribes of Asia, and crossed over the Hellespont into
Europe. In Thrace he put to death Lycurgus, the king of the
barbarians, who opposed his plans; and he left Maron, who
was now aged, to take charge of the plantations there. At his
3 bidding Maron became the founder of an eponymous town
called Maronea. Osiris also left his son Macedon as king of the
land called after him Macedonia, and entrusted Triptolemus
with the arts of husbandry in Attica. Finally, having travers-
ed the whole world, Osiris benefited the life of men by intro-
4 ducing highly cultivated crops. If any land was unsuited to
the vine-plant, he taught the inhabitants the use of the drink
prepared from barley, and little inferior to wine in fragrance
5 and strength. On his return to Egypt he brought with him
from all lands the most excellent gifts, and because of the
greatness of his services, he received from all without ques-
tion the rewards of immortality and honour like the heavenly
6 gods. Thereafter, when he was removed from earth to a place
among the gods, sacrifices and other splendid honours were
assigned to him by Isis and Hermes ,who also appointed rites
and inaugurated many mystic ceremonies, enhancing the
power of the god.

XXI Although the priests retained among their *arcana* the
ancient story of the death of Osiris (1), it came to pass at
length that certain of them revealed the secret to the common
2 people. Osiris, it is said, was the lawful king of Egypt, and
was murdered by Typhon, his violent and impious brother.
Dividing the body of the slain king into twenty-six parts, Ty-
phon gave a portion to each of his confederates, since he wish-
ed them all to share in the defilement, and thought that there-
by he would secure steadfast coadjutors and guardians of the
3 kingship. But Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, avenged the

(1) About Osiris, Herodotus (II « passim ») preserves a religious silence. For the story, see Plutarch, « Is. et Osir. » 13-19, and Erman, « Handbook of Egyptian Religion », p. 32 ff.

6 ed him as god because of his benefactions. In Ethiopia he taught the people husbandry, and having founded noble cities, he left men there to take charge of the country and exact tribute.

XIX While they were thus occupied, the Nile, they say, at the rising of Sirius, exactly when the river is wont to be in flood, broke through and inundated a great part of Egypt; and it covered in particular that area over which Prometheus was in charge. When practically everyone in that district was drowned, Prometheus in his grief was on the point of taking
2 his own life. Because of the rapidity and violence of the rushing current, the river was called Eagle; and Heracles, a man of great enterprise who strove after manliness, speedily filled up the breach, and diverted the river into its original course.
3 Wherefore certain of the Greek poets turned the exploit into a legend, making Heracles kill the eagle that fed on the liver
4 of Prometheus. In the most ancient times the river took the name Oceanes, which is in Greek Oceanos; then because of the flooding that occurred, it was, they say, called Eagle, and afterwards the name Aegyptus was given to it from the ruler of the country. The poet (Homer), too, bears witness when he sings (1): "And in the River Aegyptus I stayed my crescent-curving ships". The river debouches into the sea at the place called Thonis, and this was the ancient port of Egypt. The last name of the river — that which it now has —
5 it received from King Nileus. However, Osiris, on coming to the frontiers of Ethiopia, confined the river by embankments on both sides, so that, when the water rose high, the land should not be flooded more than was expedient, but that the stream should be admitted by degrees as need should arise,
6 through certain sluice-gates which he had provided. Then he marched on through Arabia by the shore of the "Red Sea" (2)
7 as far as India and the limit of the known world. In India he founded many cities; among them one called Nysa, for he wished to leave behind him a memorial of the place near Egypt where he had been brought up. He planted ivy in Indian Nysa, and this is the only place in India and the adjacent country

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(1) « Odyssey » XIV. 258.
(2) The Greek term « Red Sea » generally included the Persian Gulf and sometimes the Indian Ocean.

ed, they say, the plant of Osiris, and has taken precedence over the vine in dedication, because the latter sheds its leaves, while the ivy remains green all the year round. In the case of other plants that are ever luxuriant, the ancients have taken the same course, assigning the myrtle to Aphrodite, and the laurel to Apollo.

XVIII Be that as it may, along with Osiris on this campaign, they say, there went his two sons, Anubis and Macedon, who were pre-eminent in valour. Both of them had conspicuous armour, derived from animals not inappropriate to their bravery: Anubis wore a dog-skin helmet, Macedon a wolf's mask; and for this reason these animals were held in honour among
2 the Egyptians. Osiris also took on his expedition Pan who is worshipped exceedingly by the Egyptians; for in his honour they have not only made statues in every temple, but have also founded in the Thebaid a city named after him by the natives Chemmo, which, being interpreted, means "Pan's Town" (1). With Osiris there went also those who had practice in husbandry, Maron for his skill in the planting of the vine, and Triptolemus in the sowing of corn and all its harv-
3 esting. When everything was prepared, Osiris, having vowed to the gods to let his hair grow until he should return to Egypt, began his march through Ethiopia. This is the reason why the cult of long hair has prevailed in Egypt until recent times, and why those who travel abroad let their hair grow
4 until their return home. While Osiris was in Ethiopia, there were brought to him, they tell, the race of Satyrs who are said to have had hairy loins. Osiris, you must know, was a lover of mirth and had pleasure in music and dancing. So he took about with him a band of minstrels, among them nine maidens skilled in singing and trained in other accomplishments — the Muses, as they were called by the Greeks. Their leader, they say, was Apollo, hence named Musegetes (Leader
5 of the Muses). The Satyrs, too, being apt in dancing, singing, and all manner of relaxation and amusement, were taken on the expedition. Osiris, you see, was no warrior, nor did he organise battles and hazards, inasmuch as every tribe welcom-

(1) In Herodotus II. 91 the name of the town is given as Chemmis : it means the shrine of Chem or Min, who was usually identified with the Greek God Pan. Akhmim is its modern name.

obtained a name. To him belongs the invention of letters, and the institution of the worship and sacrifices of the gods. He was the first observer of the system of the stars and of the harmony and nature of articulate sounds; and he was the founder of the *palaestra* (wrestling-school), and gave heed to rhythmical movement and the proper development of the body. He made a lyre with three sinews for strings, following the three seasons of the year; for he conceived of three sounds, high, low, and medium, the high derived from Summer, the
2 low from winter, and the medium from Spring. He taught the Greeks the interpretation of tongues, whence they called him Hermes (the Interpreter). In general, the followers of Osiris, taking Hermes as their *hierogrammateus* (or sacred scribe), communicated all their secrets to him and followed his counsel implicity. The olive-plant was found by him, not, as the Greeks affirm, by Athena.

XVII Being beneficent and ambitious, Osiris, they say, gathered a great host, for he purposed to traverse the whole world and teach mankind the planting of the vine and the sowing
2 of crops of wheat and barley. For he considered that if he caused men to cease from savagery and change to a civilised life he would attain divine honours through the greatness of the benefaction. And this did indeed come to pass. For not only those at that time who obtained this boon, but men of after time also, out of gratitude for the newly discovered food, have honoured those who introduced it as gods most manifest.
3 However, Osiris, they say, having settled the affairs of Egypt, handed over the whole government to Isis his wife, and set at her side Hermes as counsellor because he surpassed all their friends in wisdom. As general over his whole dominions, he left behind him Heracles, his near kinsman, who was admired for his valour and strength of body. He also appointed two guardians — Busiris over the parts that lie sloping towards Phoenicia and the seaboard, Antaeus over the Ethiopian and Libyan borders. Then with his army he marched away out of Egypt on his expedition, taking along with
4 him his brother whom the Greeks call Apollo. Apollo was, they say, the discoverer of the laurel plant, with which all men wreathe this god in particular. The discovery of ivy they ascribe to Osiris, and they dedicate it to him, just as the Greeks
5 do to Dionysus. And in the Egyptian language the ivy is call-

XV Osiris and his followers, they say, founded a hundred-
gated city in the Egyptian Thebaid: this city they called Hera-
oplis from the name of his mother, but a later generation names
2 it Diospolis, and some call it Thebes. The foundation of this
city is a subject of dispute not only among historians, but also
among the Egyptian priests themselves. Many, in fact, main-
tain that Thebes was founded, not by the worshippers of
Osiris, but many years later by a king of whose reign I shall
3 record events in detail under the appropriate dates. There was
also built in honour of Zeus and Hera, the parents of Osiris
and Isis, a temple notable for its size and its costliness, with
two golden shrines of Zeus, the larger one of heavenly Zeus,
the smaller of Zeus their father who had reigned as King,
whom some call Ammon.

4 For the other gods already named,golden shrines were also
prepared; and to each of these, ritual was assigned, and priests
were appointed in charge. Just as to Osiris and Isis, tribute
was paid to those who invented crafts, or made a useful scien-
5 tific discovery. Wherefore, after the discovery of mines of
copper and gold in the Thebaid, weapons were forged by which
men slew wild beasts, cultivated the earth, and vied with one
another in civilising the country, and in providing magnificent
6 statues and golden shrines of the gods. Further, Osiris was a
lover of husbandry, and was reared as the son of Zeus not far
from Egypt at Nysa in Arabia Felix: so among the Greeks he
bore the name Dionysus, derived from his father and the
7 place. The poet (Homer), too, in his *Hymns* (1) makes men-
tion of Nysa as being near Egypt: he says: "There is a certain
Nysa, a mountain most high and luxuriant with woods, far
8 off in Phoenice, hard by the streams of Aegyptus". He dis-
covered the vine, they say, near Nysa, and having, in addi-
tion, devised the method of treating its fruit, he was the first
to enjoy wine, and to teach the world how to plant the vine,
9 and also the use, the vintage, and the storing of wine. He
paid honour most of all to Hermes, who was well endowed
with a remarkable talent for devising what could benefit the
life of man.

XVI It was, in fact, by Hermes that the speech of man was
first made articulate, and many things hitherto nameless

(1) « Hymn to Dionysus » (I), vv. 8, 9.

Hestia, and lastly Hermes. First, they say, Helios was King of the Egyptians, having the same name as the heavenly orb.
3 Some of the priests, however, say that Hephaestus was the first king, being the inventor of fire and attaining sovereignty because of this service. A tree on the mountains was struck by lightning, and the forest near by began to burn. Hephaestus came up and, as it was the winter season, he was extraordinarily delighted with the heat. As the fire went down, he kept continually piling on wood; and while thus keeping in the fire, he called forth the other men to see his useful invention.
4 Next came the reign of Kronos, who married his sister Rhea and begat, according to some mythologists, Osiris and Isis, though the majority say Zeus and Hera, who through merit became rulers of the whole universe. From them were born five gods, one on each of the five intercalary days of the Egyptian year. The names of the deities thus begotten are Osiris,
5 Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite. Osiris, being interpreted, is Dionysus, and Isis most closely corresponds to Demeter. Osiris married her; and, succeeding to the sovereignty, did much to benefit the life of man.

XIV First they made the race of men cease from cannibalism. Isis discovered the harvest of wheat and of barley, which were growing up at random in the fields along with other plants, but were unrecognised by men, while Osiris devised the cultivation of these grains; then all men gladly changed their diet through joy in the nature of the discoveries, and also because it seemed advantageous to abstain from cruelty to one another.
2 As a proof of the discovery of these grains, the Egyptians refer to the practice observed among them from of old. Even at the present day in harvest-time men set up the first reaped ears of corn and beat their breasts as they stand beside the sheaf, invoking the name of Isis. This they do, rendering homage to the goddess for the discoveries she made in the beginning.
3 In some towns at the festival of Isis stalks of wheat and barley are borne along with the other objects in the procession, as a memorial of the original discoveries ingeniously made by the goddess. They say that Isis also set up laws, according to which men dealt justly with one another and ceased from law-
4 less violence and insolence through fear of punishment. Wherefore the ancient Greeks called Demeter the law-giver on the ground that laws were first established by her.

Oceane which is by interpretation "nursing mother", but has been supposed by some of the Greeks to be Oceanus, about
6 whom Homer sings: (1) "Oceanus, father of the gods, with Mother Tethys". For the Egyptians consider Oceanus to be their River Nile, beside which, they say, the generations of the gods began. Egypt is the only country in the whole world in which there are many towns founded by the ancient gods, as, for example, by Zeus, Helios, Hermes, Apollo, Pan,
7 Eileithuia, and several others. As for Air, they are said to have called it Athena (so the word is interpreted), and to have regarded her as daughter of Zeus: they thought of her as a virgin because the air is, in nature, uncorrupted, and holds the highest place in the whole universe. Whence, they say,
8 she was fabled to have sprung from the head of Zeus. She was called Tritogeneia, (or "thrice-begotten"), they say, from changing her nature thrice every year, — in spring, in summer, and in winter. She was also named Glaucopis, not, as some of the Greeks have supposed, from having grey eyes (this is indeed a silly notion), but because the air (or mist) has a
9 greyish appearance. They say that these five gods roam about over the whole world, appearing to men in shapes of sacred animals, but sometimes changing into the forms of men or other creatures. And this (they add) is not legendary, but a possible occurrence, since these gods are in truth the creators
10 of all things. The poet (Homer), too, went to Egypt and, hearing such accounts from the priests, set this tale as a reality somewhere (2) in his poem: "Yea more, gods in the semblance of strangers from afar, put on all manner of shapes and roam through the towns, beholding the violence and the righteousness of men". Such, then, is the account the Egyptians give of the gods in heaven, who are endowed with everlasting life.

XII From these gods, they say, terrestrial beings were born, originally mortal men, but thanks to their wisdom and their beneficence towards all mankind, they attained immortality,
2 and some of them became kings in Egypt. According to Egyptian interpretation some had the same names as the heavenly gods, while others took an individual title — Helios, Kronos, Rhea, Zeus who is called by some Ammon, Hera, Hephaestus,

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(1) « Odyssey » XVII. 485-7.
(2) « Iliad » XIV. 201 and 302.

that the fawnskin cloak which he wore comes from the star-embroidered heavens. The name of Isis, by interpretation, means "ancient", and is explained by her ancient birth and everlasting life. The horns which they set upon her, come both from the appearance which she is seen to present whenever she is crescent-shaped, and from the heifer which is con-
5 secrated to her among the Egyptians. They believe then, that these gods govern the entire universe, giving sustenance and increase to all things by means of three seasons which complete their cycle with imperceptible progress — Spring, Summer, and Winter. These seasons, although of widely different character, complete the year in perfect harmony. The greatest natural power for the generation of all living things is contributed by these deities — by the god, the power of fire and of spirit; by the goddess, that of the moist and the dry; by both together, that of the air. Through these elements all
6 things are begotten and sustained. Wherefore not only is the whole physical frame of the universe brought to perfection by the agency of sun and moon, but also these five parts of the universe-spirit, fire, the dry, the moist, and lastly the airy element: just as in the case of a man we enumerate head, hands, feet, and the other parts, in the same way (they say) the whole frame of the universe is composed of the above
XII elements. Each of these elements was regarded as a god and was given a particular and appropriate name by the earliest
2 of the Egyptians who used articulate speech. Thus they called spirit Zeus (so the word is interpreted); and as he is the cause of the vital element in living creatures, they regarded him as being, as it were, a Father of All. The most famous, too, of all Greek poets (1), they say, agrees with them when he refers to this god as "the father of men and of gods".
3 Their name for fire is, by interpretation, Hephaestus; for they regarded it as a great god, contributing much to the
4 production and perfect increase of all things. Earth they took to be a kind of womb of all that grows, and they called it Mother. Similarly the Greeks called her Demeter, the world being slightly altered through time. In ancient days the name was Ge Meter (Earth-Mother), as Orpheus attests when he
5 sings: "Earth, Mother of all, Demeter giver of riches". As for the moist element, they say that the ancients named it

(1) Homer, in « Iliad » VIII, 49 and other passages.

birth of mankind. For indeed, at present, the rest of the earth produces any such wonder: in Egypt alone is it possible to
4 watch certain creatures marvellously brought to life. In general, they say that, if it was only the greater part of living things that perished in Deucalion's time when the deluge took place, it is most reasonable that men living so far south as Egypt were saved, since their land would be rainless for the most part; or if, as some say, the destruction of living creatures was complete and the earth once more bore new species of animals, nevertheless, even according to this account, one may fittingly ascribe the primal creation of liv-
5 ing things to this land of Egypt. For when the abundant rain of other lands was combined with the heat that prevailed in their country, it is reasonable (they say) that the climate was excellently tempered for the creation of everything in the
6 beginning. Even yet, in our own times, throughout the inundated part of Egypt in the late season of the floods, one may see certain species of creatures being manifestly brought to
7 life. For when the river is receding and the sun has dried up the margin of the mud, animals are generated, they say, some fully developed, others half formed and adhering to the very soil.

XI Be that as it may, when the ancient Egyptians contemplated the world and gazed in astounded admiration upon the nature of the universe, they conceived that there were two eternal gods of the highest rank, the Sun and the Moon: the former called Osiris, the latter Isis, and both these names are
2 explained by etymology. For if translated into Greek, Osiris is "many-eyed"; and the obvious reason is that, as the sun darts his beams everywhere, he gazes, as if with many eyes, at all the land and sea. The words of Homer (1) agree with this view: "And the Sun, who oversees and overhears all
3 things". Some of the ancient Greek mythologists call Osiris Dionysus, or change the name slightly into Sirius. Among them Eumolpus says in his Bacchic verses: "Dionysus gleaming like a star, fiery in radiance"; and Orpheus: "Wherefore
4 men style him Phanes (2) and Dionysus". Some say, too;

(1) Homer, « Odyssey » XII. 323.

(2) Phanes, a mystic divinity in the Orphic system, symbolises the first principle of life.

ochtonous and the first of all men to discover the useful arts
of life, and they hold that the events of their history were
4 deemed worthy of record from the remotest ages. For my own
part, I cannot discern the truth about the antiquity of each
nation, nor decide which people precedes the others in time,
and by how years. So the account given in each nation about its
antiquity and early history will here be recorded briefly, for
5 my aim is to preserve balance in my chronicle. I shall deal
first with barbarians, not that I regard them as more ancient
then the Greeks, as Ephorus has declared, but because I wish
to narrate beforehand the greater part of their history, so
that, when I begin my history of the Greeks, I may not
interpolate any extraneous event among the ancient legends.
6 It was in Egypt that the gods, as men fable, were born in the
beginning: there too, it is said, the earliest observations of the
stars were made; in Egypt also, many notable achievemnets
of great men are told in history. I shall therefore begin my
work with the history of Egypt.

X The Egyptians say that at the creation of the universe
in the beginning men first came into being in Egypt owing to
the happy climate of the country and the nature of the Nile.
This highly productive river, which provides food by natural
growth, easily maintains creatures once engendered. The root
of the reed, the lotus, the Egyptian bean, the *korsaeon* as it
called, and many other such plants (1) provide ready susten-
2 ance for the race of men. As an argument that in the beginn-
ing creatures were engendered in their land, the Egyptians
adduce the fact that even nowadays the land near Thebes at
certain seasons produces mice of such size and in such num-
bers that the beholders are astounded at the phenomenon.
Some of these mice are shaped as far as the breast and the fore
legs, and they are capable of motion; while the remainder of
body is unshapen, and the clod of earth remains still in the
3 natural state. From this it is evident, they say, that at the
formation of the universe in the beginning, when the earth
had become temperate, the land of Egypt must have held the

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(1) For the lotus and the Egyptian bean, see below, 34. 6. The « Korsaeon » or « Korsion » is the tuber of the Nile water-lily, « Nymphaea stellata » : see Strabo XVII. 2. 4.

the pastures, and partook of the most agreeable herbs and the
2 natural fruits of the trees. When brute beasts made war on
them, they aided one another, prompted by self-interest; and
when fear herded them together, they came by degrees to
3 know one another's forms. Their speech was indistinct and
confused, but little by little they formed articulate words.
Then, arranging signs among themselves for all objects within
their ken, they made known to one another their ideas about
4 everything. As such groups came into being throughout the
whole world, all men did not speak the same language; for
each group had made up words at random. Hence arose all the
varied types of language, and the groups of primitive men were
5 the origin of all nations. The first men, then, lived laborious
lives, for none of the useful aids to livelihood had been invent-
ed: they were without clothes, unaccustomed to dwellings and
6 fire, and altogether heedless of cultivated foods. Being igno-
rant, in fact, of the harvesting of wild fruits, they made no
store of crops for their needs. So in winter-time many of them
7 would perish through cold and lack of food. But little by little,
being taught by experience, they would seek refuge in caves
during winter, and would lay by such fruits of the field as
8 could be kept. When they came to know fire and the other
useful aids, arts and crafts were gradually invented, and other
9 things capable of benefiting the life of man. In general, it
was Necessity alone that taught men all things : Necessity
gave appropriate guidance and instruction in each art to a
clever creature, provided with hands fitted for all work, and
endowed with speech and shrewdness of mind.

10 With regard to the primal creation of men and their
primitive life, I shall rest content with what I have said, for
IX it is my aim to preserve balance in my History. I shall now
endeavour to relate events which, according to tradition, have
2 occurred in the known regions of the world. As for the first
kings who ruled, I cannot myself tell of them, nor do I accept
the accounts of such historians as profess to know them. For
it is impossible that the invention of writing should be so old
as to be contemporary with the first kings. And if one should
grant even this, it is at any rate quite clear that historians as
3 a class have recently been introduced to the world. Claims to
antiquity of origin are made not only by Greeks, but also by
many barbarian races; for they all regard themselves as aut-

the reason why the sun and the whole multitude of the stars are involved in universal rotation. On the other hand, the muddy and turbid element along with the substance of liquids
2 sank down together because of its weight. Concentrating within itself continually and condensing, this element formed sea out of the liquids, and out of the more solid parts, a land
3 still muddy and quite soft. First of all, when the fiery light of the sun shone upon it, this land solidified; then, when the heat caused the surface to ferment, part of the moisture swelled up in many places, and putrid humours were formed there, covered with thin membranes. This same process is even now observed in swamps and marshy land, whenever the ground is parched and the air suddenly becomes extremely hot, there
4 being no gradual transition. The moist elements, quickened by the warmth, as I have explained, took nourishment straightway during the night from the mist that descended from the surrounding air; but in the daytime they were hardened by the heat. Finally, when these germs had attained their complete development, and the membranes had been burned up and had broken off, there sprang up creatures of
5 every variety of form. Such of them as had assimilated the greatest heat took wing and ascended to the upper regions: those that clung to an earthy composition were classed among creeping things and other terrestrial animals; while those that had partaken most fully of the moist element hastened to the region of similar nature, being styled floating (or swimming)
6 things. As the land was always being more and more hardened by the fiery heat of the sun and by the winds, it was finally no longer able to give birth to any of the greater creatures: instead, each race of living things was reproduced by intercourse
7 of one creature with another. It seems that Euripides, the pupil of Anaxagoras the physicist, is not at variance with the above acount of the nature of the universe. In the *Melanippe* he puts it thus: "So Heaven and Earth were both one form; but when they were severed one from the other, they brought all things to birth forth into the light of day, — trees, fowls of the air, beasts, and the nurslings of the briny deep, and the race of mortal men".

VIII Such is the account I have received of the primal creation of the universe. They say further that primitive men, living a lawless and brutish life, went forth in scattered bands to

of Sparta; and from the 1st. Olympiad to the beginning of the Gallic War which brings my History to its close, 730 years. Thus my whole work in 40 books covers 1138 years, apart from the time occupied by events before the Trojan War.

2 I have, then, defined these matters accurately beforehand in my desire to give the reader a conception of the whole design, and also to dissuade those who are accustomed to prepare books for publication, from spoiling another's work. For my own part I trust that what is rightly recorded throughout my History may arouse no envy, while errors of ignorance
3 may find correction from those who are better informed. Having now explained my purpose, I shall endeavour to make good my promise in the writing of my History.

VI Concerning the notions held about the gods by those who first introduced the worship of the divinity, and concerning the legends told about each of the immortals, I shall forgo a separate and detailed treatment, because this subject would require a lengthy account; but whatever I deem to be appropriate to the present studies, I shall append briefly, so that
2 nothing noteworthy may be missed. With the race of mankind, however, and the events that took place in the known parts of the world, as far as is possible in the case of times so remote, I shall deal accurately from the most ancient times onwards.
3 Concerning the creation of men in the beginning, then, two opinions are found among the most conservative of natural philosophers and historians. Some of these assume that the world was not created, nor is it liable to destruction ; and declare that the race of men likewise existed from eternity, and that there never was a time when men first began to exist. Others regard the world as having been created and as being liable to destruction, and affirm that, like it, men at the allotted time came to be created in the beginning.

VII At the primal formation of the universe, they say, heaven and earth had one and the same aspect, for their nature was mingled. Thereafter, when their substances had parted from one another, the world assumed the whole structure which is now visible in it, while the air took up continuous motion. The fiery element in it flew up to the highest regions, such a nature being liable to ascend because of its lightness. This is

enthusiasm that carries all men to the accomplishment of what appears to be impracticable; and I had, next, the abun-
3 dant supply in Rome of all that pertained to the subject in hand. For the pre-eminence of this city, whose power extends
4 right to the ends of the earth, furnished me with many ready facilities when I sojourned in it for a considerable time. As a native of Agyrium in Sicily, having through association with the Romans in that island gained considerable acquaintance with their language, I acquired exact knowledge of the whole history of the Roman Empire from the public records
5 preserved at Rome for many years back. I have begun my History with the legends of Greeks and barbarians, after examining, as far as I could, the accounts given by each nation in ancient times.

6 Now that my work is finished, although the volumes are still, as a matter of fact, unpublished, I wish to write a brief preface defining the whole work. My first six books embrace the history and legends of the period before the Trojan War (1); and of these the first three tell the ancient history of the barbarians, the succeeding three for the most part that of the Greeks. In the next eleven books I have recorded the history of the world from the Trojan episode to the death of
7 Alexander. In the following 23 books I have set forth in order all the remaining records down to the beginning of the war between Rome and the Gauls, in which the general Gaius Julius Caesar, whose deeds won for him the divine title, defeated most of the Gallic tribes, and those the most warlike, and advanced the empire of Rome as far as the British Isles. The first events of this war took place in the first year (2) of the 180th. Olympiad while Herodes was archon at Athens.

8 These, then, are the periods comprised in this treatise. I do not strictly define the part before the Trojan War, because I have found no trustworthy system of dates for those times; but from the Trojan War to the return of the Heraclidae, I follow Apollodorus of Athens in reckoning 80 years, and from the latter date to the 1st. Olympiad (3), 328 years, computing the time from the reigns of the kings

(1) The traditional date of the Trojan war is 1192-1183 B.C.
(2) 60-59 B.C.
(3) Olympiad I. = 776-772 B.C.

ers with Alexander's successors and their descendants. Although many important events of the following period are thus left unrecorded down to our own times, no historian has ever made it his aim to treat them in the compass of a single
4 composition because of the magnitude of the task. Wherefore, since dates and events are scattered apart in several treatises by different authors, the period is difficult to grasp and to
5 remember. So, after examining the arrangement adopted by each of these historians, I decided to undertake the type of History which is potentially the most beneficial and the least
6 troublesome to the reader. For if a historian were to record to the best of his ability the history, handed down by tradition, of the whole world as if it were a single state, from remote antiquity to his own days, he would obviously endure much toil, but he would compose the most profitable of all
7 treatises in the eyes of studious readers. Out of this treatise, indeed, as if it were a deep spring, it will be possible for each reader to draw freely what is serviceable to him in his parti-
8 cular circumstances. Those who set themselves to peruse the accounts given by so many historians, find it difficult, in the first place, to provide themselves with the necessary books: next, because of the diversity and the multitude of the works, the course of events is really hard to understand and master. On the other hand, the work which is contained in the compass of a single composition and shows a continuous sequence of events, makes easy reading and is perfectly simple to follow and understand. To sum up, we must consider this last type of History to be as far superior to all others as the whole is more profitable than the part, as continuity is better than a scattered treatment, and as chronological accuracy has greater value than a complete disregard of the dates of events.

IV Wherefore, realising that, while this plan of composition is very profitable, it requires a long period of hard work, I busied myself with it for thirty years; and enduring great hardship and danger, I traversed a large part of Asia and Europe in order to become personally acquainted with most regions, certainly the most important ones. Through topographical ignorance, in fact, many blunders have been made, not only by the average historian, but by some who have
2 attained a first-class reputation. To aid me in this enterprise, I had first and chiefly my enthusiasm for the work, and it is

as a guardian of lasting tradition for the benefit of posterity. History, too, contributes to eloquence of speech, than which
6 no one can easily find a finer instrument. By this art Greeks surpass barbarians, the learned are superior to the uneducated, and besides, by means of speech alone, it is possible for one man to prevail over a mob. In general, every matter that is presented to us takes its character from the power of the orator; and we call good men "worthy of speech (or account)"
7 as having gained this high meed of excellence. Speech being divided into several departments, it happens that poetry gives pleasure rather than profit, legislation chastises without teaching; and similarly, of the other departments, some contribute nothing to happiness, some cause injury mingled with advantage, others falsify the truth; but History alone, where speech is in harmony with action, embodies in its writing all advantages together. One may perceive History encouraging men to justice, denouncing the wicked, eulogising the good, — in short, providing readers with a most valuable experience.

III Wherefore, observing that those who have busied themselves with the writing of History justly win approbation, I was led on to emulate a like design. So I gave close attention to previous historians, and accepted, as far as was possible, their plan of writing; yet I concluded that they had not elaborated their treatises as far as was advantageous and pract-
2 icable. For, although the benefit to the reader lies in understanding a multitude of the most varied circumstances, the majority of historians have recorded wars complete in themselves, fought by a single nation or a single state; and only a few have essayed to record the world's history from ancient times down to their own days. Of these last, again, some did not assign each event to its appropriate date, others neglected the deeds of barbarians; further, some historians rejected ancient mythologies because of the difficulty of treatment, while others failed to bring their enterprise to completion, for
3 Fate with fell clutch cut short their lives. Moreover, not one of those who have formed the design of writing a universal history has brought down his record beyond the Macedonian epoch. Some have ended their composition with the deeds of Philip (1), others with those of Alexander, and certain writ-

(1) Philip II., King of Macedon, 359-336 B.C. His son, Alexander the Great, succeeded him as King of Macedon, 336-323 B.C.

5 sition of historical knowledge as most profitable in all the chances and changes of life. From History the young learn the wisdom of the aged, and the old find their acquired experience many times increased. History makes private citizens capable of command, and incites commanders by the prospect of immortal fame to essay the noblest exploits. Besides this, it makes soldiers the readier to face dangers on behalf of their country through hope of praises after death; and it dissuades the wicked, checking their impulse to villainy by the threat
II of an everlasting brand. Thus, in the hope of being mentioned with good repute in History, some men have been spurred on to found cities, others to introduce laws safeguarding society in general, while many have striven to invent arts and sciences for the benefit of mankind. Since our happiness is consummated by all these efforts, we must render the chief meed of praise to History, which is mainly responsible for
2 them. History must be considered as a guardian of the virtue of notable men, a witness against the vice of the ignoble, and a benefactress of mankind in general. For, if legends about Hades, with no foundation in fact, contribute much towards the piety and justice of the world, how much more must we conclude that History, the mouth-piece of Truth and the very metropolis, as it were, of all Philosophy, can mould men's characters more potently towards nobility and good-
3 ness? All men, in fact, through the frailty of human nature, live for the merest fragment of all eternity and are dead for ever after this life: in the case of those who have achieved no notable deed during their lives, when their bodies perish, everything else connected with their lives passes away with them; but as for those whose virtue has won renown, their deeds are remembered through all time, being proclaimed
4 aloud by the divine voice of History. Sensible men, I believe, deem it good to gain immortal glory as a reward for mortal toils. Heracles indeed, it is admitted, during the whole time he spent among men, endured of his own free will great and continuous toils and dangers, so that by benefiting mankind he might win immortality. As for other good men, some gained heroic, others divine, honours; and all were deemed worthy of high praises, while History immortalised their virtues.
5 Memorials in general endure but a short time, being destroyed by various accidents; but the power of History, extending over the whole world, enlists Time, which ravages all else,

DIODORUS SICULUS: THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY, BOOK I

1 Those who have busied themselves with the writing of
Universal Histories are entitled to deep gratitude from all
men for having striven with personal toil to benefit the public
at large. The profitable instruction which they present in their
studies is free from hazard, while they provide their readers
2 with a most valuable experience. Personal acquisition of ex-
perience, in fact, involves many toils and hazards in discern-
ing the most useful course; and therefore the most experienc-
ed of heroes (1) tasted great misfortunes when he "beheld the
cities of many men and learned their mind". But the under-
standing which History gives of the failures and successes of
3 others, yields instruction without experience of woe. Now,
historians have striven to comprise in one and the same treat-
ise all mankind, who, though related to one another in origin,
are far removed in place and time; and in this respect histo-
rians act as if they were born the agents of the divine provi-
dence. For the divine providence, having brought the orderly
system of the visible stars and the characters of men into
correspondence with one another, has the whole universe
continually within its purview, apportioning to each man his
lot in accordance with destiny. In the same way, historians,
having recorded the action of men throughout the whole
world as if it were a single state, have provided in their treat-
ises a unified and oracular narrative of the past, accessible to
4 all. It is good to be able to use the blind mistakes of others
as examples for correction of one's conduct, and with regard
to the manifold happenings of life, to have, not an investiga-
tion of present events, but an imitation of past successes.
Moreover, in deliberations all men value the aged more than
the young, because of the experience which years have best-
owed upon them. But the study of History goes as far beyond
individual experience as it has the recognised advantage in the
multitude of examples. Hence one may well regard the acqui-

(1) Odysseus : the quotation is from Homer, « Odyssey » 1. 3.

a mine of curious information, and this in itself is enough to justify the present attempt to make the Egyptian section of the Universal History easily accessible to English readers.

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magnificently by his Cretan followers in a twofold sepulchre, the tomb itself being beneath the earth, while a temple of Aphrodite stood above it. At Knossos in 1931, Sir Arthur Evans, following the magic clue of a royal signet-ring, discovered a temple-tomb of the Priest-Kings consisting of a subterranean tomb surmounted by a temple of the Great Mother Goddess of the Minoans.

Hecataeus. Thus Diodorus is to be regarded as a mere compiler, lacking all originality and independence of outlook; and the worth of his History depends altogether upon the value of the authorities whom he slavishly copied or abridged. Our chief debt to Diodorus is for the preservation of extracts from his predecessors, some of which might otherwise not have come down to us. He style is in general clear, though colourless: bombast is confined in the main to his prefaces, a charascteristic example being found in Book I.* Yet, at the end of this preface (1.5.2), Diodorus strikes a personal note with which we may sympathise: "For my own part, I trust that... my errors of ignorance may find correction from those who are better informed".

It is noteworthy that no papyri have as yet been found containing any part of the History of Diodorus, although one of his predecessors, Ephorus (4th. century B.C.), survived in a papyrus of about 200 A.D. found at Oxyrhynchus, and edited by Grenfell and Hunt (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* XIII. 1610). In some books of his History Diodorus is deeply indebted to Ephorus, and "incorporates from him whole sentences or even chapters with little or no change", as Professor A.S. Hunt points out; yet Diodorus has the effrontery to say (1.39.13) that "no one can by any means look for accuracy in Ephorus, considering how he has disregarded truth on many occasions". It is a pleasure to note in contrast that in one passage Diodorus praises Herodotus as "an exceptionally assiduous inquirer, with wide experience of historical study" (1.37.4). One cannot help wishing that Diodorus might have learned from the Father of History how to entertain his readers; but the natural gifts of a fresh and inquiring mind, lively imagination, and skill in story-telling were denied to Diodorus, and few writers have been less inspired than he. Yet his encyclopaedic compilation, unoriginal and lacking in charm of style though it is, contains a great deal of value** it is quite

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(*) This preface (1. 1-5) has been translated less literally and in more modern style by Professor Arnold J. Toynbee in his « Greek Historical Thought », pp. 29-36 (Dent, 1924).

(**) One striking confirmation of the old traditions preserved by Diodorus may be quoted. In Book IV. Chapter 79 Diodorus tells how the last King Minos of Crete, having made an expedition to Sicily, was there treacherously murdered by Cocalus and was buried

interest could be written, giving parallels not only from Herodotus, Strabo, and other classical writers on Egypt, but also from the results of modern research.

The description of Egypt by Diodorus the Sicilian is contained in the First Book of his Universal History, or Historical Library, as he called it. Originally in 40 books, of which 15 are now extant,* this ambitious work aimed at giving a history of the world from the dawn of time down to the invasion of Gaul by Julius Caesar in 58 B.C. Born at Agyrium in the interior of Sicily, Diodorus lived in the 1st. century B.C., and published his History in the reign of Augustus. The latest event which Diodorus mentions is dated variously in the year 36 B.C., or 21 B.C.; thus we cannot say definitely when the History was published, whether about 30 B.C. or as late as 20 B.C., but at any rate Diodorus is to be classed as a writer of the Augustan age. His native language was Greek; but, since Sicily was a Roman province in the time of Diodorus, he had abundant opportunities of learning Latin from the Roman officials and traders with whom he might associate. He tells us (1.4.4.) that he had considerable facility in Latin; and accordingly, in order to prepare the materials for his History, for thirty years he made prolonged researches in the libraries of Rome, and travelled extensively in Europe and Asia, though with little result to his History as we have it. He visited Egypt at some time between 60 and 56 B.C., and is thus able to give personal recollections of what he saw. But, in the main, his account of Egypt is borrowed from previous historians, especially in large measure from Hecataeus of Teos or Abdera (3rd. century B.C.), and to a smaller extent from Agatharchides of Cnidus (2nd. century B.C.). Diodorus makes frequent mention of the sacred records, or Egyptian hieroglyphic documents, as if he were making scientific use of them in his History; but in fact he was ignorant of the Egyptian language, and these references to the priestly records were doubtless taken from his predecessor

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(*) No quotation from Diodorus is found in any pagan author : Pliny the Elder knew the title of the Hisorical Library, but the survival of more than a third part of the History is due to Christian writers who were atracted by the theory of Divine Providence which Diodorus held.

AN ACCOUNT OF EGYPT BY DIODORUS THE SICILIAN

BEING THE FIRST BOOK OF HIS UNIVERSAL HISTORY;

TRANSLATED* INTO ENGLISH

By W. G. Waddell

PART I

PREFATORY NOTE.

"Can you refer me to a translation of Diodorus ?" was a question repeatedly put to me during my sojourn in Egypt. The following version is a concrete attempt to answer the question now: at the time I could only mention two translations, the first of which I never met in Egypt — Booth's and Hoefer's. The only complete English translation of Diodorus was published by G. Booth in 1700, and is now hardly to be found except in the largest libraries. As it was based upon a defective text, not a few mistakes and omissions occur in it; and there seems clearly to be room now for a new English version. The translation in French by Ferd. Hoefer (Paris, 1851)* is generally correct, frequently condensing the original to its great advantage. For the present version the Teubner text, edited by F. Vogel, 1888, has been used; and the numbers of the chapters and the sections of the original Greek are added in the margin of the translation to facilitate reference. The translator's aim has been to follow the Greek as closely as is compatible with reasonably good English. A minimum of footnotes have been added: if there should be a demand for it, a continuous explanatory commentary of considerable

(*) 2nd edition, 1865 : 3rd edition, reprinted without change, 1912 (Hachette et Cie, Paris).

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الجامعة المصرية

مجلة

كلية الآداب

المجلد الأول

الجزء الثاني

ديسمبر ١٩٣٣

تصدر هذه المجلة مرتين فى السنة . فى مايو وفى ديسمبر . وثمن النسخة بما فيه البريد ٢٠ قرشاً صاغاً وتوجه المكاتبات الخاصة بها الى سكرتير التحرير شفيق غربال بكلية الآداب بالجيزة .

القاهرة — مطبعة المعهد العلمى الفرنسى للآثار الشرقية

الجامعة المصرية

مجلة

كلية الآداب

المجلد الأول — الجزء الثانى   ديسمبر ١٩٣٣

موضوعات القسم العربى

صحيفة

موضوعات القسم الأوروبى

أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى

لمصطفى عبد الرازق

ينتسب الفيلسوف «يعقوب الكندى» إلى كنده «وكنده» هى[1] من بنى كهلان وبلادهم باليمن

وكان لكندة ملك بالحجاز واليمن

وفى الأغانى[2] «قال أبو عبيده : حدثنى أبو عمرو بن العلاء أن العرب كانت تعد البيوتات المشهورة بالكبر والشرف من القبائل بعد بيت هاشم بن عبد مناف فى قريش ثلاثة بيوت ومنهم من يقول أربعة :

أولها — بيت آل حذيفة بن بدر الفزارى بيت قيس

— وبيت آل زراره بن عدس الدارميين

— وبيت آل ذى الجدين بن عبد الله بن همام بيت شيبان

— وبيت بنى الديان من بنى الحارث بن كعب بيت اليمن

وأما «كندة» فلا يعدون من أهل البيوتات إنما كانوا ملوكا

وقال الكلبى قال كسرى للنعمان : هل فى العرب قبيلة تشرف على قبيلة ؟

قال : نعم

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(١) — تفرقت قبائل اليمن من كهلان ، وحمير ، ابنى سبأ . وسبأ اسمه «عبد شمس» وقال قوم اسمه «عامر» وهو ابن يشجب ويشجب بن يعرب ويعرب بن قحطان . وسبأ اسم يجمع القبيلة كلهم كما يكون اسم رجل بعينه — كتاب الاشتقاق لابن دريد ص ٢١٧

(٢) الأغانى جـ ١٧ ص ١٠٦ - ١١٠

قال : بأى شىء ؟

قال : من كانت له ثلاثة آباء متوالية رؤساء ثم اتصل ذلك بكمال الرابع ، والبيت من قبيلته فيه

قال : فاطلب لى ذلك . فطلبه فلم يصبه إلا فى آل حذيفة بن بدر ، بيت قيس بن عيلان ، وآل حاجب بن زراره بيت تميم ، وآل ذى الجدين بيت شيبان ، وآل الأشعث بن قيس ، بيت كندة

قال : فجمع هؤلاء الرهط ومن تبعهم من عشائرهم فأقعد لهم الحكام العدول ، فأقبل من كل قوم منهم شاعر ، وقال لهم : ليتكلم كل رجل منكم بمآثر قومه وفعالهم ، وليقل شاعرهم فيصدق ، فقام حذيفة بن بدر ، وكان أسن القوم وأجرأهم مقدماً فقال :

. . . . .

ثم قام الأشعث بن قيس ، وإنما أذن له أن يقوم قبل ربيعة ، وتميم ، لقرابته بالنعمان فقال : لقد علمت العرب أنا نقاتل عديدها الأكثر ، وقديم زحفها الأكبر وأنا غياث اللزبات

فقالوا : لم يا أخا كندة ؟

قال : لأنا ورثنا ملك كندة فاستظللنا بأفيائه وتقلدنا منكبه الأعظم وتوسطنا بحبوحه الأكرم

ثم قام شاعرهم فقال :

اذا قست أبيات الرجال ببيتنا   وجدت له فضلا على من يفاخر
فمن قال كلا أو أتانا بخطة   ينافرنا يوماً فنحن نخاطر
تعالوا فعدوا يعلم الناس أينا   له الفضل فيما أورثته الأكابر

ثم قام بسطام بن قيس فقال : . . . . . .

ثم قام حاجب بن زرارة فقال : . . . . . .

ثم قام قيس بن عاصم فقال : . . . . . .

فلما سمع كسرى ذلك منهم قال : ليس منهم إلا سيد يصلح لموضعه فاسنى حباءهم »

وفى كتاب[١] المعارف لابن قيتبة عند الكلام على أديان الجاهلية : « وكانت اليهودية فى حمير ، وبنى كنانة ، وبنى الحارث بن كعب ، وكندة »

هذا قديم يعقوب الكندى فى الجاهلية

أما نسبه فى الاسلام فهو : أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق بن الصباح بن عمران ابن إسماعيل بن محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس

وقد بقى لكندة مجدها فى الاسلام فمن كندة من كان له ذكر فى الفتوح والثورات[٢] ومنهم : من ولى الولايات[٣] ومنهم من تقلد القضاء

قال ابن دريد فى كتاب « الاشتقاق »[٤] : ولى القضاء من كندة بالكوفة أربعة : جبر بن القشعم ، ثم شريح ، ثم عمرو بن أبى قره ، ثم حسين بن حسن الحجرى ، ولاه خالد بن عبد الله القسرى »

ومنهم : الشعراء كجعفر بن عفان المكفوف شاعر الشيعه ، وعزام بن المنذر من المعمرين وهو الذى يقول فى شعره :

ووالله ما أدرى أأدركت أمة ‍ على عهد ذى القرنين أو كنت أقدما ؟
متى تنزعا عنى القميص تبينا ‍ جناجن لم يكسين لحماً ولا دما

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(١) كتاب المعارف لابن قتيبة ص ٣٠٥

(٢) مثل حصين بن نمير السكونى الذى صار صاحب جيش يزيد بن معاوية بعد مسلم بن عقبه فى وقعة الحره بظاهر المدينة وشرحبيل بن السمط أدركه الاسلام وأدرك القادسية وهو الذى قسم منازل حمص بين أهلها حين افتتحها ، ومعاوية بن حديج الذى قتل محمد بن أبى بكر وكنانة بن بشير الذى ضرب عثمان بالعمود — كتاب الاشتقاق ص ٢٢٠ ، ٢٢١

(٣) كالربيع بن مرى بن أوس ولى الحمى بظهر الكوفة ولاه الوليد بن عقبه ، وكان لولاية الحمى قدر فى ذلك الزمان « الاشتقاق » ص ٢٢٩

(٤) نفس المصدر ص ٢١٩

وأول من أسلم من آباء الكندى الأشعث[١] بن قيس قال بن الأثير الجزرى[٢] :
« وفد إلى النبى سنة عشر من الهجرة فى وفد كندة وكانوا ستين راكباً فأسلموا . . . . . وكان الأشعث ممن ارتد بعد النبى فسير أبو بكر الجنود إلى اليمن فأخذوا الأشعث أسيراً فأحضر بين يديه فقال له : استبقنى لحربك وزوجنى بأختك ، فأطلقه أبو بكر وزوجه بأخته ، وهى أم محمد بن الأشعث ، ولما تزوجها اخترط سيفه ودخل سوق الأبل فجعل لا يرى جملا ولا ناقة ألا عرقبه ، وصاح الناس : كفر الأشعث ، فلما فرغ طرح سيفه وقال : انى والله ما كفرت ، ولكن زوجنى هذا الرجل أخته ، ولو كنا ببلادنا لكانت لنا وليمة غير هذه ، يا أهل المدينة انحروا وكلوا ، ويا أصحاب الأبل خذوا أثمانها ، فما رئى وليمة مثلها ، وشهد الأشعث اليرموك بالشام ففقئت عينه ، ثم سار إلى العراق فشهد القادسية ، والمدائن ، وجلولا ، ونهاوند ، وسكن الكوفة وابتنى بها داراً ، وشهد صفين مع على ، وكان ممن ألزم عليا بالتحكيم ، وشهد الحكمين بدومة الجندل وكان عثمان رضى الله عنه استعمله على أذربجان ، وكان الحسن ابن على تزوج بنته فقيل هى التى سقت الحسن السم فمات . . . . وتوفى سنة اثنتين وأربعين ، وقيل سنة أربعين »

وقال الحافظ البغدادى[٣] « الأشعث بن قيس » قدم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فى وفد كندة ، ويعد فيمن نزل الكوفة من الصحابة ، وله عن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم رواية ، وقد شهد مع سعد بن أبى وقاص قتال الفرس بالعراق ، وكان على راية كندة يوم صفين مع على بن أبى طالب ، وحضر قتال الخوارج بالنهروان ، وورد المدائن ثم عاد إلى الكوفة فأقام بها حتى مات فى الوقت الذى صالح فيه الحسن بن

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(١) من أصحاب النبى وكان قبل ذلك ملكا على جميع كنده وكان أبوه قيس بن معدى كرب ملكا على جميع كنده عظيم الشأن . ألظر طبقات الأمم للقاضى صاعد ص ٥٢

(٢) أسد الغابة فى معرفة الصحابة ج ١ ص ٩٨

(٣) فى كتاب تاريخ بغداد ج — ١ — ص — ١٩٦ ، ١٩٧ —

على معاوية بن أبي سفيان وصلى عليه الحسن . . . . الأشعث بن قيس يكنى « أبا محمد » مات فى آخر سنة أربعين بعد قتل على . . . . مات بعد قتل على بن أبي طالب بأربعين ليلة فيما أخبر ولده ، وتوفى وهو ابن ثلاث وستين »

وأما محمد بن الأشعث ، فقيل : أنه ولد على عهد رسول الله واستعمله ابن الزبير على الموصل[1] . وذكر الزبير بن بكار فى تسمية أولاد على : أن مصعب بن الزبير لما غزا المختار بعث على مقدمته محمد بن الأشعث ، وعبيد الله بن على بن أبي طالب فقتلا ، وكان ذلك سنة سبع وستين

ولمحمد بن الأشعث ولد يسمى عبد الرحمن خرج على الحجاج واستولى على خراسان ، ثم سار إلى جهة الحجاج وغلب على الكوفة وقويت شوكته . ثم أمد عبد الملك الحجاج بالجيوش فانهزم عبد الرحمن ولحق بملك الترك . وأرسل الحجاج بطلبه وتهدد ملك الترك بالغزو أن أخره ، فقبض ملك الترك على عبد الرحمن وعلى أربعين من أصحابه وبعث بهم إلى الحجاج فلما نزل فى مكان فى الطريق ألقى عبد الرحمن نفسه من سطح فمات وذلك فى سنة خمس وثمانين

ويظهر : أن هذا الحادث حادث عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث الذى يصوره « الدكتور طه حسين » فى كتابه « الأدب الجاهلى » بقوله : (ثم نحن نعلم : أن حفيد الأشعث بن قيس وهو عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث قد ثار بالحجاج وخلع عبد الملك ، وعرض ملك آل مروان للزوال وكان سبباً فى أراقة دماء المسلمين من أهل العراق والشام وكان الذين قتلوا فى حروبه يحصون فيبلغون عشرات الآلاف)

يظهر : أن هذا الحادث جنى على منزلة بيت الأشعث بن قيس عند آل مروان نخفت ذكرهم فى التاريخ حوالى جيلين ، من أجل ذلك سكت التاريخ عن اسماعيل بن

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(١) أسد الغابة جـ ٤ ص ٣١١ — ٣١٢

محمد بن الأشعث أخى عبد الرحمن . وعن ابنه عمران . وهما جدان من جدود يعقوب ابن إسحاق الكندى . بل قد سكت التاريخ عن شأن « الصباح » اللهم إلا ما جاء فى كتاب « أخبار[١] الحكماء » نقلا عن ابن جلجل الأندلسى ، كما جاء أيضاً فى كتاب « عيون الأنباء[٢] فى طبقات الأطباء » : (وقال سليمان بن حسان : أن يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى شريف الأصل بصرى كان جده ولى الولايات لبنى هاشم)

ويظهر أن فى هذه الرواية خلطاً لأن الذى ولى الولايات لبنى هاشم إنما هو إسحاق ابن الصباح كما أجمع عليه سائر المؤرخين ، ولأن الكندى لم يكن بصرياً وإنما كان من الكوفة ، على أن الصباح كان من عشيرته فى مقام رفيع حتى أصبحوا ينتسبون إليه ، فيقال لهم بنو الصباح كما يقال : بنو الأشعث بن قيس

وإذا كانت صلة بنى الأشعث بن قيس بالخلفاء من بنى مروان قد انقطعت منذ خروج عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث على الحجاج ، وعبد الملك بن مروان ، فان بيت الكندى ظل فى الكوفة من بيوتات المجد والحسب الشامخ ، ولما تولى الخلافة العباسيون عاد بيت الكندى إلى الظهور فى ميدان السياسة والحكم ، فتولى إسحاق بن الصباح الكوفة فى أيام المهدى والرشيد

وإسحاق بن الصباح الكندى الأشعثى مذكور فى كتب رجال الحديث على أنه : ضعيف ، مقل ، من الطبقة السابعة ، أى أنه عاش فى المائة الثانية من الهجرة[٣]

أما كتب التاريخ والأدب فتذكر من أخبار ولايته وعزله وجاهه ، وكرمه ، وصلته بالشعراء ، والعلماء ، ومظاهر غناه ، ونبله ، وأخذه بأسباب الترف والنعيم

« وقال ابن سعد[٤] : كان إسحاق الصباح الأشعثى صديقاً لنصيب[٥] ، وقدم قدمة

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(١) ص — ٢٤١ —
(٢) جـ ١ ص ٢٠٧
(٣) تقريب التهذيب ص ١٤
(٤) الأغانى جـ — ٢٠ — ص ٣٣ —
(٥) الذى كانت وفاته بعد السبعين ومائة

من الحجاز فدخل على إسحاق وهو يَهَبُ لجماعة وردوا عليه براً ، وتمراً ، فيحملونه على إبلهم ويمضون

فوهب نصيب جارية حسناء يقال لها «مسروره» فأردفها خلفه ومضى وهو يقول :

اذا احتقبوا براً فأنت حقيبتى — من الشرفيات الثقال الحقائب
ظفرت بها من أشعثى مهذب — أغر ، طويل الباع ، جم المواهب
فدا لك يا اسحاق كل مبخل — ضجور ، اذا عضت شداد النوائب
اذا ما بخيل المال غيب ماله — فمالك عد ، حاضر ، غير غائب
اذا اكتسب القوم الثراء فانما — يرى الحمد غنما من كريم المكاسب

وقال فيه أيضاً :

فتى من بنى الصباح يهتز للندى — كما اهتز مسنون الفرار عتيق
فتى لا يذم الضيف والجار رفده — ولا يجتويه صاحب ورفيق
أغر ، لأبناء السبيل موارد — الى بيته ، تهديهم ، وطريق
وان عد أنساب الملوك وجدته — الى نسب يعلوهم ويفوق
فما فى بنى الصباح ان بعد المدى — على الناس ، الا سابق وعريق
وانى لمن شاحنتم لمشاحن — وانى لمن صادقتم لصديق

وورد ذكر إسحاق بن الصباح فى كتاب « البيان[١] والتبيين » للجاحظ فى قصة من قصص « بهلول » بن عمرو الصيرفى الكوفى الذى كان من عقلاء المجانين ، وكان محبوباً عند الرشيد وغيره من الخلفاء وتوفى فى حدود سنة ١٩٠ ﻫ ٨٠٦ م

« قال الجاحظ : ومن مجانين الكوفة : « بهلول » وكان يتشيع قال له إسحاق بن الصباح : أكثر الله فى الشيعة مثلك قال : بل أكثر الله فى المرجئة مثلى وأكثر فى الشيعة مثلك

وأول عهد إسحاق بن الصباح بالولايات والحكم كان فى سنة ١٥٩ فى عهد الخليفة المهدى الواقع بين سنتى ١٥٨ — ١٦٩

« ويروى[٢] : أن المهدى ضم إلى شريك بن عبد الله النخعى الكوفى المتوفى سنة

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(١) جـ — ٢ — ص — ١١٩ —
(٢) تاريخ بغداد جـ ٩ ص ٢٩٣

١٧٧ الصلاة مع القضاء وولى شرطه إسحاق بن الصباح ، ثم ولى إسحاق بن الصباح بن عمران بن إسماعيل بن محمد بن الأشعث الكوفة وولى شرطه النعمان بن جعفر الكندى ، فمات النعمان ، فولى على شرطه أخاه يزيد بن جعفر . ويقال : أن شريكا القاضى هو الذى أشار على المهدى باختيار إسحاق وظل يتناوب ولاية الكوفة مع هاشم بن سعيد ، وروح بن حاتم ، وموسى بن عيسى ، إلى عهد الرشيد الواقع بين ١٧٠ — ١٩٣

وهؤلاء كانوا سراة الكوفة ووجوهها

وكان موسى بن عيسى والياً على الكوفة . فقال موسى لشريك : ما صنع أمير المؤمنين بأحد ما صنع بك ، عزلك عن القضاء ، فقال شريك : هم أمراء المؤمنين يعزلون القضاة ويخلعون ولاة العهود ، فلا يعاب ذلك عليهم ، فقال موسى : ما ظننا أنه مجنون هكذا لا يبالى ما تكلم به ، وكان أبوه عيسى بن موسى ولى العهد بعد أبى جعفر نخلعه بمال أعطاه إياه ، وهو ابن عم أبى جعفر

فوالد الكندى كان يزاحم بمنكبه أبناء عمومة الخليفة ، وكانت ولاية الكوفة دولة بينه وبينهم

بل كان ابن عم الخليفة يلجأ إلى إسحاق بن الصباح ليلين من شكيمة القاضى شريك ابن عبد الله

روى عمر بن هياج بن سعد قال : أتت إمرأة يوماً شريك بن عبد الله قاضى الكوفة وهو فى مجلس الحكم فقالت : أنا بالله ثم بالقاضى ، قال : من ظلمك ؟ قالت : الأمير موسى بن عيسى ابن عم أمير المؤمنين ، كان لى بستان على شاطىء الفرات ، فيه نخل ورثته عن أبى وقاسمت إخوتى وبنيت بينى وبينهم حائطا وجعلت فيه رجلا فارسياً يحفظ النخل ويقوم به ، فاشترى الأمير موسى بن عيسى من جميع إخوتى ، وساومنى ورغبنى فلم أبعه ، فلما كان هذه الليلة بعث بخمسمائة غلام وفاعل ، فاقتلعوا الحائط ، فأصبحت لا أعلم من نخلى شيئاً واختلط بنخل إخوتى . فقال : يا غلام أحضر طينة ،

فأحضر ، فختمها وقال : امض إلى بابه حتى يحضر معك ، فجاءت المرأة بالطينة المختومة ، فأخذها الحاجب ودخل على موسى فقال : قد أعدى القاضى عليك وهـذا ختمه ، فقال : أدع لى صاحب الشرطة فدعا به ، فقال : امض إلى شريك وقل : يا سبحان الله ما رأيت أعجب من أمرك ، إمرأة إدعت دعوى لم تصح أعديتها علىّ ، فقال صاحب الشرطة : أن رأى الأمير أن يعفينى من ذلك ، فقال : امض ويلك ، فخرج وقال لغلمانه : إذهبوا واحملوا إلى حبس القاضى بساطاً وفراشاً وما تدعو الحاجة إليه ، ثم مضى إلى شريك ، فلما وقف بين يديه أدى الرسالة ، فقال لغلام المجلس : خذ بيده فضعه فى الحبس ، فقال صاحب الشرطة : والله قد علمت : انك تحبسنى فقدمت ما أحتاج إليه إلى الحبس

وبلغ موسى بن عيسى الخبر فوجه الحاجب إليه وقال له : رسول أدى إليك رسالة أى شىء عليه ؟ فقال شريك : إذهبوا به إلى رفيقه إلى الحبس ، فحبس ، فلما صلى الأمير موسى العصر بعث إلى إسحاق بن الصباح الأشعثى ، وإلى جماعة من وجوه الكوفة من أصدقاء القاضى شريك ، وقال لهم : أبلغوه السلام وأعلموه : أنه استخف بى وأنى لست كالعامة

فمضوا إليه وهو جالس فى مسجده بعد صلاة العصر فأبلغوه الرسالة ، فلما انقضى كلامهم قال لهم : مالى أراكم جئتمونى فى غبرة من الناس فكلمتمونى ؟ من ههنا من فتيان الحى ؟ فأجابه جماعة من الفتيان ، فقال : ليأخذ كل واحد منكم بيد رجل فيذهب به إلى الحبس ، ما أنتم إلا فتنة وجزاؤكم الحبس ، قالوا له : أجاد أنت ؟ قال : حقاً حتى لا تعودوا لرسالة ظالم

فحبسهم فركب موسى بن عيسى فى الليلة إلى باب السجن وفتح الباب وأخرجهم كلهم ، فلما كان من الغد وجلس شريك للقضاء جاءه السجان فأخبره ، فدعا بالقمطر نختمه ووجه به إلى منزله وقال لغلامه : الحق بثقلى إلى بغداد ، والله ما طلبنا هذا الأمر منهم ولكن أكرهونا عليه ، ولقد ضمنوا لنا فيه الأعزاز إذ تقلدناه لهم ، ومضى نحو

قنطرة الكوفة إلى بغداد وبلغ الخبر إلى موسى بن عيسى فركب فى موكبه فلحقه ، وجعل يناشده الله ويقول :

يا أبا عبد الله تثبت أنظر أخوانك تحبسهم ، دع أعوانى ، قال : نعم لأنهم مشوا لك فى أمر لم يجز لهم المشى فيه ولست ببارح أو يردوا جميعاً ، وإلا مضيت إلى أمير المؤمنين المهدى فاستعفيته مما قلدنى ، فأمر موسى بردهم جميعاً إلى الحبس وهو واقف والله مكانه حتى جاء السجان فقال : قد رجعوا جميعاً إلى الحبس فقال لأعوانه : خذوا بلجام دابته بين يدى إلى مجلس الحكم ، فمروا به بين يديه حتى أدخل المسجد وجلس فى مجلس القضاء ، فجاءت المرأة المتظلمة فقال : هذا خصمك قد حضر ، فقال موسى وهو مع المرأة بين يديه : قبل كل أمر أنا قد حضرت أولئك يخرجون من الحبس ، فقال شريك : أما الآن فنعم أخرجوهم من الحبس ، فقال : ما تقول فيما تدعيه هذه المرأة ؟ قال : صدقت ، قال : ترد ما أخذت منها ، وتبنى حائطها سريعاً كما كان ، قال : أفعل ذلك ، قال لها : أبقى لك عليه دعوى ؟ قالت : بيت الرجل الفارسى ومتاعه ، قال موسى بن عيسى : ويرد ذلك كله ، بقى لك عليه دعوى ؟ قالت : لا وبارك الله عليك وجزاك خيراً ، قال : قومى ، فقامت من مجلسه فلما فرغ قام وأخذ بيد موسى بن عيسى وأجلسه فى مجلسه وقال : السلام عليك أيها الأمير ، أتأمر بشىء ؟ قال : أى شىء آمر ؟ وضحك ، فقال له شريك : أيها الأمير ذلك الفعل حق الشرع ، وهذا القول الآن حق الأدب ، فقام الأمير وانصرف من مجلسه وهو يقول : من عظم أمر الله أذل الله له عظماء خلقه »[1]

والظاهر : أن إسحاق بن الصباح توفى فى أواخر عهد هارون الرشيد المتوفى سنة ١٩٣ ، وظلت قرابته تتصل بخدمة الخلفاء ، فأن المؤرخين لا يعرضون لاسحاق بعد زمن الرشيد وقد سبقت الأشارة إلى قول كتب الرجال : أنه من أهل المائة الثانية.

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(١) « العقد الفريد » للملك السعيد ص — ١٧١ ، ١٧٢ —

على أنا نجد إسم جعفر بن محمد بن الأشعث فى أسماء من ولاهم الرشيد خراسان ، على ما فى تاريخ الطبرى وذكر الطبرى[1] أيضاً أن الرشيد إتهم هرثمة فوجه ابنه المأمون قبل وفاته بثلاث وعشرين ليلة إلى مرو ومعه عبد الله بن مالك ، ويحيى بن معاذ وأسد بن يزيد بن مزيد ، والعباس بن جعفر بن محمد بن الأشعث الخ

ولما كان يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى قد توفى فى أواسط القرن الثالث الهجرى كما سيأتى تحقيقه ولم يكن أحد ممن ترجموا له أشار إلى أنه كان من المعمرين فمن المرجح أنه ولد فى عواقب عمر أبيه ، وأن أباه تركه طفلا ، فنشأ فى الكوفة فى أعقاب تراث من السؤدد ومن الغنى ، وفى حضن اليتم وظل الجاه الزائل

وإذا كان جاه بنى الأشعث بن قيس لم يزل بزوال إسحاق فان عهدهم الزاهر فى الكوفة قد تولى بموته ، وكانوا انتشروا فى البلاد ، فلم يبق للصبى اليتيم إلا أمه التى لا نعرف من شأنها قليلا ولا كثيراً

كانت الأيم تريد بالضرورة لولدها : أن يعيش كأبيه ميسرا وجيها ، فدبرت له ماله ، ونشأته مقتصداً ، مرفهاً ، غنياً ، ثم ساقته فى سبيل العلم لما آنست من ذكائه المتوقد وشوقه إلى إلتهام المعارف ، حتى إذا فاتته فخامة الحكم لم تفته جلالة العلم والحكمة

ولقد وصف الجاحظ[2] مجد العالم الغنى عن الناس وصفاً لعله يمثل ما أملته لابنها أم الكندى : « ولقد دخلت على إسحاق بن سليمان فى امرته فرأيت السماطين والرجال مثولاً وكأن على رؤوسهم الطير ، ورأيت فرشته وبزته

ثم دخلت عليه وهو معزول وإذا هو فى بيت كتبه وحواليه الأسفاط والرفوف والقماطير والدفاتر والمساطر والمحابر ، فما رأيته قط أفخم ولا أنبل ولا أهيب ولا أجزل منه فى ذلك اليوم ، لأنه جمع مع المهابة المحبة ومع الفخامة الحلاوة ومع السؤدد الحكمة »

كانت علوم الأحكام الدينية ووسائلها هى العلوم التى تروج يومئذ سوقها ، وتكسب

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(١) تاريخ الطبرى ج — ١٠ — ص — ١١٠ —

(٢) كتاب الحيوان ج — ١ — ص — ٣١٠ —

صاحبها كرامة عند الخلفاء المحتاجين إلى أهل هذه العلوم فى إقامة ملكهم على سند من السياسة الشرعيه ، وكانت هذه العلوم أيضاً تهب صاحبها جلالا فى قلوب العامة الذين تهمهم من الدين شعائره وشرائعه

وكانت فيما حوالى هذا الزمن نكبة البرامكة يتناقل الناس أخبارها الفاجعة ، فيتمثلون ما فى شرف الولايات والحكم من أخطار

وقد شهدت أم الكندى عهد « شريك » القاضى العالم الدينى ورأت سلطانه يغالب سلطان ابن عم الخليفة فى الكوفة ويذل ما لزوجها من حسب وجاه شامخ

وكل سلطانه يقوم على علمه ودينه ، وكانت الأحاديث عن عزة شريك ، وشدته فى الحق على أهل الشرف والجاه سمر المجالس

وأبو عبد الله شريك بن عبد الله تولى القضاء بالكوفة أيام المهدى ثم عزله موسى الهادى ، وتولى القضاء بعد ذلك بالأهواز توفى بالكوفة سنة ١٧٧ — أو ١٧٨ ﻫ وكان هارون الرشيد بالحيرة فقصده ليصلى عليه فوجدهم قد صلوا عليه فرجع

جرى بينه وبين مصعب بن عبد الله الزبيرى كلام بحضرة المهدى ، فقال له مصعب : أنت تنتقص أبا بكر وعمر رضى الله عنهما فقال القاضى شريك : والله ما انتقص جدك وهو دونهما . ودخل يوماً على المهدى فقال له : لا بد أن تجيبنى إلى خصلة من ثلاث خصال ، قال : وما هن يا أمير المؤمنين ؟ قال : اما أن تلى القضاء ، أو تحدث ولدى ، وتعلمه ، أو تأكل عندى أكلة ، وذلك قبل أن يلى القضاء فأفكر ساعة ثم قال : لأكلة أخفها على نفسى

فأجلسه وتقدم إلى الطباخ أن يصلح له ألواناً من المخ المعقود بالسكر الطبرزد والعسل وغير ذلك ، فعمل ذلك وقدمه إليه ، فأكل فلما فرغ من الأكل قال له الطباخ : والله يا أمير المؤمنين ليس يفلح الشيخ بعد هذه الأكلة أبداً

قال الفضل بن الربيع : فحدثهم والله شريك بعد ذلك ، وعلم أولادهم ، وولى القضاء لهم

وقد كتب له برزقه على الصيرفى فضايقه فى النقد ، فقال له الصيرفى : إنك لم تبع به بزا ، فقال له شريك . بل والله بعت به أكثر من البز ، بعت به دينى[١]

وفى تاريخ بغداد للخطيب البغدادى المتوفى سنة ٤٦٣ : « قال عبد الله بن مصعب : حضرت شريكا فى مجلس أبى عبيد الله ، وعنده الحسن بن زيد بن الحسن بن على بن أبى طالب ، والجريرى ، رجل من ولد جرير كان خطيباً للسلطان فقال شريك : حدثنا أبو إسحاق . . . . عن عمر بن الخطاب قال : إنا كنا نأكل لحوم هذه ونشرب عليها النبيذ ليقطعها فى أجوافنا وبطوننا ، فقال الحسن بن زيد : ما سمعنا بهذا فى الملة الآخرة ، إن هذا إلا اختلاق فقال شريك ؛ أجل والله ما سمعت ، شغلك عن ذلك الجلوس على الطنافس فى صدور المجالس »

أمثال هذه الأسمار عن شريك وغير شريك كانت جديرة أن ترغب الناس فى العلوم التى شأنها أن توصل إلى هذه المنزلة ، وهى كما ذكرنا : علوم الأحكام الدينية ووسائلها

أما علوم الكلام ، فلم تكن حين ذاك برغم تشجيع الخلفاء لها إلا فنونا من النظر العقلى مبتدعة ، ينكرها أهل الزعامة الدينية وهى بعيدة الصلة بالحياة وحاجاتها ، فلا جاه لها من دين ولا من دنيا

وأما الفلسفة وما إليها ، فلم تكن إلا علوماً دخيلة يشتغل بتعريبها أناس لا هم مسلمون ولا من العرب

وكان من تحدثه نفسه بمعالجة بعض هذه العلوم من المسلمين لا يلقى من الثقة بعلمه ما يلقاه أهل هذا الشأن من غير المسلمين ، قال الجاحظ فى كتاب « البخلاء »[٢] : (« أسد بن جانى » وكان طبيباً فأكسد مرة ، فقال له قائل : السنة وبيئة والأمراض فاشية وأنت عالم ولك صبر وخدمة ، ولك بيان ومعرفة ، فمن أين تؤتى فى هذا الكساد ؟ قال : أما واحدة ، فانى عندهم مسلم ، وقد اعتقد القوم قبل أن أتطبب ، لا بل قبل

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(١) ابن خلكان ج — ١ — ص — ٢٨٢ ، ٢٨٣ —

(٢) طبعة ليدن ص — ١٠٩ ، ١١٠ —

أن أخلق : أن المسلمين لا يفلحون فى الطب ، وأسمى أسد ، وكان ينبغى أن يكون إسمى صليباً ، ومراسل ، ويوحنا ، وبيرا ، وكنيتى أبو الحارث ، وكان ينبغى أن تكون أبو عيسى ، وأبو زكريا وأبو إبراهيم ، وعلى رداء قطن أبيض ، وكان ينبغى أن يكون على رداء حرير أسود ، ولفظى لفظ عربى وكان ينبغى أن تكون لغتى لغة أهل جند يسابور)

كان طبيعياً إذا : أن تدفع أم الكندى طفلها إلى العلوم الدينية وآلاتها ، فتعلم علوم اللغة والأدب وشدا من علوم الدين شيئاً ، ولكن الطفل كان بفطرته طلعة يلتمس أن يدرك بعقله الأشياء وعللها ويريد أن يحيط بكل شىء علما ، فما هو إلا أن بلغ رشده وأصبح أمره بيده حتى انطلق يرضى شهوة عقله فيتصل بعلم الكلام ، ويشارك المتكلمين فى مباحثهم ويغلبه حب المعرفة ، فلا يجد فيا تمارسه بيئته الاسلاميه العربية ما يكفى حاجة عقله الطموح ، ويقتحم غمار الفلسفة وما إليها من العلوم المنقولة عن يونان ، وفارس ، والهند ولا يجد فيا يترجمه النقلة غنى ، فيحاول أن يرد هذه العلوم فى منابعها ، ويتعلم اليونانية ، ويترجم بها ويصلح ما يترجمه غيره ، ويتصل بالثقافة اليونانية إتصالاً ظاهراً الأثر فى عواطفه ، وفى تفكيره

قال المسعودى فى « مروج الذهب[(١)] » : « وقد كان يعقوب الكندى يذهب فى نسب يونان إلى ما ذكرنا : أنه أخ لقحطان ويحتج لذلك بأخبار يذكرها فى بدء الأشياء ويوردها من حديث الآحاد ، والأفراد ، لا من حديث الاستفاضة والكثرة ، وقد رد عليه أبو العباس عبد الله بن محمد الناشى فى قصيدة له طويلة . ووكد خلطه نسب « يونان » بقحطان على حسب ما ذكرنا آنفاً فى صدر هذا الباب فقال :

أبا يوسف أنى نظرت فلم أجد ... على الفحص رأياً صح منك ولا عقدا
وصرت حكيما عند قوم إذا امرؤ ... بلاهم جميعاً لم يجد عندهم عندا

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(١) طبعة بولاق ص ١٣٨

أتقرن الحـادا بدين محمـد لقد جئت شيئاً يا أخا كندة ادا
وتخلط يوناناً بقحطـان ضلة لعمرى لقد باعدت بينهما جدا »

ويظهر : أن الكندى كان عارفاً بالسريانية ، وكان ينقل الكتب منها إلى العربية ، فقد جاء فى كتاب « أخبار العلماء[1] بأخبار الحكماء » : (ومما اشتهر من كتب بطليموس وخرج إلى العربية . . . . كتاب « الجغرافيا فى المعمور من الأرض » وهذا الكتاب نقله الكندى إلى العربية نقلا جيداً ويوجد سريانياً)

وفى كتاب « طبقات الأطباء[2] » نقلاً عن أبى معشر : حذاق الترجمة فى الاسلام أربعة : حنين بن إسحاق ، ويعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى ، وثابت بن قرة الحرانى ، وعمر بن الفرخان الطبرى

ومترجمو الكندى يكادون يتفقون على : أنه (كان كثير[3] الاطلاع)

يقول ابن النديم فى « الفهرست[4] » : فاضل دهره وواحد عصره فى معرفة العلوم القديمة بأسرها ، ويقول صاحب كتاب « أخبار[5] الحكماء » : « المشتهر فى الملة الاسلامية بالتبحر فى فنون الحكمة اليونانية والفارسية والهندية »

وقد يكون تبحره فى هذه الفنون دليلاً على أنه تعلم من اللغات ما أعانه على ذلك

وفى مواضع متفرقة من كتاب « الفهرست » ما يدل على أن الكندى كان محيطاً بمذاهب الحرنانية الكلدانيين المعروفين بالصابئة ومذاهب الثنوية الكلدانيين

وقد نقل صاحب الفهرست[6] وصف هذه المذاهب حكاية من خط أحمد بن الطيب فى أمرهم حكاها عن الكندى

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(١) طبع مطبعة السعادة بمصر ص — ٦٩ ، ٧٠ —
(٢) جـ ١ ص — ٢٠٧ —
(٣) أخبار الحكماء ص — ٤٦ —
(٤) ص ٢٥٥
(٥) ص ٢٤٠
(٦) ص — ٣١٨ —

وفى ص ٣٢٠ من الفهرست : (قال الكندى : انه نظر فى كتاب يقربه هؤلاء القوم وهو مقالات لهرمس فى التوحيد لا يجد الفيلسوف إذا أتعب نفسه مندوحة عنها والقول بها)

وفى الفهرست أيضاً ما يدل على أن الكندى كان خبيراً بمذاهب الهند معنياً بدرسها

جاء فى ص ٣٤٥ : « قرأت فى جزء ترجمته ما هذه حكايته : كتاب فيه ملل الهند وأديانها — نسخت هذا الكتاب من كتاب كتب يوم الجمعة لثلاث خلون من المحرم سنة تسع وأربعين ومائتين — لا أدرى الحكاية التى فى هذا الكتاب لمن هى ؟ إلا أنى رأيته بخط يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى حرفاً حرفاً وكان تحت هذه الترجمة ما هذه حكايته بلفظ كاتبه : حكى بعض المتكلمين بأن يحيى بن خالد البرمكى بعث برجل إلى الهند ليأتيه بعقاقير موجودة فى بلادهم وأن يكتب له أديانهم فكتب له هذا الكتاب

قال محمد بن إسحاق : الذى عنى بأمر الهند فى دولة العرب : يحيى بن خالد وجماعة البرامكة واهتمامها بأمر الهند وأحضارها علماء طبها وحكماءها »

تعلم الكندى فى الكوفة ، وانتقل إلى بغداد واشتغل بعلم الأدب ، ثم بعلوم الفلسفة ، كما ذكر ذلك محمد بن نباتة المصرى فى كتابه « سرح العيون شرح[1] رسالة ابن زيدون » أما صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » فيذكر فى ترجمة الكندى نقلا عن ابن جلجل الأندلسى : أن يعقوب بن الصباح كان شريف الأصل بصرياً وكان جده ولى الولايات لبنى هاشم ونزل البصرة وضيعته هناك ، وانتقل إلى بغداد وهنالك تأدب . وينقل ابن أبى أصيبعة عن مثل ذلك

وإذا كان فيما نقله القفطى ، وابن أبى أصيبعة خطأ من ناحية جعل الكندى بصرياً ، ففيه أيضاً تعارض إذ كيف يكون بصرياً ثم يقال : نزل البصرة ؟

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(١) ص — ١٢٣ —

على أنه ليس ببعيد : أن يكون الكندى نزل البصرة قبل ذهابه إلى بغداد ، وليس ببعيد أنه كانت له ضيعة هناك

أما تاريخ انتقاله من الكوفة إلى البصرة وتاريخ ذهابه إلى بغداد فليس عندنا منهما خبر

وتاريخ ميلاده غير معروف إلا ظنا ، وقد أشرنا فيما مضى إلى أن الراجح أن ميلاده كان فى أواخر حياة أبيه الذى توفى فى زمن الرشيد ، والرشيد توفى سنة ١٩٣ هـ ٨٠٨ م

فالغالب : إن الكندى ولد فى مطلع القرن التاسع الميلادى حوالى ٨٠١ م ١٨٥ هـ كما رجحه « ده بوير[١] »

وقد كانت الكوفة والبصرة وبغداد مراكز الثقافة فى بلاد الاسلام على اختلاف فنونها

وفى كتاب « طبقات[٢] الأطباء » : إن يعقوب بن إسحاق كان عظيم المنزلة عند المأمون ، والمعتصم ، وعند ابنه أحمد

وليس لدينا ما يدل على أن صلة الكندى بهؤلاء الخلفاء كانت عبارة عن دخوله فى المناصب إلا ما يروى من إنه كان مؤدباً لأحمد بن المعتصم

ومع ممارسة الكندى للأدب وما إليه حتى قال صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » : « وخدم الملوك مباشرة بالأدب » وحتى نقلوا عنه حكايات فى نقد الشعر ، وفى الجدل فى أسرار البلاغة العربية ، وحتى ذكروا : أن له كتاباً فى صنعة البلاغة[٣] ،

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(١) دائرة المعارف الاسلامية — الكندى

(٢) جـ — ١ — ص — ٢٠٧ —

(٣) وفى ص — ١٧١ — من كتاب الفهرست فى الفصل الذى عنوانه : « ذكر ما وجدت من الكتب المصنفة فى الآداب لقوم لم يعرف حالهم على استقصاء » ما نصه : « كتاب من نسج بيتاً فنبز به ، ومن نسج بيتاً فنسب اليه الكندى »

وفى ص — ١٠ — من كتاب « الفهرست » : وقال الكندى : « لا أعلم كتابة تحتمل من تحليل حروفها وتدقيقها ما تحتمل الكتابة العربية ، ويمكن فيها من السرعة مالا يمكن فى غيرها من الكتابات »

فان الأدب لم يكن هو الميدان الذى ظهرت فيه مواهب الكندى وآثار عبقريته

وفى كتاب « سرح العيون » لابن نباتة المصرى : « حكى : انه كان حاضرا عند أحمد بن المعتصم وقد دخل أبو تمام ، فأنشده قصيدته السينية ، فلما بلغ إلى قوله :

اقدام عمرو فى سماحة حاتم　　فى حلم أحنف فى ذكاء اياس

قال الكندى : ما صنعت شيئاً ، قال : كيف ؟ قال : مازدت على أن شبهت ابن أمير المؤمنين بصعاليك العرب وأيضاً أن شعراء دهرنا تجاوزوا بالممدوح من كان قبله ، ألا ترى إلى قول العكوك فى أبى دلف ؟ :

رجل أبر[1] على شجاعة عامر　　باساً وغبر فى محيا حاتم

فأطرق أبو تمام ثم أنشد :

لا تنكروا ضربى له من دونه　　مثلا شروداً فى الندى والباس
فالله قد ضرب الأقل لنوره　　مثلا من المشكاة والنبراس

ولم يكن هذا فى القصيدة ، فتعجب منه ، ثم طلب أن تكون الجائزة ولاية عمل ، فاستصغر عن ذلك . فقال الكندى : ولوه فانه قصير العمر ، لأن ذهنه ينحت من قلبه ، فكان كما قال

وقد يكون فى ذلك ظهرت له دلائل من شخصه على قرب أجله

وسمع الكندى إنساناً ينشد ويقول :

وفى أربع منى حلت منك أربع　　فما أنا أدرى أيها هاج لى كربى ؟
خيالك فى عينى ؟ أم الذكر فى فمى ؟　　أم النطق فى سمعى ؟ أم الحب فى قلبى ؟

فقال : والله لقد قسمها تقسيما فلسفياً

وسمع رجلا ينشد قول ربيعة الرقى

لو قيل للعباس : يا ابن محمد　　قل : لا ، وأنت مخلد ، ما قالها

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(١) أبر عليهم غلبهم — لسان العرب —

فقال : ليس يجب : أن يقول الانسان فى كل شىء : نعم وكان الوجه : أن يستثنى ثم قال :

هجرت فى القول لا ، الا لعارضة   تكون أولى بلا فى اللفظ من نعم »

وهذه الشواهد تعرب عن منهج الكندى فى النقد الأدبى وهو مذهب فلسفى يقوم على العناية بسلامة المعنى من الوجهة المنطقية واستقامته فى نظر العقل

وفى كتاب « دلائل الاعجاز » لعبد القاهر الجرجانى[1] : فصل واعلم : أن مما أغمض الطريق إلى معرفة ما نحن بصدده : أن ههنا فروقاً خفية تجهلها العامة وكثير من الخاصة ، ليس انهم يجهلونها فى موضع ويعرفونها فى آخر ، بل لا يدرون انها هى ، ولا يعلمونها فى جملة ولا تفصيل

روى عن ابن الانبارى : أنه قال : ركب الكندى المتفلسف إلى أبى العباس[2] وقال له : إنى لأجد فى كلام العرب حشوا . فقال له أبو العبـاس : فى أى موضع وجدت ذلك ؟ فقال : أجد العرب يقولون : عبد الله قائم ، ثم يقولون : أن عبد الله قائم ، ثم يقولون : إن عبد الله لقائم والألفاظ متكررة والمعنى واحد

فقال أبو العباس : بل المعانى مختلفة لاختلاف الألفاظ فقولهم : عبد الله قائم ، اخبار عن قيامه ، وقولهم : ان عبد الله قائم ، جواب عن سؤال سائل ، وقولهم : ان عبد الله لقائم ، جواب عن انكار منكر قيامه ، فقد تكررت الألفاظ لتكرر المعانى . قال : فما أحار المتفلسف جواباً

وإذا كان الكندى يذهب هذا عليه حتى يركب فيه ركوب مستفهم أو معترض ، فما ظنك بالعامة ومن هو فى عداد العامة ممن لا يخطر شبه هذا بباله ؟

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(١) أبو بكر محمد توفى سنة ٣٢٨ هـ ص ٢٢٦ — ٢٢٧

(٢) بهامش الكتاب : هو أما ثعلب ، أو المبرد ، وكانا متعاصرين ومتفقين فى الكنية والظاهر : أن المقصود هو : أبو العباس أحمد بن يحيى بن زيد بن سيار النحوى المعروف بثعلب أمام الكوفيين فى النحو ، واللغة فى زمانه ، وعنه أخذ ابن الانبارى توفى سنة ٢٩١ أما أبو العباس محمد بن زيد المعروف بالمبرد المتوفى سنة ٢٨٥ فكان من أهل البصرة

واعلم : أن ههنا دقائق لو أن الكندى استقرى وتصفح وتتبع مواقع إن ثم ألطف النظر وأكثر التدبر لعلم علم ضرورة : أن ليس سواء دخولها وأن لا تدخل »

وقد نسبت إليه أشعار رواهـا ابن نباتة فى « سرح العيون شرح رسالة ابن زيدون » ورواها غيره ممن ترجموا له منها : قوله فى وصف قصيدة

تقصر عن مداها الريح جرياً وتعجز عن مواقعها السهام
تناهب حسنها حاد ، وشاد فحث بهـا المطايا والمدام

ومنها أيضاً :

أناف الذنابى على الأرؤس فغمض جفونك أو نكس[1]
فان الغنى وفى [فقير] غدا[2] وان التعـزز بالأنفس
وكائن نرى من أخى عسرة غنى وذى ثروة مفلس
وكم كاتم شخصه ميت[3] على انه بعد لم يرمس[4]

وظاهر من هذا الشعر : أن يعقوب الكندى لم يكن جديراً بأن يعد فى الشعراء ، ولم يكن أديباً يتصرف فى أفانين البيان بالأساليب البارعة

ويذكر بعض من ترجموا له : أنه كان يعاب بضعف بيانه

قال الشهرزورى فى كتاب « نزهة الأرواح » لشمس الدين الشهرزورى[5] :

« ذكر أبو سليمان السجزى : أنه اجتمع هو وجماعة من الحكماء عند الملك أبى جعفر بن بويه بسجستان فجرى حديث فلاسفة الاسلام ، فقال الملك : ما وجدنا فيهم على كثرتهم من يقوم فى أنفسنا مقام سقراط ، وأفلاطون وارسطاطاليس ، فقيل

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(١) بعد هذا البيت فى « طبقات الأطباء » وفى رواية الشهرزورى من كتاب نزهة الأرواح :
وضائل سوادك واقبض يديك وفى قعر بيتـك فاستجلس

(٢) الذى فى « نزهة الأرواح » وفى « طبقات الأطباء » : فان الغنى فى قلوب الرجال

(٣) الذى فى طبقات الأطباء : ومن قائم شخصه ميت

(٤) بعد هذا البيت فى طبقات الأطباء :
فان تطعم النفس ما تشتهى تقيـك جميع الذى تحتسى

(٥) نسخة مصورة بمكتبة الجامعة المصرية ص ١٧٥

له : ولا الكندى ، قال : ولا الكندى ، فان الكندى على غزارته ، وجودة استنباطه ، ردىء اللفظ ، قليل الحلاوة ، متوسط السيرة ، كثير الغارة على حكمة الفلاسفة ، « وثابت »[1] ألزم للقطب وأشد اعتسافاً بهذا الفن ، ثم جميع الناس يتفاوتون بعدهما ، ولهما السبق »

وأسلوب الكندى فى الترجمة لما يدرس بعد كما أشار إلى ذلك الأستاذ « مسنيون » فى كتابه « مجموع نصوص لم تنشر . متعلقة بتاريخ التصوف فى بلاد الاسلام » ص ١٧٥

ولما كان أكثر ما كتب الكندى قد عبثت به يد الضياع إلا بقايا توجد فى ترجمات لاتينية مثل رسالته فى العقل ، فان على الباحث فى أسلوب الكندى أن يكتفى بالنزر القليل الذى وصل إلينا من مؤلفاته بالعربية كرسالته فى كمية ملك العرب أو ما وصلنا من التراجم التى أصلحها الكندى مثل كتاب « أتولوجيا » الذى نقله إلى العربية « عبد المسيح » بن عبد الله بن ناعمة الحمصى ، وأصلحه لأحمد بن المعتصم بالله أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى

والذى يلاحظ فى أسلوب الكندى اعتماداً على هذه المصادر الضئيلة : أن فيه غموضاً يأتى بعضه من أن الألفاظ الاصطلاحية الفلسفية لم تكن استقرت فى نصابها وتحددت معانيها

ومن أمثلة ذلك : ما جاء فى كتاب « أتولوجيا » ص — ٢ — : « وإذ قد ثبت فى اتفاق أفاضل الفلاسفة : أن علل العالم القديمة البادية أربعة : وهى الهيولى ، والصورة ، والعلة الفاعلة ، والتمام ، » والذى سماه التمام هو الذى سمى فيما بعد العلة الغائية ، كما يؤخذ من سابق كلامه ولاحقه

ومن أمثلة ذلك أيضاً : استعماله فى كتاب « أتولوجيا » كلمة « مبسوط » بمعنى « بسيط » كما جاء فى صفحة — ١٦ — : قلنا « وما الذى يمنع النفس إذا كانت فى العالم الأعلى من أن تعلم الشىء المعلوم دفعة واحدة ، واحدا كان المعلوم أو كثيراً ، لا يمنعها

(١) هو أبو الحسن ثابت بن قره كانت ولادته فى سنة ٢٢١ احدى وعشرين ومائتين . وتوفى يوم الخميس السادس والعشرين من صفر سنة ٢٨٨ ثمان وثمانين ومائتين

شيء عن ذلك البتة لأنها مبسوطة ذات علم مبسوط فعلم الشيء الواحد مبسوطاً كان أو مركباً دفعة واحدة .

وقد يكون الغموض من عدم وضوح المعنى فى نفسه وقد أشار إلى ذلك الأستاذ « جلسن[1] » فى كلامه على نظرية العقل عند الكندى حسبما ورد فى رسالته فى العقل الموجودة باللاتينية حيث يقول : « المعانى ضعيفة كأن الكندى كان يكابد فى امتلاك ناصيتها عناء »

والواقع : أن الأصول التى كان يرجع الكندى إليها مترجمة كانت إلى العربية أو غيرها ، أو موجودة فى لغاتها الأصلية لم تكن تخلو من تحريف ، ومن غموض ، وكان طبيعياً : أن يجد الكندى عناء فى استخلاص معان منها مستقيمة فى نظر العقل منتظمة النسق

وكان جهد الكندى فى استخلاص هذه المعانى مجتمعاً إلى جهده فى إبرازها فى لغة لم تذلل للأبحاث العلمية ، يظهر فى أسلوب الكندى ، فيضعف من روعة بيانه حين يقاس بأساليب البلغاء من أدباء العربية فى ذلك العهد ، ويضعف من وضوح معانيه أيضاً ، مع ميل الكندى للأيجاز والاقتصار من الألفاظ على ما يضبط المعنى ، ويمثله فى الذهن مستقيما

والظاهر : أن الغموض كان غالباً على أساليب المشتغلين بالبحوث العلمية فى عصر الكندى لأسباب مختلفة يشير إلى بعضها الجاحظ فى كتاب « الحيوان[2] » إذ يقول :

« قلت لأبى الحسن الأخفش : أنت أعلم الناس بالنحو ، فلم لا تجعل كتبك مفهومة كلها ؟ وما بالنا نفهم بعضها ولا نفهم أكثرها ؟ وما بالك تقدم بعض العويص وتؤخر بعض المفهوم ؟ قال : أنا رجل لم أضع كتبى هذه لله ، وليست هى من كتب الدين ،

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(١) Gilson (Et.), *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen âge* (année 1929-30), Paris 1930 (vol. IV, p. 22-27).

(٢) ج — ١ — ص — ٤٥ — ٤٦

ولو وضعتها هــذا الموضع الذى تدعونى إليه قلت حاجتهم إلىّ فيها . وإنما كانت غايتى النالة ، فأنا أضع بعضها هذا الموضع المفهوم لتدعوهم حلاوة ما فهموا إلى التماس فهم ما لم يفهموا ، وإنما قد كسبت فى هذا التدبير إذ كنت إلى هذا التكسب ذهبت

ولكن ما بال إبراهيم النظام ، وفلان ، وفلان ، يكتبون الكتب لله بزعمهم ، ثم يأخذها مثلى فى موافقته وحسن نظره وشدة عنايته ولا يفهم أكثرها »

وما كان الكندى يلتمس بعلمه المنالة والكسب ، فقد كان غنياً بما ورث من آبائه ، وبما قد وصل إليه من بر الخلفاء

وكان يعيش مرفهاً يجمع فى داره ما يجمع أرباب الرفه من صنوف الحيوان العجيبة ، ذكر الجاحظ فى كتاب « الحيوان » : أنه كان فى منزل أبى يوسف بن إسحاق الكندى هران ذكران يلاحظ فيهما شذوذ

« وكان عند يعقوب بن الصباح الأشعثى هران ضخمان أحدهما يكوم الآخر متى أراده من غير إكراه ، ومن غير أن يكون المسفود يريد من السافد مثل ما يريد منه السافد[1] »

. . . . « وخبرنى صاحبنا هذا أن فى منزل أبى يوسف بن إسحاق الكندى هرين ذكرين عظيمين يكوم أحدهما الآخر ، وذلك كثيراً ما يكون ، وأن المنكوح لا يمانع الناكح ، ولا يلتمس منه مثل الذى يبذله[2] له »

وكانت له مكتبة زاخرة ، كما تدل عليه القصة التى نقلها ابن أبى أصيبعه[3] : قال : « كان محمد وأحمد ابنا موسى بن شاكر فى أيام المتوكل يكيدان كل من ذكر بالتقدم فى معرفة ، فأشخصا سند بن علىّ إلى مدينة السلام وباعداه عن المتوكل ، ودبرا على الكندى حتى ضربه المتوكل ووجها إلى داره ، فأخذا كتبه بأسرها وأفرداها فى خزانة سميت

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(١) جـ — ٣ — ص — ٥٧ —
(٢) جـ ٥ — ص ٩٧
(٣) جـ — ١ — ص — ٢٠٧ ، ٢٠٨ —

« الكندية » ومكن هذا لهما استهتار المتوكل بالآلات المتحركة ، وتقدم إليهما فى حفر النهر المعروف « بالجعفرى » فأسندا أمره إلى أحمد بن كثير الفرغانى الذى عمل المقياس الجديد بمصر ، وكانت معرفته أوفى من توفيقه لأنه ما تم له عمل قط ، فغلط فى فوهة النهر المعروف « بالجعفرى » وجعلها أخفض من سائره فصار ما يغمر الفوهة لا يغمر سائر النهر ، فدافع محمد ، وأحمد ، ابنا موسى فى أمره ، واقتضاهما المتوكل فسعى بهما إليه فيه ، فأنفذ مستحثاً فى إحضار سند بن على من مدينة السلام ، فوافى ، فلما تحقق محمد وأحمد ابنا موسى : أن سند بن على قد شخص أيقنا بالهلكة ، ويئسا من الحياة ، فدعا المتوكل بسند وقال له : ما ترك هذان الرديان شيئاً من سوء القول إلا وقد ذكراك عندى به ، وقد اتلفا جملة من مالى فى هذا النهر ، فأخرج إليه حتى تتأمله ، وتخبرنى بالغلط فيه ، فانى قد آليت على نفسى إن كان الأمر على ما وصف لى : أن أصلبهما على شاطئـه ، وكل هذا بعين محمد وأحمد ابنى موسى وسمعهما

فخرج وهما معه فقال محمد بن موسى لسند : يا أبا الطيب أن قدرة الحر تذهب حفيظته ، وقد فزعنا إليك فى أنفسنا التى هى أعلاقنا ، وما ننكر : إنا أسأنا ، والاعتراف يهدم الاقتراف ، فتخاصنا كيف شئت ، قال لهما : والله أنكما لتعلمان ما بينى وبين الكندى من العداوة والمباعدة ولكن الحق أولى ما اتبع ، أكان من الجميل : ما أتيتماه إليه من أخذ كتبه ؟ والله لا ذكرتكما بصالحة حتى تردا عليه كتبه ، فتقدم محمد بن موسى فى الكتب إليه ، وأخذ خطه باستيفائها ، فوردت رقعة الكندى بتسلمها عن آخرها فقال : قد وجب لكما علىّ ذمام برد كتب هذا الرجل ولكما ذمام بالمعرفة التى لم ترعياها فىّ ، والخطأ فى هذا النهر يستتر أربعة أشهر بزيادة دجلة ، وقد أجمع الحساب على أن أمير المؤمنين لا يبلغ هذا المدى ، وأنا أخبره هذه الساعة : أنه لم يقع منكما خطأ فى هذا النهر إبقاء على أرواحكما ، فان صدق المنجمون ، أفلتنا الثلاثة ، وإن كذبوا ، وجازت مدته حتى تنقص دجلة وتنضب أوقع بنا ثلاثتنا

فشكر محمد وأحمد هذا القول منه واسترقهما به ، ودخل على المتوكل فقال له : ما

غلطا ، وزادت دجلة وجرى الماء فى النهر فاستتر حاله ، وقتل المتوكل بعد شهرين ، وسلم محمد وأحمد بعد شدة الخوف مما توقعا »

كان الكندى يعيش فى بغداد فى رخاء فى دار تحوى من الكتب ما احتاج ابنا موسى بن شاكر أن يفرداه فى خزانة سميت « الكندية » لكثرة تلك الكتب ونفاستها وبنو موسى بن شاكر هم كما يقول صاحب الفهرست(١) :

« وهؤلاء القوم ممن تناهى فى طلب العلوم القديمة وبذل فيها الرغائب ، واتعبوا فيها نفوسهم ، وأنفذوا إلى بلاد الروم من أخرجها إليهم ، فأحضروا النقلة من الأصقاع والأماكن بالبذل السنى فأظهروا عجائب الحكمة »

فهم كانوا ممن يجمع الكتب ويعرف أقدارها ، واهتمامهم بأمر مكتبة الكندى دليل على عظم شأنها

وكان فى دار الكندى أسباب للنعيم المادى إلى جانب أسباب المتاع العقلى كما يشهد له ما نقلناه عن كتاب « الحيوان »

وكان للكندى ضيعة بالبصرة كما أشرنا إليه آنفاً وكانت له ببغداد دور يستغلها بالأجر كما يؤخذ من كتاب « البخلاء » للجاحظ

وكان الكندى بعد أن ترك الاشتغال بفنون الأدب ، وترك علم الكلام ، وانصرف بكليته إلى علوم الفلسفة وما إليها يعيش عيشة عزلة وانكباب على الدرس ، يدل على ذلك ما روى من شعره الذى أسلفناه

نبغ الكندى فى علوم الحكمة ، وصار كما يقول الأستاذ « مسنيون(٢) » : (أمام أول مذهب فلسفى إسلامى فى بغداد ، وله إبحاث طريفة ، ثم إليه يرجع الفضل بعد ذلك فى تحرير جملة من التراجم العربية لمصنفات يونانية فى الفلسفة)

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(١) ص ٢٧١

(٢) Massignon (Louis), *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la Mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929.

ويدل عدد ما نسبه المترجمون له من الكتب فى الموضوعات المختلفة على سعة معارفه ، وكثرة اطلاعه

وقد جعل ابن النديم فى كتاب « الفهرست[١] » كتب الكندى سبعة عشر نوعاً :

(١ — كتبه الفلسفية ٢ — كتبه المنطقية ٣ — كتبه الحسابيات ٤ — كتبه الكريات ٥ — كتبه الموسيقيات ٦ — كتبه النجوميات ٧ — كتبه الهندسيات ٨ — كتبه الفلكيات ٩ — كتبه الطبيات ١٠ — كتبه الأحكاميات ١١ — كتبه الجدليات ١٢ — كتبه النفسيات ١٣ — كتبه السياسيات ١٤ — كتبه الاحداثيات ١٥ — كتبه الابعاديات ١٦ — كتبه التقدميات ١٧ — كتبه الأنواعيات)

وقد يقع فى تعديد كتب الكندى خلاف بين المؤرخين بالزيادة والنقص ، ولكنهم متفقون على أن له فى أكثر العلوم مؤلفات من المصنفات الطوال ، والرسائل القصار كان : فاضل دهره وواحد عصره فى معرفة العلوم القديمة بأسرها ، ويسمى فيلسوف العرب[٢]

وفى « طبقات الأمم » لصاعد[٣] : ولم يكن فى الاسلام من اشتهر عند الناس بعلوم الفلسفة حتى سموه فيلسوفا غير يعقوب

وفى كتاب « أخبار[٤] الحكماء » : « يعقوب بن إسحاق . . . . . . أبو يوسف الكندى المشتهر فى الملة الاسلامية بالتبحر فى فنون الحكمة اليونانية ، والفارسية ، والهندية ، متخصص بأحكام النجوم ، وأحكام سائر العلوم فيلسوف العرب وأحد أبناء ملوكها »

وقد ذكر مثل ذلك صاحب « طبقات الأطباء[٥] » وزاد : أن له مصنفات جليلة ورسائل كثيرة جداً فى جميع العلوم

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(١) ص ٢٥٥
(٢) الفهرست ص ٢٥٥
(٣) ص — ٥٢ —
(٤) ص — ٢٤٠ —
(٥) ج — ١ — ص — ٢٠٦ ، ٢٠٧ —

أما ابن نباتة المصرى فيقول فى شرحه لرسالة ابن زيدون[١] : (الكندى هو يعقوب بن الصباح المسمى فى وقته « فيلسوف الاسلام » من ولد الأشعث بن قيس ، كان أبوه ابن الصباح من ولاة الأعمال فى الكوفة وغيرها فى أيام المهدى ، والرشيد ، وانتقل يعقوب إلى بغـداد واشتغل بعلم الأدب ، ثم بعلوم الفلسفة جميعها ، فأتقنها وحل مشكلات كتب الأوائل ، وحذا حذو أرسطاطاليس وصنف الكتب الجليلة الجمة ، وكثرت فوائده ، وتلامذته ، وكانت دولة المعتصم تجمل به وبمصنفاته ، وهى كثيرة جداً)

والكندى هو بلا ريب أول مسلم عربى اشتغل بالفلسفة التى كانت إلى عهـده وقفاً على غير المسلم العربى ، وكان معاصرا لأبى الحسن ثابت بن قرة الحرانى الصابئ و « قسطا » بن لوقا البعلبكى المسيحى ، وكانوا ثلاثتهم أعلاماً فى مملكة الاسلام بعلم الفلسفة فى وقتهم ، كما ذكر ذلك صاعد فى كتاب « طبقات الأمم » : « وكان ذلك جديراً بأن يثير على الكندى أحقاداً من كل نوع ، فمنها : حسد منافسين كعداوة إبنى موسى بن شاكر ، ومنها : إنكار متشددين فى دينهم كما رأينا فى شعر الناشى ، ومن أمثلة ذلك : ما ذكره صاحب « الفهرست » عند الكلام على أبى معشر المنجم قال : « وكان أولاً من أصحاب الحديث ، ومنزله فى الجانب الغربى بباب خراسان ، وكان يضاغن الكندى ، ويغرى به العـامة ، ويشنع عليه بعلوم الفلاسفة ، فدس عليه الكندى من حسن له النظر فى علوم الحساب ، والهندسة ، فدخل فيه فلم يكمل له ، فعدل إلى علم أحكام النجوم ، وانقطع شره عن الكندى بنظره فى هذا العلم ، لأنه من جنس علوم الكندى »

ويظهر : أن نوع الحياة التى كان يحياها الكندى الفيلسوف بحكم ما فيها من عزلة وانقطاع عن مجامع الأدباء والعلماء ، واتصال بالمترجمين ، والفلاسفة ، وهم غير مسلمين

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(١) ص — ١٢٣ — .

ولا عرب ، لم يكن من شأن ذلك أن يجعل الكندى خفيفاً على أرواح من يرون فى الحياة غير ما يرى

ولعل هذا هو السر فى أن عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ جعل من الكندى فى كتابه البخلاء موضوع أسمار وفكاهات[1]

فالكندى عند الجاحظ مثل فى البخل (لا يزال يقول للساكن وربما قال للجار : أن فى الدار إمرأة بها حمل ، والوحمى ربما اسقطت من ريح القدر الطيبة ، فاذا طبختم فردوا شهوتها ولو بغرفة أو لعقة ، فان النفس يردها اليسير فان لم تفعل ذلك بعد إعلامى إياك فكفارتك أن اسقطت غرة عبد ، أو أمة ، ألزمت نفسك ذلك أم أبيت قال : فكان ربما يوافى إلى منزله من قصاع السكان والجيران ما يكفيه الأيام ، وإن كان أكثرهم يفطن ويتغافل

وكان الكندى يقول لعياله : أنتم أحسن حالاً من أرباب هذه الضياع ، إنما لكل بيت منهم لون واحد وعندكم ألوان

وكان الكندى يشترط على السكان : « أن يكون له روث الدابة وبعر الشاه ، ونشوار العلوفة ، وأن لا يخرجوا عظماً ، ولا يخرجوا كساحة ، وأن يكون له نوى التمر ، وقشور الرمان ، والغرفة من كل قدر تطبخ للحبلى فى بيته ، وكان فى ذلك يتنزل عليهم فكانوا لطيبه ، وإفراط بخله ، وحسن حديثه ، يحتملون ذلك »

وافتن الجاحظ فى خياله فأنشأ على لسان الكندى احتجاجات يساجل بها الساكنين عنده تبريراً لشح نفسه ، وطمعه فى النزر القليل ، وأسلوب الجاحظ نفسه ظاهر كل الظهور فى تلك الاحتجاجات ، على ما فيها من تكلف الجدل الفلسفى

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(١) الكندى الذى يذكر فى كتاب « البخلاء » هو أبو يوسف يعقوب بن اسحاق وان لم يصرح بذلك الجاحظ الذى يذكر الفيلسوف فى كتاب « الحيوان » باسم يعقوب بن الصباح الأشعثى تارة ، وباسم أبى يوسف بن اسحاق الكندى تارة أخرى ، ولشهد لذلك وصف الكندى الفيلسوف بالبخل عند من جاء بعد الجاحظ من المؤلفين كابن النديم

على أن الجاحظ فى تشنيعه على الكندى تند منه كلمات تشعر بإقراره بعقل الرجل وعلمه ، وأنه ينقم منه الشح بالطعام ، وترويج ذلك الشح

فهو يقول فى مقدمة كتابه : « . . . وذكرت ملح الحزامى واحتجاج الكندى ، ورسالة سهل بن هارون ، وكلام ابن غزوان . وخطبة الحارثى . . . ولم احتجوا مع شدة عقولهم بما أجمعت الأمة على تقبيحه ، ولم فخروا مع اتساع معرفتهم بما أطبقوا على تهجينه : — ولم سخت نفس أحدهم بالكثير من التبر وشحت بالقليل من الطعم ، وقد يعلم : أن الذى منعه يسير فى جنب ما بذله ، وأنه لو شاء أن يحصل بالقليل مما جاد به أضعاف ما بخل كان ذلك عتيداً ويسيراً موجوداً[1] »

ويروى الجاحظ فى بخل الكندى القصة الآتية :

« وحدثنى عمرو بن نهيوى قال : تغديت يوماً عند الكندى فدخل عليه رجل كان له جاراً ، وكان لى صديقاً فلم يعرض عليه الطعام ونحن نأكل ، وكان أبخل من خلق الله ، قال : فاستحييت منه فقلت : سبحان الله لو دنوت فأصبت معنا مما نأكل ، قال : قد والله فعلت ، فقال الكندى : ما بعد الله شىء قال عمرو فكتفه والله كتفا لا يستطيع معه قبضاً ولا بسطا ، وتركه ولو مد يده لكان كافراً ، ولكان قد جعل مع الله جل ذكره شيئاً[2] »

كان الكندى رجلاً منصرفاً إلى جد الحياة ، عاكفاً على الحكمة ينظر فيها إلتماساً لكمال نفسه ويقوم بأول محاولة لتوطيئها ومدافعة ما يعوق قومه عن الاقبال عليها من العصبية الجنسية ، والعصبية الدينية وقد يكون ذهابه إلى أن يونان بنو عمومة للعرب من وسائله لتهدئة ثائرة العرب على علوم العجم ، كما كانت له وسائل للتوفيق بين الدين والعلوم الحكمية مدافعة لنفرة المسلمين من هذه العلوم

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(١) البخلاء ص — ١ ، ٢ ، ٣ —

(٢) البخلاء ص — ٦٥ —

ويقول ظهير الدين البيهقى فى كتابه « تاريخ[١] الحكماء » : « وقد جمع فى بعض تصانيفه بين أصول الشرع وأصول المعقولات »

كان الكندى هادئاً فى حياته أخذا بأسباب الاقتصاد والنظام وسياسة النفس ومجاهدة شهواتها ومن حكمه المأثورة : « اعص الهوى ، وأطع ما شئت » ، « لا تجو مما تكرهه حتى تمتنع عن كثير مما تحب وتريد » ، « ان النظر فى كتب الحكمة اعتياد النفوس الناطقة » البيهقى

وروى له الشهرزورى[٢] : « من ملك نفسه ملك المملكة العظمى ، واستغنى عن المؤن ، ومن كان كذلك ارتفع عنه الذم ، وحمده كل واحد ، وطاب عيشه » ، « ولو أفسد أحد أحسن أعضائه كان مذموماً ، وأشرف الأعضاء الدماغ ومنه الحس والحركة ، وسائر الأفعال الشريفة ، ومستعملو السكر يدخلون الفساد على أدمغتهم ، ومتى توالى السكر على بدن مرض دماغه واشتد ضعفه ، وبعد عن القوة الممدة للأفعال الارادية والنفسانية »

وما كان ذلك ليعجب الجاحظ الضاحك الساخر العايش عيشة الأدباء من غير نظام ، ولا حدود ، ولا اقتصاد

وتمثل حياة الجاحظ حكاية يحكيها عن نفسه فى كتاب البخلاء فيقول : « صحبنى محفوظ النقاش من مسجد الجامع ليلا فلما صرت قرب منزله وكان منزله أقرب إلى مسجد الجامع من منزلى سألنى أن أبيت عنده ، وقال أين تذهب فى هذا المطر والبرد ؟ ومنزلى منزلك ، وأنت فى ظلمة ، وليس معك نار وعندى لبأ لم ير الناس مثله ، وتمر ناهيك به جودة ، لا تصلح إلا له ، فملت معه فأبطأ ساعة ثم جاءنى بجام لبأ ، وطبق تمر ، فلما مددت قال : يا أبا عثمان إنه لبأ وغلظه وهو الليل وركوده ، ثم ليلة مطر ورطوبة ، وأنت رجل قد طعنت فى السن ولم تزل تشكو من الفالج طرفاً ، وما زال

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(١) ص ١٨

(٢) نزهة الأرواح ص ١٧٥

الغليل يسرع إليك ، وأنت فى الأصل لست بصاحب عشاء ، فان أكلت اللبأ ولم تبالغ كنت لا آكلا ولا تاركا ، وحرشت طباعك ثم قطعت الأكل أشهى ما كان إليك ، وإن بالغت بتنا فى ليلة سوء من الاهتمام بأمرك ، ولم نعد لك نبيذاً ولا عسلاً ، وإنما قلت هذا الكلام لئلا تقول غدا : كان وكان ، والله قد وقعت بين نابى أسد ، لأنى لو لم أجئك به وقد ذكرته لك قلت : بخل به وبدا له فيه ، وإن جئت به ولم أحذرك منه ، ولم أذكرك كل ما عليك فيه ، قلت : لم يشفق علىّ ، ولم ينصح ، فقد برئت إليك من الأمرين جميعاً وإن شئت فأكلة وموت ، وإن شئت فبعض الاحتمال ونوم على سلامة

فما ضحكت قط كضحكى تلك الليلة ، ولقد أكلته جميعاً فما هضمه إلا الضحك والنشاط والسرور فيما أظن ، ولو كان معى من يفهم طيب ما تكلم به لأتى علىّ الضحك أو لقضى علىّ ولكن ضحك من كان وحده لا يكون على شطر مشاركة الأصحاب[(١)]

لا جرم كان الجاحظ يسخر من الكندى ويشنع عليه لبعد ما بين طباعيهما ، وبعد ما بين سبلهما فى الحياة

وكان الجاحظ بصرياً وكان الكندى كوفياً ، وبين أهل البلدين عداوة ، وتنافس ، والجاحظ معتزلى ، ولم يكن يسلم من لدغاته إلا من تحرم بحرمة الكلام

وفى كتاب الحيوان[(٢)] : « وسمع رجل ممن قد نظر بعض النظر تصويب العلماء لبعض الشكاك باجراء ذلك فى جميع الأمور حتى زعم : أن الأمور كلها يعرف حقها من باطلها بالأغلب وقد مات ولم يخلف عقباً واحداً يدين بدينه ، فلو ذكرت إسمه مع هذه الحال لم أكن أسأت ، ولكنى على كل حال أكره التنويه بذكر من تحرم بحرمة الكلام ، وشارك المتكلمين فى أسماء الصناعة ، ولا سيما إذا كان ممن ينتحل تقديم الاستطاعة »

والكندى لم يكن ممن تحرم بحرمة الكلام ، بل هو قد ألم به فى أول أمره مسايرة لحكم الوقت ثم انصرف عنه إلى الفلسفة

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(١) ص — ١٠٣ ، ١٠٤ —

(٢) ج ٦ ص ١١

ولم يكن الكندى ممن يخافهم الجاحظ عند ما كتب كتاب البخلاء

يقول الجاحظ فى مقدمة الكتاب : « وقد كتبنا لك أحاديث كثيرة غير مضافة إلى أربابها ، إما بالخوف منهم وإما بالاكرام لهم »

ويظهر : أن الجاحظ ألف كتاب « البخلاء » فى أخريات حياته بالبصرة وهو مريض ما بين سنتى ٢٥٤ ، ٢٥٥ كما استنتجه Van Vloten فى مقدمته لطبعة ليدن ، وقد توفى الكندى قبل ذلك التاريخ كما سيأتى تحقيقه .

ولم يكتف الجاحظ باشاعته حديث البخل مكبراً عن الكندى فى كتابه « البخلاء » بل ألف رسالة فى فرط جهل الكندى

ولعل تشنيع الجاحظ هو أساس لكل ما تناقل الرواة من بعده

فابن النديم صاحب الفهرست يقول عن الكندى : « وكان بخيلا »

ويقول ابن نباتة فى سرح العيون : « ومن نوادره وكلامه فى البخل : كان يقول : أنك تقول للسائل : لا ورأسك إلى فوق ، ومن ذل العطاء : أنك تقول : نعم وأنت رأسك إلى أسفل . وكان يقول : سماع الغناء برسام حاد لأن الانسان يسمع فيطرب فينفق فيسرف فيفتقر فيغتم فيعتل فيموت . . . .

ومن وصيته لولده : « يا بنى كن مع الناس كلاعب الشطرنج تحفظ شيئك وتأخذ من شيئهم ، فان مالك إذا خرج عن يدك لم يعد إليك ، واعلم : أن الدينار محموم فاذا صرفته مات ، واعلم : أنه ليس شىء أسرع فناء من الدينار إذا كسر والقرطاس إذا نشر ، ومثل الدرهم كمثل الطير الذى هو لك ما دام فى يدك فاذا ند عنك صار لغيرك ، وقال المتلمس :

قليل المال تصلحه فيبقى ولا يبقى الكثير مع الفساد
لحفظ المال خير من فناه وسير فى البلاد بغير زاد

وأعرف هنا بيتا بيت أكثر من مائة ألف فى المساجد ، وهو قول القائل :

فسر فى بلاد الله والتمس الغنى تعش ذا يسار أو تموت فتعذرا

فاحذر يا بنى أن تلحق بهم »

أما ابن أبى أصيبعة فيروى ما نصه[1] :

« ومن كلامه مما أوصى به لولده أبى العباس نقلت ذلك من كتاب « المقدمات » لابن بختويه ، قال الكندى : يا بنى الأب رب ، والأخ فخ ، والعم غم ، والخال وبال ، والولد كمد ، والأقارب عقارب ، وقول : لا ، يصرف البلا ، وقول : نعم ، يزيل النعم ، وجماع الغناء برسام حاد ، لأن الانسان يسمع فيطرب ، وينفق فيسرف ، فيفتقر فيغتم ، فيعتل فيموت ، والدينار محموم فان صرفته مات ، والدينار محبوس فان أخرجته فر ، والناس سخرة فخذ شيئهم واحفظ شيئك ، ولا تقبل ممن قال اليمين الفاجرة فانها تدع الديار بلاقع

أقول : وإن كانت هذه من وصية الكندى ، فقد صدق ما حكاه عنه ابن النديم البغدادى فى كتابه ، فانه قال : أن الكندى كان بخيلا »

ولا يكتفى ابن نباتة بما نسبه من الوصايا السخيفة للكندى ، بل هو يجعل فيلسوف الاسلام رجلاً أحمق متكلفاً سخيفاً ، فهو يروى فى كتابه :

« وقال يوماً لجارية كان يهواها : إنى أرى فرط الاعتياصات من المتوقعات على طالبى المودات مؤذنات بعدم المعقولات فنظرت إليه وكان ذا لحية طويلة فقالت : أن اللحى المسترخيات على صدور أهل الركاكات محتاجة إلى المواسى الحالقات »

هكذ يبلغ العبث بالتاريخ حداً يشوه من خلق الكندى ، ومن عقله ، وقد كان الرجل فى خلقه ، وفى عقله من أعظم ما عرف البشر يقول « ده بوير » فى دائرة المعارف الاسلامية عند ترجمته للكندى : أن « كوردان » Curdan وهو فيلسوف من فلاسفة النهضة La Renaissance يعد الكندى واحداً من إثنى عشر هم أنفذ الناس عقلا . وأنه كان فى القرون الوسطى يعتبر واحداً من ثمانية هم أئمة العلوم الفلكية

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[1] طبقات الأطباء جـ — ١ — ص — ٢٠٩ —

وذكر المسعودى فى « مروج الذهب[١] » شيئاً من آراء الكندى فى تأثر العالم بالأشخاص العلوية :

« وقد قال يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى فى بعض رسائله فى أفعال الأشخاص العلوية والاجرام السماوية فى هذا العالم : أن جميع ما خلق الله صير بعضه لبعض عللا ، فالعلة تفعل فى معلولها آثار ما هى لديه علة ، وليس يؤثر المفعول المعلول فى علته الفاعله

والنفس علة الفلك لا معلولة له ، فليس يؤثر الفلك فيها أثراً ، إلا أن من طباع النفس : أن تتبع مزاج البدن إذا لم تجد شيئاً ، كما هو موجود فى الزنجى الذى حمى موضعه فأثرت فيه الأشخاص الفلكية ، جذبت الرطوبات إلى أعاليه ، فأجحظت عينيه ، وأهدلت شفتيه ، وأفطست أنفه وعظمته ، وأشالت رأسه بكثرة جذب الرطوبات إلى أعالى بدنه ، فخالف بذلك مزاج دماغه عن الاعتدال ، فلم تقدر نفسه على إظهار فعلها فيه بكمال ففسد تمييزه ، وأخرجت الأفعال العقلية منه »

ولئن كان الكندى قد اشتغل بالتنجيم القائم على ربط الحوادث الأرضية بحركات النجوم ، وعوارض الأفلاك ، ومطالع الكواكب وألف الكتب التى كان لها يومئذ شأن عظيم ، فانه اشتغل أيضاً بالأبحاث الفلكية العلمية ، وظهر تميزه فى هذه الأبحاث لعهده وبعد عهده ، واقتبس من مذاهب الهنود مالم يكن مقتبساً فى فنون العرب الفلكية من قبله ، وكانت له آراء طريفة بناها على أرصاده وحسابه بنفسه

وأسعده فى ذلك تبحره فى الرياضيات ، والهندسيات

والشهرزورى يجعل الوصف الأول للكندى : كونه مهندساً وكذلك يفعل البيهقى ، فهما يقولان :

« يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى كان مهندساً ، خائضاً غمرات العلم »

وكان كما يقول « ده بوير » مولعاً بتطبيق الرياضيات لا فى العلم الطبيعى وحده ،

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[١] طبعة باريس ج ١ ص ١٦٤

بل فى الطب أيضاً ، فهو مثلا يفسر عمل الأدوية المركبة بالتناسب الهندسى الحادث من مزاج صفاتها الحسية ، أى الحرارة ، والبرودة ، واليبوسة ، والرطوبة .

وجاء فى كتاب «الفهرست[١]» مما يدل على غرام الكندى بتطبيق الرياضيات : «وقال الكندى : القلم على وزن نفاع ، لأن الفاء ثمانون والنون خمسون ، والألف واحد ، والعين سبعون ، ذلك مائتان وواحد ، والقلم ، الألف واحد ، واللام ثلاثون ، والقاف مائة واللام ثلاثون والميم أربعون ، فذلك مائتان وواحد»

وقد يدل على هذه النزعة إلى تطبيق الرياضيات على الطب والعلاج : ما يرويه المترجمون للكندى : من أنه كان يجعل من اللحون الموسيقية طبـاً لبعض الأمراض ، وعلم الموسيقى كان يؤمئذ معتبراً فرعاً من فروع العلوم الرياضية ، وكان الكندى عالماً بالموسيقى وبالطب ، وله فيهما مؤلفات

روى صاحب كتاب «أخبار الحكماء[٢]» : وقد ذكروا من عجيب ما يحكى عن يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى هذا : أنه كان فى جواره رجل من كبار التجار ، موسع عليه فى تجارته ، وكان له ابن قد كفاه أمر بيعه وشرائه ، وضبط دخله وخرجه ، وكان ذلك التاجر كثير الازراء على الكندى ، والطعن عليه ، مدمنا لتعكيره والاغراء به فعرض لابنه سكتة بجأة ، فورد عليه من ذلك ما أذهله ، وبقى لا يدرى ما الذى فى أيدى الناس ، وما لهم عليه ، مع ما دخله من الجزع على ابنه ، فلم يدع بمدينة السلام طبيباً إلا ركب إليه ، واستركبه لينظر ابنه ويشير عليه من أمره بعلاج ، فلم يجبه كثير من الأطباء لكبر العلة ، وخطرها إلى الحضور معه ، ومن أجابه منهم فلم يجد عنده كبير غناء فقيل له : أنت فى جوار فيلسوف زمانه ، وأعلم الناس بعلاج هذه العلة ، فلو قصدته لوجدت عنده ما تحب فدعته الضرورة إلى أن يحمل على الكندى بأحد إخوانه ، فثقل عليه فى الحضور ، فأجاب ، وصار إلى منزل التاجر ، فلما رأى ابنه وأخذ مجسه أمر بأن

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(١) ص ١٠

(٢) ص — ٢٤٦ ، ٢٤٧ —

يحضر إليه من تلامذته فى علم الموسيقى من قد أنعم الحذق بضرب العود ، وعرف الطرائق المحزنة ، والمزعجة ، والمقوية للقلوب والنفوس ، فحضر إليه منهم أربعة نفر ؛ فأمرهم أن يديموا الضرب عند رأسه وأن يأخذوا فى طريقة أوقفهم عليها ، وأراهم مواقع النغم بها من أصابعهم على الدساتين ! ونقلها ! فلم يزالوا يضربون فى تلك الطريقة والكندى أخذ مجس الغلام وهو فى خلال ذلك يمتد نفسه ، ويقوى نبضه ، ويراجع إليه نفسه شيئاً بعد شىء إلى أن تحرك ثم جلس وتكلم ، وأولئك يضربون فى تلك الطريقة دائماً لا يفترون ، فقال الكندى لأبيه : سل ابنك عن علم ما تحتاج إلى علمه مما لك وعليك واثبته ، فجعل الرجل يسأله وهو يخبره ، ويكتب شيئاً بعد شىء ، فلما أتى على جميع ما يحتاج إليه غفل الضاربون عن تلك الطريقة التى كانوا يضربونها ، وفتروا ، فعاد الصبى إلى الحال الأولى وغشيه السكات ، فسأله أبوه : أن يأمرهم بمعاودة ما كانوا يضربون به ، فقال : هيهات إنما كانت صبابة قد بقيت من حياته ، ولا يمكن فيها ما جرى ، ولا سبيل لى ولا لأحد من البشر إلى الزيادة فى مدة من قد انقطعت مدته ، إذ قد استوفى العطية والقسم الذى قسم الله له »

عنى الكندى بالكيمياء فيما عنى به من العلوم ، ووضع فيها مصنفات وذكر فى بعض رسائله ، تعذر فعل الناس لما انفردت الطبيعة بفعله وخدع أهل هذه الصناعة وجهلهم ، وأبطل دعوى الذين يدعون صنعة الذهب والفضة ، وترجم الكندى هذه الرسالة : « بابطال دعوى المدعين صنعة الذهب والفضة من غير معادنها » وقد نقض هذه الرسالة على الكندى « أبو بكر محمد بن زكريا الرازى ».

وقد ذكر « أبو القاسم صاعد » فى كتابه « طبقات الأمم[1] » عن الكندى عند ذكر تصانيفه : أنه كان مع تبحره فى العلم يأتى بما يصنفه مقصراً ، فيذكر مرة حججاً غير قطعية ، ويأتى مرة بأقاويل خطابية وأقاويل شعرية ، وأهمل صناعة التحليل التى لا تحرر قواعد

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(١) ص — ٥٢ —

المنطق إلا بها ، وأن يكن جهلها فهو نقص عظيم ، وإن يكن ضن بها فليس ذلك من شيم العلماء ، وأما صناعة التركيب التى قصدها فى تواليفه فلا ينتفع بها إلا المنتهى الذى هو فى غنى عنها بتبحره فى هذا النوع »

قال ابن أبى أصيبعة فى « طبقات الأطباء[1] » : أقول هـذا الذى قاله القاضى « صاعد » عن الكندى ، فيه تحامل كثير عليه ، وليس ذلك مما يحط من علم الكندى ، ولا مما يصد الناس عن النظر فى كتبه والانتفاع بها »

ورأى « ابن أبى أصيبعة » فى الكندى وتآليفه يبينه بقوله : « وترجم من كتب الفلسفة الكثير ، وأوضح منها المشكل ، ولخص المستصعب ، وبسط العويص » ويقول القفطى فى الكندى مثل ذلك

ولسنا ندرى ، كيف يقولون : أن الكندى أهمل صناعة التحليل فى المنطق ؟ ، مع أنا نجد فى أسماء كتبه تفسيرات ، وشروحاً ، على « أنولوطيقا » — البرهان — وعلى « أنولوطيقا » — تحليل القياس — ولم يترك الكندى قسما من أقسام المنطق لم يعرض له بالشرح والبيان ، وبالاختصار أحياناً ، فلعل تلك الكتب لم يتصل إلى بالقاضى « صاعد » علمها ، فكتب ما كتب ، ويؤيد ذلك : أن « صاعدا » ذكر : أن عدد كتب الكندى نحو خمسين ، على حين يبلغ بها غيره ١٥٠ ، بل قيل : هى ٢٦٥ كتاباً

والكندى صاحب مؤلفات فى « الجغرافيا » فقدت فيما ضاع من كتبه لكنها كانت مرجعاً لمن جاء بعده من المؤلفين ، وكانت تظهر فيها آثار اطلاعه الواسع وفكره العميق ، ونجد فى كتب المسعودى نماذج منها

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فما أسلفنا دليل على أن أحاطة الكندى بكل أنواع المعارف التى كانت لعهده على اختلافها أحاطة تدل على سعة مداركه ، وقوة عقله ، وعظم جهوده . وقد ألف فى كل

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(1) ج — ١ — ص — ٢٠٨ —

تلك العلوم كتباً ورسائل يشهد ما عرف منها ، وما تنوقل من مقتطفاتها بما للكندى من استقلال فى البحث ، ونظر ممتاز

وإذا كنا لا نعرف للكندى مصنفات فى العلوم الدينية فان فى بعض مؤلفاته آثاراً من معرفته بعلوم الدين بل هو قد عالج مسائل علم الكلام وكتب فيها

أما شأنه فى الفلسفة فهو أهم شؤونه ، ومظهر عبقريته ، ومناط الخلود لاسمه فى ثنايا التاريخ

والكندى يقول عن الفلسفة فيما روى عنه ابن نباتة المصرى :

« (علوم الفلسفة) ثلاثة : فأولها العلم الرياضى فى التعليم وهو أوسطها فى الطبع

والثانى — علم الطبيعيات وهو أسفلها فى الطبع

والثالث — علم الربوبية وهو أعلاها فى الطبع

وإنما كانت العلوم ثلاثة ، لأن المعلومات ثلاثة : أما علم ما يقع عليه الحس وهو ذوات الهيولى ، وأما علم ما ليس لذى هيولى أما أن يكون لا يتصل بالهيولى البتة وأما أن يكون قد يتصل بها

فأما ذات الهيولى فهو المحسوسات ، وعلمها هو العلم الطبيعى وأما أن يتصل بالهيولى ، فان له انفراداً بذاته كعلم الرياضيات التى هى : العدد ، والهندسة والتنجيم ، والتأليف . وأما لا يتصل بالهيولي ألبتة ، وهو : علم الربوبية[١]

وقد كان هذا المنحى فى فهم معنى الفلسفة وتقسيمها باعتبار الموضوع توجيها للفلسفة الاسلامية منذ نشأتها

والكندى هو الذى وجه الفلسفة الاسلامية وجهة الجمع بين أفلاطون وأرسطو ، وهو الذى وجهها فى سبيل التوفيق بين الفلسفة والدين

وليس فيما بين أيدينا من آثار الكندى ما يمكننا من استخلاص مذهبه الفلسفى نسقا كاملا

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(١) سرح العيون ص — ١٢٥ —

ويقول بعض مترجميه كابن نباتة : أنه حذا حذو أرسطو . ويقول « ابن أبى أصيبعة » : احتذى فى تآليفه حذو أرسطوطاليس

ويورد له الشهرزورى أقوالاً كلها بسط لآراء أفلاطون منها : « أما أفلاطن فانه قال : أن مسكن الأنفس العقلية إذا تجردت كما قالت الفلاسفة القدماء خلف الفلك فى عالم الربوبية حيث نور البارى وليس كل نفس تفارق البدن تصير من ساعتها إلى ذلك المحل ، لأن فى الأنفس ما يفارق البدن وفيها دنس وأشياء حسنة ، فمنها : ما يصير إلى فلك عطارد فيقيم فيه مدة ، فاذا تهذبت ونفت ارتقت إلى عالم العقل وجازت الكل فصارت فى أجل محل لا تخفى عليها خافية وواصلت نور البارى تعالى وصارت تفكر فى الأشياء قليلها وكثيرها كعلم الواحد بأصبعه الواحده وصارت الأشياء كلها لها مكشوفة وبارزة فحينئذ يفوض البارى إليها من سياسة العالم أشياء تلتذ بها وبعقلها والتدبير لها »

ولعل الشهرزورى يشير بذلك إلى أيثار الكندى لأفلاطون

والأشبه أن يكون الكندى قد بنى مذهبه على ما صح فى نظره من الآراء المختلفة من غير تقيد بما نسب لأفلاطون ولا بما نسب لأرسطو بيد أنه كان بلا شك يراهما أمامى هذا الشأن ، فهو كما يقول « ده بوير » « بحق ، كان من أهل الترجيح والتخير وقد سار على نهجه أكثر من بعده من فلاسفة الاسلام

الكندى هو « فيلسوف العرب » كما فى كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » وكتاب « طبقات الأطباء » ولم يكن فى الاسلام من اشتهر عند الناس بمعاناة علوم الفلسفة حتى سموه فيلسوفا غير يعقوب هذا » وفى الفهرست : « وسمى فيلسوف العرب »

ويقول ابن نباتة : « الكندى هو يعقوب بن الصباح المسمى فى وقته فيلسوف الاسلام »

والكندى كان جديراً بهذه التسمية فى وقته وسيظل بها جديراً ، فانه أول عربى مسلم مهد للفلسفة سبيل الانتشار بين العرب وفى ظل الاسلام فقد كان أمر الترجمة من قبله

لنقلة حرصهم على الترجمة الحرفية مع ضعف بيانهم العربى بجعل تراجمهم رموزاً يستعصى حلها حتى جاء الكندى يترجم بنفسه ويصلح هذه التراجم ليسهل تناولها ولكيلا تنفر من أساليبها أذواق العرب ثم درس الكندى هذه الكتب المترجمة ويسر من موضوعاتها ما كان معسراً ، واختار ما صح من آرائها فى نظره فبسطه إن كان محتاجاً لبسط ولخصه إن كان محتاجاً لتلخيص وجاهد كما بينا من قبل فى تزيين الفلسفة فى أعين العرب جهاداً مكللا بالنصر بذل فيه كل ما يستطيع إنسان أن يبذله من نعيم الحياة وجاهها وصبر فى سبيل ذلك على أذى أشرنا إلى بعضه فيما مضى

والكندى هو الذى وجه الفلسفة الاسلامية فى وجهتها فسارت فى سبيلها على أيدى تلاميذه ومن أخذ عن تلاميذه

وقد أورد صاحب الفهرست أسماء تلاميذ الكندى بقوله : « تلاميذ الكندى ووراقوه[١] : حسنويه ونفطويه وسلمويه وآخر على هذا الوزن ومن تلامذته : أحمد ابن الطيب ونذكره فيما بعد ، وأخذ عنه أبو معشر »

وذكر فى موضع آخر[٢] : « دبيس تلميذ الكندى هو محمد بن يزيد . . . . »

وفى ذلك دلالة على أن تلاميذ الكندى لم يعرف عددهم على استقصاء ، كما غاب عنا أسماء من تلقى عنهم ضروب العلم المختلفة

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بقى أن البيهقى قال فى كتابه « تاريخ حكماء الاسلام » عن الكندى : « واختلفوا فى ملته فقال قوم : [كان] يهودياً ثم أسلم ، وقال بعضهم كان نصرانياً »

وقال الشهرزورى فى « نزهة الأرواح » : « وقيل : كان يهودياً ثم أسلم ، وقيل : كان نصرانياً »

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(١) ص — ١٦١ —
(٢) ص — ٣٥٩ —

ويلاحظ : أن المؤلفين كليهما لم يذكرا للكندى نسبا إلا أنه يعقوب بن إسحاق ، وليس فى الاسمين ما يميز ملته

فدل ذلك على أنهما خلطاً بين أبى يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الأشعثى وبين كندى آخر ولا يستحق هذا الاشتباه إلا أن ينبه إليه . وفى كتابى البيهقى والشهرزورى أخطاء تاريخيه كثيرة ظاهرة البطلان عند الكلام على غير الكندى وفى النسخ التى بين أيدينا منهما تحريفات كثيرة ، على أنه لا يبعد أن تكون هذه الأضاليل من آثار ما كان يدسه على الكندى خصومه تشويها لذكره وتشنيعاً عليه

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هذا وقد ذكر صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » سبب موت الكندى بقوله : « قال أبو معشر : وكانت علة يعقوب بن إسحاق أنه كان فى ركبته خام وكان يشرب له الشراب العتيق فيصلح ، فتاب من الشراب وشرب شراب العسل فلم تنفتح له أفوا العروق ولم يصل إلى أعماق البدن وأسافله شىء من حرارته ، فقوى الخام فأوجع العصب وجعاً شديداً حتى تأتى ذلك الوجع إلى الرأس والدماغ فمات الرجل لأن الأعصاب أصلها من الدماغ »

أما تاريخ وفاته فلم يعرض لذكره أحد عرفناه ممن ترجموا له من الأقدمين وقد حاول المحدثون أن يحددوا ذلك التاريخ من سبيل الاستنباط فمنهم : من جعل موته سنة ٢٤٦ هـ ٨٦٠ م كالأستاذ « مسنيون » فى نصوصه الصوفية ، ومنهم : من جعله نحو سنة ٢٦٠ هـ ٨٧٣ م كالأستاذ « نالينو » فى محاضراته فى الفلك وتاريخه عند العرب فى القرون الوسطى

ويقول « ده بوير » فى دائرة المعارف الاسلامية : أن الكندى كان يعيش سنة ٢٥٧ هـ ٨٧٠ م حيث اعتقد أنه يستطيع أن يؤكد للخلافة العباسية وهى يومئذ ممهدة بالقرامطة وبتصادم كواكب بقاء يدوم حوالى ٤٥٠ عاماً

وقد نقلنا فيما سبق عن الفهرست : ما يثبت أن الكندى نسخ كتاباً بخطه سنة ٢٤٩ رآه ابن النديم . وفى تاريخ الطبرى عند الكلام على موت المنتصر بالله سنة ٢٤٨ والتشاور فى تعيين خلفه : أن محمد بن موسى المنجم سعى فى دفع الخلافة عن أحمد بن المعتصم لأنه صاحب الكندى الفيلسوف

كل هذا يباعد رأى الأستاذ « مسنيون »

ثم أن الجاحظ المتوفى سنة ٢٥٥ ﻫ يذكر ما ذكره عن الكندى فى كتابيه « الحيوان » و « البخلاء » فى صيغة الماضى الدالة على أن الكندى كان ميتاً حين كتب كتابه ، وكتاب « البخلاء » مؤلف على الراجح سنة ٢٥٤ ﻫ وكتاب « الحيوان » سابق عليه فالكندى لم يكن حياً فى سنة ٢٥٤ ﻫ ولا فى سنة ٢٥٣ ﻫ إن صح أن الجاحظ كتب « الحيوان » فى هذه السنة

وتدل رسالة الكندى فى ملك العرب وكميته على أنه شهد عهد الخليفة المستعين وشهد الفتنة التى قتل فى أعقابها المستعين آخر رمضان سنة ٢٥٢ فالراجح : أن الكندى توفى فى أواخر سنة ٢٥٢

أوزان الشعر وقوافيه

فى العربيـة والفارسيـة والتركية

لعبد الوهاب عزام

١ — القوافى

سأجمل فى هذا المقال الكلام فى الأوزان وأشكال النظم فى العربية والفارسية والتركية راجياً أن أعود اليها فى مقال آخر بالبحث فى قواعدها وأسباب تطورها .

الشعر الجاهلى كله فى التقفية ضربان : الرجز المشطور وما عداه . فالأول شطور مقفاة لا يلتزم فيها استقلال بعضها عن بعض كما يلتزم فى أبيات القصيد والرجز التام . والثانى القصيد والرجز غير المشطور . وتقفيته فى آخر الأبيات فقط أى بعد كل شطرين ، إلا الأبيات المصرعة فى مطلع النظم ؛ يقفى شطراها جميعاً . وقد نسب إلى امرىء القيس من شعراء الجاهلية ضرب من النظم يسمى المسمط له نظام آخر فى قوافيه . وهو نظم مقسم ، فى كل قسم منه ثلاث شطرات أو أربع متفقة فى الروى ويأتى الشطر الرابع أو الخامس منفرداً برويّه موافقاً لنظائره فى القصيدة كلها . وسيأتى الكلام فيه . ومما نسب إلى أمرىء القيس :

توهمت من هند معالم أطلال عفاهن طول الدهر فى الزمن الخالى

مرابع من هند خلت ومصايف
يصيح بمغناها صدى وعوازف
وغيرها هوج الرياح العواصف
وكل مسف ثم آخر رادف
بأسحم من نوء السماكين هطال

ومستلئم كشفت بالرمح ذيله
أقمت بعضب ذى سفاسق ميله

لجعت به فى ملتقى الخيل خيله
تركت عتاق الطير تحجل حوله
كأن على سرباله نضح جريال

وتنوعت التقفية فى الشعر الاسلامى منذ القرن الثانى الهجرى وظهر التوشيح فى القرن الثالث . وقد افتن فيه المغاربة افتناناً يضيق به الحصر . وإذا قصرنا الكلام على أنواع القوافى التى جرت فى اللغة الفصيحة ضاربين صفحاً عن الأزجال وأشباهها من الأوزن العامة ، أمكن أن نرد ضروب الشعر من حيث نظام التقفية إلى هذه الأنواع :

الموحد القوافى ، والمزدوج ، والرباعى أو الدوبيت ، والمسمط ، والموشح .

١ — فالقصائد والأراجيز ذات القافية الموحدة أو الروى الواحد هى النظام الأصيل والسنة المتبعة فى الشعر العربى من أقدم عصوره المعروفة إلى العصر الحاضر . ولم يعرف ضرب آخر طوال الجاهلية إلا ما يعزى إلى أمرىء القيس كما تقدم ، ولم يعرف كذلك فى الشعر الاسلامى والأموى . وإنما ظهرت الضروب الأخرى فى أواخر القرن الثانى الهجرى مع ابان بن عبد الحميد ف ٢٠٠ . وفى القرن الثالث مع ابن المعتز وشعراء الأندلس . وما زال الضرب الأول أشيع الضروب ، وأكثرها دوراناً فى الشعر حتى لا يعرف أحد من أعلام الشعر فى العصر العباسى وما بعده اتخذ غيره أداة للبيان فيما يهمه من الشعر وحتى لا يحيد عنه شعراء العربية فى عصرنا هذا إلا قليلا .

وكذلك نظم فيه شعراء الفرس ، وتبعهم شعراء الترك إلى العهد الحاضر ، ولكنهم تركوا الرجز المشطور ، وقسموا ما عداه من ذوات الروى الموحد إلى قسمين : القصيد والغزل . فخصوا اسم القصيدة بمنظومة طويلة لا تقل عن ثلاثين بيتاً ولا تزيد على مائة غالباً . وخصوا اسم الغزل بمنظومة قصيرة تتراوح بين سبعة أبيات وخمسة عشر غالباً وموضوعه الغزل أكثر الأحيان ويكون أحياناً غرضاً آخر من أغراض الشعر . ويلتزم الشاعر ذكر لقبه الشعرى أو تخلصه ، كما يقول الفرس والترك ، فى آخر بيت من الغزل .

ب — والمزدوج هو النظم المؤلف من أزواج من الأشطر كل اثنين منها متفقان في الروى مستقلان عما عداهما . ويسمى فى اصطلاح الشعر الفارسى والتركى ، المثنوى . وقد نظم به فى العربية القصص ككتاب كليلة ودمنة والصادح والباغم ، والتاريخ كأرجوزة ابن عبد ربه فى غزوات عبد الرحمن الناصر ، وكتب العلوم كالألفية فى النحو .

وأولع به شعراء الفرس والترك فنظموا المنظومات الطويلة القصصية كالشاهنامة ومنظومات نظامى الكنجوى وعبد الرحمن الجامى وسنائى والعطار والرومى وغيرهم من شعراء الفرس ، وكمنظومات فضولى ونابى وشيخى والشيخ غالب من شعراء الترك العثمانيين ، وعلى شيرنوائى فى لغة چغتاى .

ويظن بعض المؤلفين أن هـذا الضرب من النظم فارسى لولع الفرس به ولأنه عرف فى شعر طلائع شعرائهم فى القرن الثالث الهجرى كأبى جعفر الرودكى[1] . وقد روى دولتشاه أنه وجد على قصر شيرين أيام عضد الدولة بن بويه بيت فارسى شطراه مقفيان . ولكن لا أرى الدليل وافياً بالدعوى . وجائز أن يكون الشعر المزدوج نشأ فى الشعر العربى محاكاة لمطالع القصائد والأبيات المصرعة فى أثنائها ، ومحاكاة لمشطور الرجز مع تغيير الروى فى شطرين بعد شطرين . وقد سبق إلى الشعر المزدوج أبان بن عبد الحميد اللاحقى الذى نظم كليلة ودمنة وغيره على هذا الأسلوب . وإذا نظرنا إلى أن أقدم المثنويات الفارسية كليلة ودمنة الذى نظمه الرودكى لم نبعد أن يكون الرودكى قد تقيل أبان بن عبد الحميد .

ج — وأما الرباعى أو الدوبيت فأحسبه نظاماً فارسياً . واسمه فى العربية يدل على ذلك ، وقد سبق الفرس العرب إليه ، وافتنوا فيه افتناناً وفرعوا منه ٢٤ ضرباً . ولم يأبه له كبار الشعراء من العرب كثيراً . ويروى شمس الدين محمد بن قيس الرازى

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(١) أكبر شعراء الفرس فى القرن الثالث توفى سنة ٣٢٩ ولنظم كليلة ودمنة .

فى كتاب المعجم[1] أن بعض شعراء الفرس ، ويظنه الرودكى ، اخترع الرباعى حين مر فى يوم عيد على صبية يلعبون ضرباً من اللعب بالجوز وفيهم غلام صبيح نشيط ألقى جوزة فلم تستقر فى الحفرة وخرجت منها ثم تدحرجت حتى رجعت إليها فصاح الغلام :

غلتان غلتان همى رود تابن كو

فأعجب الشاعر هذا النغم وما زال يعالجه حتى بنى عليه أنغام الرباعى

ويقول المؤلف نفسه : « ولأن الزحاف المستعمل فى هذا الوزن لم يعرف فى الشعر العربى القديم لم ينظم شعر عربى فى هذا الوزن ثم أقبل عليه الآن المحدثون المطبوعون فشاعت الرباعيات العربية فى بلاد العرب كلها وتداولتها الألسنة[2] » . والمؤلف من رجال القرن السابع . فهذا ثبت أن الرباعيات عرفت بين العرب بعدتداولها بين العجم بزمن طويل . ولعل من أقدم الرباعيات ما جاء فى ديوان ابن الفارض ومنها :

ما جئت منى أبغى قرى كالضيف
عندى بك شغل عن نزول الخيف
والوصل يقيناً منك ما يقنعنى
هيهات فدعنى من محال الطيف

* * *

يا ليلة وصل صبحها لم يلح
من أولها شربته فى قدحى
لما قصرت طالت وطابت بلقا
بدر محنى فى حبه من مِنَحى

ولولا أن للدوبيت وزناً ممتازاً عن الأوزان العربية المألوفة لاحتمل أن يكون شعراء العربية قد اخترعوه محاكاة للبيتين الأولين من كل قصيدة مصرعة المطلع .

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(١) ص ٨٩ المعجم فى معايير أشعار العجم ، بيروت سنة ١٣٢٧ هـ .
(٢) = ص ٩٠ .

فمعظم القصائد العربية تبدأ برباعية مؤلفة من البيت الأول والثانى ، ولكن هذا الوزن الخاص ، إلى الرواية التى قدمنا وتاريخ هذا النظم فى الفارسية والعربية ، يشهد بأنه فارسى النشأة .

وفى الشعر التركى ضرب من التقفية كالرباعى يسمى « تيوغ » . ومن أمثلته قول عطائى من شعراء القرن التاسع :

دوست ا جسمم ملكنه سلطان يتر
بو يروغى آنك بكا فرمان يتر
جان دخى تن ملكنه حكم ايتمسون
چون براقليمه هلن برخان يتر

وقد تقفى شطراته كلها على نمط واحد كما يقع فى الرباعى الفارسى أحياناً كقول سيد نسيمى :

حق تعالى وارلغى آدمده‌در
أو آنك در أول بوأوده دمده‌در
بيلمدى شيطان بوسرى غمده‌در
أو سببدن تا أبد مأتمده‌در

وقد أخذ شعراء الترك الرباعى الفارسى ودرجوا عليه فى وزنه وقافيته فهذا الضرب (تيوغ) إما أن يكون محاكاة لهذا الرباعى فى وزن آخر وإما أن يكون فرعاً من المسمط يوافق الرباعى فى القافية أحياناً . وسنبين فى الكلام عن المسمط عامة أهو نظام تركى أم لا .

ومثل « تيوغ » ضرب يسمى مانى فى أغانى العامة بالتركية العثمانية مثل :

آلتين طاسده يوغوردم
غم ايچنده بوغولدم
آنا بلك بوكولسون
دردايچونمى دوغوردك

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أقشام أولدى ايكيندى
موم شامدانه ديكيلدى
ايللرك يارى كلدى
بنم بويـنم بوكولدى

***

أويله مى حـالم فلك
ديل بيلمز ظـالم فـلك
كسدك جان باغچه سندن
ايكى نهـالم فـلك
الخ . الخ .

د — المسمط : قدمنا فى أول المقال أبياتاً ينسبها بعض المؤلفين إلى امرىء القيس ويسمونها مسمطة . وقد نظم شعراء العربية المتأخرين كثيراً من هذا النوع مربعاً ومخمساً . فالمربع قصيدة مقسمة كل قسم منها أربعة أشطر الثلاثة الأولى متفقة فى الروى ، والرابع مخالف لها موافق لنظائره فى القصيدة كلها ، ومنه ما رواه صاحب لسان العرب فى مادة (سمط) :

خيال هاج لى شجنا　　فبت مكابدا حزنا
عميد القلب مرتهنـا　　بذكر اللهو والطرب

الخ .

وكثير منه فى مقامات الحريرى .

والمخمس قصيدة كل قسم منها خمسة أشطر على هذا النظام . وأكثر ما يكون بناء على قطعة من ذوات القوافى الموحدة يأخذها الشاعر فيزيد قبل كل بيت ثلاثة أشطر موافقة للشطر الأول من هذا البيت فى الروى فيبقى الخامس مخالفاً الشطرات الأربع

التى تسبقه موافقاً لكل شطر خامس فى القصيدة . وقد أولع به الشعراء المتأخرون فخمسوا البردة ، وبانت سعادة وكثيراً من القصائد المعروفة .

والمسمط فى الفارسية وفى التركية لا يخالف هذا فى قاعدته ولكنه أكثر فروعاً فقد تزيد شطرات الأقسام حتى تبلغ العشر ، فعندهم المسدس والمسبع والمثمن والمتسع والمعشر ، ولكن غير المربع والمخمس والمسدس نادر ، وفرق آخر أن المسمط تكون رابطته بيتاً لا شطراً أحياناً ، أعنى أن الشاعر قد يجعل مكان الأشطر التى تختم بها الأقسام والتى تربط المنظومة كلها باتفاقها فى الروى ، يجعل مكانها بيتاً يوافق فى روى شطريه نظائره من الأبيات التى تختم بها الأقسام . وقد يكون بعض المسمطات مؤلفاً من أقسام ذات أشطر متفقة فيا بينها مخالفة لغيرها دون أن يكون فيها رابطة من شطر أو بيت على النسق الذى بينت .

ومن أمثلته فى الفارسية مسمط ميرزا داورى من رجال القرن الثالث عشر الهجرى :

يك چند جدا أزبرم آن شوخ پسر بود
أزوى نه نشان بود مرا ونه خبر بود
با موكب منصور همانا بسفر بود
أز حسرت أو آتش شوقم بجگر بود
روزم زغم هجر سيه تر زشب تار

***

دوشينه همان زأول شب ناشده پاسى
زنگى شب أفكنده برخ تيره پلاسى
با قير بينـدوده وپوشيـده لبـاسى
مه بر سر گردون شده چون سيمين طاسى
آمد زدر آن دلبر بى ترس وهراسى
بكباره ببرد أزدل من أنده وتيمار
الخ . (١) .

وقد سار الترك على أثر الفرس فى المسمط أيضاً ولكنهم زادوا تقسيمهم المسمط إلى

(١) Drowne, *Litt. His. of Persia.* Vol. IV, p. 301-319.

مزدوج ومتكرر . فالأول هو ما تقدم بيانه ؛ والمتكرر هو ما كانت الرابطة فيه شطراً أو بيتاً واحداً مكرراً بعينه بعد كل قسم . وهذا الضرب يُلفى فى الفارسية قليلاً ولكن لا يسمى باسم خاص ومثال المسمط المتكرر فى التركية هذا المخمس لنابى (ف سنة ١١٢٤) :

بو كلستانده بمچون نه گل نه شبنم وار
بو چارشوده نه داد وستد نه درهم وار
نه قدرت ونه تصرف نه بيش ونه كم وار
نه قوت ونه تعين ونه زخم ومرهم وار
بو كا رخانه ده بيلسه م نه يم ، بنم نم وار

* * *

وجود وجود الهى ، حيات بخش كريم
نفس عطيـهٔ رحمت ، كلام فضل قـديم
بدن بنـاى خـدا ، روح نفخهٔ تكريم
قوا وديعهٔ قـدرت ، حواس وضع حكيم
بو كا رخانه ده بيلسه م نه يم ، بنم نم وار
الخ .

ويرى دارس الآداب التركية النظم المسمط شائعاً فى التركية الشرقية والغربية فى منظومات الشعراء وأغانى العـامة حتى يحسب أنه أسلوب أصيل عندهم ، ملائم لطباعهم . ففى ديوان لغات الترك ، الذى ألفه محمود بن الحسين الكاشغرى سنة ٤٦٦ هـ وهو أقدم معجم فى اللغة التركية بل أقدم الكتب فى هذه اللغة — نرى كل الشواهد فى منظومات مربعة . وهى فى لهجات يبعد أن يكون للعربية والفارسية تأثير فى نظمها مثل :

يرّى يشل جش
سقر دى أرنك قش
تزلدى قرا قُش
تُن كُن أوزا يركنور(١)

(١) ديوان لغات الترك جـ ١ ص ٢٧٧ ط استانبول .

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كلدى برو أرتُرو
بيردى ايلن أرترو
منـدا قلب ألترو
بـكرى بُلب أُن بُتار[1]

وديوان حكمت لأحمد يسوى (ف ٥٦٢) المكتوب كله بلهجة چغتاى معظمه مربعات متكررة أو مزدوجة :

أول بلبل نى آوازينى ايشتكان لار
تكبر نى با غين كيسور أوشانكا نلار
بو دنيا نى مزاسينى اونو تغا نلار
فرياد أوروب بيغلاب كوزين كريان قياور

*
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عاشق قول لار بو دنيـا نى كوزكا ايلماس
دنيـا عشقين زاهد قل لار تيل كا آلماس
كيچه كوندوز مست وحيران أوزكا كيلماس
ديدار تيلاب كوكسين تيشيب نالان قياور

وقصة يوسف وزليخا التى ألفها شاعر بخارى اسمه على وانتهى نظمها فى ٣٠ رجب سنة ٦٣٠ كلها مربع واحد متصل الأقسام على الأسلوب الذى وصفنا آنفاً .

وكل أساليب النظم العاميّة فى التركيـة (مانى ، وارصاغى ، قوشمه ، دستان ، توركو) على نسق المسمط . ومعظمها مربعة .

فهذا دليل على أن هذا الضرب من التقفية قديم فى المنظومات التركيـة ، أصيل فيها ، ولكن لا يبعد أن يكون بعض أشكاله محاكاة للأسلوب الفارسى .

هـ — الموشح وتركيب بند وترجيع بند : عرف الموشح فى الشعر العربى أواخر

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(١) = ص ١٨٨ .

القرن الثالث الهجرى ، اخترعه فى الأندلس مقدم بن معافر الفريرى من شعراء الأمير عبد الله بن محمد المروانى[1] . وعبد الله هذا هو الأمير السابع من بنى أمية فى الأندلس حكم ما بين ٢٧٥ — ٣٠٠ . وظهر كذلك بالمشرق فى شعر ابن المعتز . والظاهر أنه انتقل إلى المشرق من الأندلس .

وقد افتن الشعراء فى الموشحات ، وصاغوا منها أغانى كثيرة حتى كثرت ضروبه ، واختلفت أساليبه ، ثم خرجوا ببعضه عن مناهج العربية نحوها وعروضها فكان الزجل وأفانينه . ولا يتسع المجال هنا لتفصيل القول فى الموشحات . وجملة القول أن الموشح فى أقدم صيغة منظومة مقسمة ، فى كل قسم أشطر متفقة فى الروى يعقبها بيت يوافق فى روى عروضه وضربه نظائره فى المنظومة كلها . أو فى كل قسم أبيات ذات أعاريض متفقة روياً وأضرب كذلك ، يفصلها بيتان عروضهما على روى واحد وكذلك ضرباهما فى المنظومة كلها .

ومن الأول موشحة ابن المعتز (٢٤٧ — ٢٩٦) :

أيها الساقى اليك المشتكى قد دعوناك وان لم تسمع
ونديم همت فى غرته وبشرب الراح من راحته كلما استيقظ من سكرته
جذب الزق اليه واتكى وسقانى أربعاً فى أربع
ما لعينى عشيت بالنظر أنكرت بعدك ضوء القمر واذا ما شئت فاسمع خبرى :
عشيت عيناى من طول البكا وبكى بعضى على بعضى معى
الخ .

ومن الثانى موشحة ابن سهل الاسرائيلى المتوفى ٦٤٩ :

هل درى ظبى الحمى أن قد حمى قلب صب حله عن مكنس
فهو فى حر وخفق مثلما لعبت ريح الصبا بالقبس

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(١) ابن خلدون — المقدمة .

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يا بدورا أشرقت يوم النـوى   غرراً تسلك بى نهـج الغرر
ما لنفسى فى الهوى ذنب سوى   منكم الحسن ومن عينى النظر
أجتنى اللذات مكلوم الجوى   والتـدانى من حبيبى بالفكـر
كلمـا أشكوه وجـدى بسما   كالربى بالعـارض المنبجس
اذ يقـيم القطر فيهـا مأتمـاً   وهى من بهجتهـا فى عرس

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غالب لى غالب بالتـؤده   بأبى أفديه من جاف رقيق
ما علمنـا مثـل ثغر نضـده   أقحواناً عصرت منـه رحيق
أخذت عينـاه منى العربده   وفؤادى سكره ما أن يفيق
فاحم اللمـة معسول اللمـا   ساحر الغنـج شهى اللعس
وجهـه يتـلو الضحى مبتسماً   وهو من إعراضـه فى عبس
الخ .

وقد افتن علم الدين ايدمر من شعراء القرن السابع فى الموشحات افتناناً لم يسبق إليه فليرجع إلى ديوانه المطبوع فى القاهرة سنة ١٣٥٠ هـ.

والموشح على هذه الشاكلة لم يألفه شعراء الفرس والترك . وعند الفرس اصطلاح للتوشيح هو أن يكون كل بيت فى القصيدة مشتملاً على جملة فاذا أخذت هذه الجمل بعضها مع بعض تألفت منها قصيدة أخرى على وزن آخر . ولهم فيه ضروب مختلفة وقد خطوا خطوطاً تبين الجمل التى يمكن تأليف بعضها على بعض فصارت لهم أشكال من الخطوط مختلفة ، بعضها على أشكال الطائر ويسمونه المطيّر ، وبعضها على أشكال عجيبة تجعل القصيدة أشبه بالنقش منها بالكتابة . وهو ضرب من اللعب لا يؤبه له فى الشعر .

وأقرب الأساليب إلى الموشح العربى أسلوب يسمى البند وهو قسمان : ترجيع بند وتركيب بند . وذلك أن تقسم المنظومة إلى أقسام (خانات) فى كل قسم أبيات مقفاة الأضرب فقط على النسق المألوف فى القصائد لا على نسق الموشحات . وبعد كل قسم

بيت يكرر بعينه فى المنظومة كلها فتسمى «ترجيع بند» أو يكرر رويّه فقط فى الأقسام الأخرى فتسمى المنظومة «تركيب بند» . والعرف فى ذلك ألا تزيد الأقسام على عشرة ولا تنقص عن خمسة وأن تكون الأبيات فى كل قسم ثمانية أو عشرة .

وهذا هو الذى استقر عليه الاصطلاح فى القرون الأخيرة . وتعريف المعجم للترجيع يشمل ما سماه المتأخرون «ترجيع بند» و «تركيب بند» ولا يلزم فيه أن تتفق الوسائط ، وهى الأبيات التى تربط الأقسام ، فى رويها .

ولا يتسع المجال هنا لنماذج من التركيبات والترجيعات .

و — وفى الشعر الفارسى والتركى أسلوب من النظم يسمونه المستزاد . وهو أن يزاد بعد كل شطر من منظومة شطر قصير لا يتوقف عليه المعنى . وهذه الأشطر القصيرة تأتلف على روى مستقل عن روى القصيدة ولكن على نظامه ، أو يكون كل شطر منها على روى الشطر الطويل الذى قبله .

فمن الأول مستزاد خواجو الكرمانى من شعراء القرن الثامن :

گرنبست كه گويد زمن آن ترك خطارا　　گر رفت خطائى
باز آى كه داريم توقع بتو مارا　　با وعده وفائى
منداز بنام من دلسوخته فلفل　　بر آتش رخسار
كافتا دم أز آن دارنهٔ مشكين تو يارا　　در دام بلائى
أمروز منم چون خم أبروى تو درشهر　　ما نند هلالى
تاديده ام آن صورت انگشت نمارا　　انگشت نمائى
الخ .

ومن الثانى مستزاد كچه جى زاده عزت منلا من الشعراء العثمانيين (١٢٠٠ — ١٢٤٥) :

بلبل يتشير با غريبى خون ايتدى فغانك　　ضبط ايله دهانك
خنجر گبى دلدى يوره كم تيغ زبانك　　تأثير لسانك
آه ايله مكه با شلادى آيانه بوحالت　　نولسون بوحرارات

بيلمم ينه بر درديمى وار بلبل جانك أول مرغ نهانك
آه ايتسه نوله بلبل دل مشهدم أوزره تا محشر أولونجه
چوق چكدى غم خاريني گلزار جهانك يو باغ فنـانك
الخ .

وليس فى العربية لهذا نظير ، ويشبهه بعض الموشحات مثل :

كحل الدجى يجرى من مقلة الفجر على الصبـاح
ومعصم النهـر فى حلل خضر من البطاح[1]

وللحريرى فى مقاماته قصيدة أحسبها كانت محاولة للنظم على هذا الأسلوب فى الشعر العربى :

يا خاطب الدنيا الدنية انهـا شرك الردى وقرارة الأكدار
دار متى ما أضحكت فى يومها أبكت غدا يالؤمها من دار
الخ [2].

ز — الرديف : ومن صيغ التقفية فى الفارسية والتركية ما يسمى الرديف وليس لذلك نظير فى العربية . وهو أن تكرر كلمة أو أكثر فى آخر كل بيت من القصيدة فتلغى فى التقفية وتسمى رديفا وتلتزم قبل هذا الرديف قافية وروى . وذلك شائع جداً فى الشعر الفارسى والتركى : ومن أمثلته قول حافظ الشيرازى (ف ٧٩١) :

يا رم چو قدح بدست گيرد بازار بتان شكست گـيرد
در بحر فتاده‌ام چو ماهى تا يار مرا بشست گـيرد
در پا ش فتا ده أم بزارى آ يا بود آنكه دست گـيرد
هر كس كه بديد چشم أو گفت كو محتسبى كه مست گـيرد
خرم دل آنكه همچو حافظ جامى زمىِ «ألست» گـيرد

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[1] مقدمة ابن خلدون . — [2] المقامة الشعرية.

٢ — الأوزان

سار شعراء الفرس على نهج شعراء العرب فى أكثر أوزانهم . واستخرج علماء العروض الفارسى من دوائر العروض العربى كل الأوزان الفارسية حتى الرباعيات والفهلويات . ولكن وزن الرباعيات والفهلويات فيما يظن لا يرجع إلى الأوزان العربية .

نظم الشعراء الرباعيات على أربعة وعشرين وزناً متشابهة ، وأرجعها العروضيون كلها إلى الهزج ولكن لا ريب أن معظمها ، على رغم هذه الرابطة العروضية ، لا يشبه الهزج . وقد روى صاحب المعجم[1] أن شاعراً فارسياً ، يحسبه الرودكى ، مر بغلمان يلعبون فى متنزّهات مدينة غزنه فسمع أحدهم يقول : غلتان غلتان همى رود تابُنِ كو ، فأعجبته النغمة وبنى عليها أوزان الرباعى كما تقدم . فهذا ، إن صح ، دليل على أن الوزن الرباعى فارسى المولد والمنشأ . ويقول هذا المؤلف : وسمى الملحن منه « ترانه » والمجرد « دوبيت » ، والمستعربة سموه « رباعياً » ، ولم يكن معروفاً فى الشعر العربى . والآن أقبل عليه المحدثون المطبوعون (من شعراء العرب) فانتشرت الرباعيات فى البلاد العربية كلها .

والدوبيت العربى مأخوذ من الأوزان الفارسية موافق لأوزان الرباعيات عند الفرس . ولا أعرف غير الدوبيت شعراً على هذا الوزن إلا قطعة فى ديوان البهاء زهير معروفة :

يا من لعبت به شمول   ما ألطف هذه الشمائل
نشوان يهزه دلال   كالغصن مع النسيم مائل
لا يمكنه الكلام لكن   قد حمل طرفه رسائل

الخ .

وكذلك الفهلويات فارسية الأصل ، فيما أظن . وهى قطع قصيرة تنظم فى بعض

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(١) المعجم ص ٨٩ .

اللهجات الفارسية ، ويستخرجها العروضيون من البحر المشاكل الذى فرعوه من دائرة الخفيف . ووزنه : فاعلاتُ مفاعيلُ مفاعيلْ مرتين .

وأما الأوزان الفارسية الأخرى فهى الأوزان العربية المعروفة أو مشتقة منها . وقد بعد بعض هذه المشتقات عن أصله حتى انقطع الشبه بينهما .

وفيما يلى إجمال التغيير الذى تقلبت فيه الأوزان العربية فى الشعر الفارسى وفى التركى تبعاً :

١ — أهمل شعراء الفرس كل بحور الدائرتين الأولى والثانية — أهملوا الطويل والمديد والبسيط والوافر والكامل . وهى أكثر الأوزان دوراناً فى الشعر العربى . وإنما نظم فيها بعض القدماء من شعراء الفرس تقيلاً لشعراء العرب وإظهاراً لمهارتهم كما نظم بعض العرب فى البحور المهملة التى تنتج أثناء تقطيع الدوائر العربية ، وفى المعجم أمثلة من النظم فى هذه البحور المهجورة[1].

٢ — واستخرجوا من الدوائر بحوراً أخرى لم يعرفها العرب ، فاشتقوا من الهزج الرباعى وجعلوا منه ٢٤ وزناً ، واشتقوا من دائرة السريع البحر الغريب ، والقريب والمشاكل . والنظم فيها قليل . يقول شمس الدين الرازى فى الكلام عن البحر الغريب ، ووزنه « فعلاتن فعلاتن مفاعلن » :

« وقد استحدث هذا البحر بعض المتكلفين من المستعربة ونظم فيه بضع أبيات عربية فتقبله شعراء العجم وأدخلوه فى دوائرهم » .

وكذلك أحدثوا بحوراً أخرى لم ينظم فيها أحد إلا للتمثيل أو امتحان الطبع وإظهار المقدرة وهى ٢١ بحراً منها الصريم والكبير والبديل ، والقليب الخ . ومعظمها مشتق من الدائرة المشتبهة فى الاصطلاح العربى .

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(١) المعجم ص. ٥٤ .

٣ — ولم يقفوا بعدد الأجزاء عند المأثور عن العرب بل تعدوه فأجازوا مثلاً فى الهزج وهو سداسى مجزوء وجوباً فى العروض العربى ، وفى الرمَل والرجز وهما سداسيان أن يكون كلّ منها ثمانياً . وجعلوا الدائرة الثانية فى تقسيمهم ثمانية أيضاً وفيها المنسرح والخفيف والمضارع والمقتضب والمجتث .

٤ — وتصرفوا بالزحافات والعلل أكثر مما فعل العرب فزادوا على الاثنين والعشرين المعروفة فى العروض العربى ثلاثة عشر سموها بأسماء تشبه الأسماء القديمة مثل الجدع ، والهتم ، والجحف ، والسلخ ، والطمس الخ . وقد بلغ من تصرفهم أن أجازوا أن تنتهى مفاعيلن مثلاً إلى مفعولن ، وفاعلن ، ومفاع ، ومفا ، وفاع ، وفا ، وأن تنتهى مفعولات إلى فع . وكذلك الزيادة تصرفوا فيها بما لم يعرفه العرب فأجازوا أن تحول مستفعلن مثلاً إلى مفتعلاتن الخ .

٥ — وهذا ما انتهى إليه المحققون من العروضيين فى ترتيب الدوائر :

معلوم أن الدوائر العربية مقسمة هذا التقسيم :

١ الدائرة المختلفة وفيها الطويل والمديد والبسيط
٢ « المؤتلفه « الكامل والوافر
٣ « المجتلبة « الهزج والرجز والرمل
٤ « المشتبهة « السريع والمنسرح والخفيف والمضارع والمقتضب والمجتث
٥ « المتفقة « المتقارب والمتدارك .

وقد حذف الفرس الدائرتين الأولى والثانية وأبقوا الثالثة وسموها المؤتلفة وأخذوا منها أنواع الرباعى ، وقسموا الدائرة الرابعة إلى دائرتين : المختلفة والمنتزعة . الأولى ثمانية والثانية سداسية . وأبقوا الخامسة باسمها فصار تقسيمهم كذلك :

١ الدائرة المؤتلفة وفيها الهزج والرجز والرمَل
٢ « المختلفة « المنسرح والمضارع والمقتضب والمجتث
٣ « المنتزعة « الخفيف والسريع والغريب والقريب والمشاكل
٤ « المتفقة « المتقارب والمتدارك .

وقد أخذ الترك العروض الفارسى جملته وتفصيله ، ولكن عندهم إلى هذا أوزان مقطعية تقاس بعدد المقاطع لا بالأجزاء أو التفعيلات . ونظم بهذه الأوزان أقدم الكتب فى اللغة الشرقية مثل « قدتغو بيلك » الذى نظمه فى اللهجة الأيغورية يوسف خاص حاجب بغراخان ، سنة ٤٦٢ هـ. وهو مثنوىّ القافية ، وديوان حكمت لأحمد يسوى المتوفى سنة ٥٦٢ ، وهو من المسمط كما تقدم ، ورواية يوسف وزليخا التى ألفها شاعر بخارى إسمه على سنة ٦٣٠ وهى مربع . وهذه الأوزان المقطعية تشبه أوزان العروض بعض الشبه وان كان أساسها مخالفاً . ومن أجل ذلك سهل تغلب العروض عليها فيما بعد . فلما أخذت أوزان الفرس فى اللغة التركية العثمانية أو الغربية سارت الأوزان التركية القديمة والأوزان المستعارة معاً زهاء مائة سنة ثم اختفت الأولى من دواوين الشعراء واستمرت فى منظومات العامة وأغانيهم حتى عنى الترك بها مرة أخرى فى هذا العصر وآثرها كثير من شعرائهم على العروض الفارسى .

هذا إجمال الكلام فى صيغ القوافى والأوزان فى اللغات الثلاث . وأرجو ان أعود إليها بالبحث وتبيين آساسها ، والفوارق بينها ودرجات تطورها جهد الطاقة والله المستعان .

الأربعاء ١ نوفمبر سنة ١٩٣٣ .

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et Néo-classicisme», traite sans indulgence ces retours au classicisme qu'ont préconisé, depuis 1900, tant de penseurs et d'écrivains français. Ces néo-classiques sont, en général, des traditionnalistes acharnés, qui, confondant la littérature avec la politique et la religion, soupirent après cette ère révolue, où la France était catholique, monarchiste, et la première puissance de l'Europe, en face d'une Allemagne déchirée par la guerre de Trente Ans. Il leur manque l'essentiel du classicisme, c'est-à-dire la hardiesse et l'innovation, l'émotion et la passion, discrètement épurées et contenues par des contraintes de forme et une stylisation d'art. La discipline et le frein sont, certes, d'excellentes choses, à condition qu'il y ait au préalable quelque fougue à réfréner, quelque passion à modérer. Aspirer au classicisme n'a jamais suffi pour faire un classique. «Seuls les romantiques, a dit quelque part Marcel Proust, savent lire les ouvrages classiques, car ils les lisent comme ils ont été écrits, romantiquement».

Une bibliographie d'environ deux cents titres français et étrangers groupe les ouvrages les plus utiles à cette interprétation du classicisme, rejeunie par le point de vue comparatiste. Pas plus que l'ouvrage lui-même, elle ne prétend à être complète. On discutera longtemps encore, toujours, sur ce sujet. Nous souhaitons seulement que notre contribution aide à préciser certains points, à en révéler quelques autres, et fasse entrer quelques bouffées d'air frais dans l'atmosphère irrespirable de salle de classe, qui a, pendant des années, corrompu et desséché la compréhension du classicisme.

H. P.

des limitations, parce qu'elle a compris, dans un éclair de génie, la large vérité que Gœthe a formulée ainsi : *In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister.*

De même, l'idéal d'art du classicisme est autre chose, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer, qu'un ensemble de recettes et de conventions : c'est une recherche incessante de la perfection, du fini. C'est la maturité de l'homme fait, opposée à l'inquiétude romantique, au trouble de l'adolescence. Pudeur, sérénité, équilibre profond, patiemment recherché : tels sont les éléments essentiels de l'art d'un Poussin, d'un La Fontaine, d'un Racine. En face d'un classicisme ainsi conçu, le romantisme apparaît, non pas certes comme moins beau, mais comme plus inquiet, plus assoiffé de rêve et d'étrangeté, comme une perpétuelle aspiration, une quête anxieuse et frémissante, incessamment déçue, d'un Saint-Graal imaginaire. Le classicisme est *Vollendung,* opposé à l'*Unendlichkeit* du romantisme. Ce qui ne signifie nullement que le classicisme soit arrêt, dessèchement, vieillesse. Tout profond classique a commencé par être un romantique; on ne naît pas classique; on le devient, lentement. Derrière la discipline et la froideur apparente de notre classicisme, se cachent une fougue à peine tempérée, une richesse d'expériences et de réflexions, une sensualité et une sensibilité contenues, qui font justement le prix de ce classicisme.

Après avoir caractérisé ainsi le classicisme français, il convenait de poser la question qui se présente sans doute à l'esprit du lecteur : dans quelle mesure ce classicisme français peut-il se rapprocher de ce qu'on nomme parfois classicisme en Grèce et à Rome, de ce que les Anglais appellent leur âge classique ou «Augustan», du soi-disant classicisme de Gœthe? De tels rapprochements sont, à nos yeux, vains et factices. Mais ils nous servent, en nous dévoilant les points de vue anglais, allemand ou italien, à comprendre pourquoi ces peuples, partant du pseudo-classicisme de leur propre littérature, n'ont pas réussi à découvrir le vrai fond du classicisme du XVII^e^ siècle français.

Est-ce à dire que le classicisme soit un apanage exclusif du peuple français? que la France, seule entre tous les peuples modernes, ait été prédestinée à créer une littérature classique et qu'elle doive elle-même toujours regarder vers ce XVII^e^ siècle, que prônent aujourd'hui quelques prophètes obstinés du passé? Le dernier chapitre du livre, «Classicisme

devant lequel passions et haines politiques et religieuses peuvent taire leurs voix discordantes. Classicisme et romantisme ont cessé d'être des frères ennemis. Chateaubriand et Victor Hugo ne paraissent guère moins loin de nous que Pascal ou Racine. Peut-être même le sont-ils davantage.

Le mot classicisme recouvre un ensemble de notions fort complexes, embrouillées encore, et comme à plaisir, par l'emploi immodéré et irraisonné de ce terme vague, que peu de nos prédecesseurs s'étaient souciés de définir. Dans un chapitre préliminaire, je me suis efforcé de distinguer avec quelque netteté les divers sens du mot «classique», et de suivre la fortune de cette épithète trop souvent malmenée. Puis, limitant d'abord l'emploi du mot pour désigner la littérature française de 1660 à 1685, j'ai voulu préciser ce que Taine aurait appelé le «milieu» et le «moment» du classicisme français : groupe social restreint, public de quelques milliers de connaisseurs, stabilité sociale et politique, entente tacite entre les auteurs et leur public, littérature mondaine et sociable. Mais surtout, la synthèse classique, ordonnée elle-même et équilibrée, suit une ère de troubles et de désordres. Elle renferme en elle comme un romantisme antérieur et latent. Les artistes classiques, héritiers des expériences et des connaissances, riches mais confuses, amassées par leurs prédecesseurs, opèrent selon leur procédé favori, qui est le choix. Ils élaguent, purifient, et créent enfin une œuvre durable et achevée. Ils renoncent à parcourir le monde extérieur, et s'attachent à mieux explorer le cœur humain. Tout classicisme est donc un moment fortuné d'équilibre momentanément stable. Tout classicisme est nécessairement court, car il est un temps d'arrêt. Un classicisme prolongé ne peut que dégénérer en pseudo-classicisme, car, n'ayant plus de désordre antérieur à transformer en ordre et en beauté, il se contente de copier des chefs-d'œuvre selon des recettes tout artificielles et extérieures.

Le classicisme ainsi replacé dans le temps et rattaché à un état social et politique précis, il restait à le caractériser dans son contenu idéologique et dans son art. C'est ce que tentent de faire les principaux chapitres de notre étude. Rationalisme, impersonnalité, obéissance aux règles, imitation de l'antiquité — tout cela est l'apparence traditionnelle et scolaire du classicisme. Derrière tout cela, il y a la vie, la jeunesse d'une génération ardente et richement douée, qui s'est imposée des règles et

NOTICES

OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF THE FACULTY.

H. Peyre, *Qu'est-ce que le Classicisme? Essai de Mise au Point.* Librairie Droz, Paris, 1933, 250 p.

La question à laquelle ce petit livre tente d'apporter une réponse se pose tôt ou tard, à tout étudiant, à tout homme cultivé, à tout critique qui réfléchit sur la littérature française. La compréhension du classicisme français est sans doute le problème le plus délicat, et cependant le plus essentiel, qui confronte tout étranger désireux de connaître le passé, et même le présent, de la France. Mon objet, dans ce volume a été, mettant à profit une expérience de plusieurs années d'enseignement à l'étranger, de me placer, non pas au seul point de vue du Français qui, dès sa jeunesse, a été élevé et nourri dans cette littérature classique, mais au point de vue de l'étranger qui, avec la meilleure volonté du monde, ne parvient que rarement à comprendre et à sentir La Fontaine, Racine, Bossuet.

La moment semble favorable à une présentation du classicisme français, replacé ainsi en face des lecteurs étrangers et dans le cadre de la littérature comparée. Depuis une dizaine d'années, à la suite des études pénétrantes et sympathiques de Lytton Strachey, de T. S. Eliot en Angleterre, d'Irving Babbitt, de Waldo Frank en Amérique, de critiques allemands et italiens tels que K. Vossler, Schröder, Croce, Fubini, il semble que les meilleurs esprits de l'étranger, corrigeant les préjugés ou les erreurs de leurs prédécesseurs du romantisme et du XIX^e^ siècle, se sentent plus attirés que naguère par les œuvres du XVII^e^ siècle français. A mesure que le mouvement romantique s'éloigne de nous, il rejoint le classicisme dans ce passé reculé, ouvert à l'étude impartiale de l'histoire littéraire,

lost only the last syllable of the Arabic name, and thus retains its individuality.

We conclude therefore that where the identity of a star is in doubt owing to homonymy, the etymology of the star-name will often throw light on the subject.

more justice be derived from سعد *sa'ad* (as Webster suggests); since α Aquarii is called in English Sadalmelik (Arabic سعد الملك *sa'ad al-malik* 'the king's fortune'; properly applied to the asterism α and ο (?) Aquarii), β Aquarii is Sadalsud (Arabic سعد السعود *sa'ad al-sa'ūd* 'luckiest of the lucky', properly applied to the asterism β Aquarii and δ Capricorni), and γ Aquarii is Sadachbia (Arabic سعد الاخبية *sa'ad al-akhbīyah* 'the fortune of the hiding-places', properly the asterism γ, ζ, η, π Aquarii, the name referring to the notion that the venomous and noxious reptiles came from their hibernating-holes when this asterism rose).

I cannot find that δ Aquarii was specifically called 'lucky' by the Arab astronomers; and Ideler in his reliable *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Beteutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin, 1809) does not record the form *Skat.* But since the identity of many of the 'lucky' stars and asterisms is conjectural (see Lane, *loc. cit.*), and since nearly every star in Aquarius is included in one or another 'lucky' group, the English form *Skat* is probably derived from Arabic سعد *sa'ad.*

We conclude that in English perhaps *Scheat* should be applied especially to γ Persei, *Sheat* to β Pegasi, and *Skat* to δ Aquarii; and that both *Scheat* and *Sheat* are derived from Arabic ساعد *sa'id*, and *Skat* from Arabic سعد *sa'ad.*

A similar confusion exists in European star-lists about the identity of *Mirzam*, which is defined variously as the proper name of several different stars, though in English it seems to be restricted to β Canis Majoris. The confusion arises from the fact that among the Arab astronomers المرزم *al-mirzam* 'the announcer' might be applied to any star whose rising preceded that of another more brilliant star.

A similar confusion arises with *Denab*, *Deneb* or *Dheneb*, which have been applied in English to α Cygni, ε Aquilae, ζ Aquilae, ε Delphini, δ Capricorni, β Ceti and η Ceti. The Arabic name for all these stars began with ذنب *dhanab* 'tail' because they were all drawn in the tail of their respective constellation. As the second half of the Arabic name was lost, they all had the same name in English. One of these 'tail' stars, Denebola (β Leonis, Arabic ذنب الأسد *dhanab al-'asad* 'tail of the Lion') has

SOME DOUBTFUL STAR-NAMES

BY

WALT TAYLOR.

The forms *Scheat, Sheat, Skat* have been applied indifferently in English to the stars γ Persei, β Pegasi and δ Aquarii. Lammens in his *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth, 1890), p. 216, gives the forms *Scheat, Sheat* and *Sead* in French for γ Persei, and derives them from Arabic ساعد *sāʿid* 'forearm' (sometimes also 'upper arm'). In a footnote he opposes Devic, who gives the forms *Scheat, Sead* in French for β Pegasi in his *Dictionnaire étymologique des mots français d'origine orientale* (Paris, 1876), p. 204. Both authors are equally dogmatic, and both refer to the form *Sheat* in Voltaire, though in the context cited the precise meaning of the word is immaterial. Both authors are right, since both γ Persei and β Pegasi are described by the Arab astronomers as 'in the right upper arm' (or shoulder) of their respective constellation. Devic is supported in his partiality by Larousse, who records the form *Sehéat*, and defines it as a star in Pegasus.

Lammens suggests that Devic has been mistaken in identifying β Pegasi with another star of that constellation, sometimes referred to by the Arabs as سعد البارع *saʿad al-bāriʿ*, 'beautiful (excellent, ascending, superior) good omen, good luck', which Lane in his *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863-1893), p. 1361, regards as an asterism, probably μ and λ Pegasi; and this suggested but erroneous etymology brings us to the consideration of the third English form, *Skat*.

The name سعد *saʿad* was given by the Arabs to several stars or asterisms (of which Lane records ten), signifying 'good omen, auspiciousness, good luck, lucky (star), (good) fortune'. *Skat* (possibly δ Aquarii) might with

A piece of burnt clay representing the head of an animal was also found; though without painting, it is similar to the camel-headlike piece which was found during the first season.

The search for the tombs remained without success. There were, however, found eleven interments of foetuses, some in pots, and some in the virgin-soil. One of the pots containing a foetus shows a most important peculiarity; it possesses two perforations representing eyeholes, no doubt, to allow the spirit buried in the pot to remain in connection with the material world. It is the first example of such a device, reappearing so frequently in later times. Human adult bones were again found this season; they were scattered over the whole area, and were mostly fragments of skulls, belonging to at least seven different individuals. It is not impossible that they came from tombs which lay within the settlement, and which were destroyed by the Sebakh-diggers. Nothing sure, however, can be said, until an undisturbed grave is discovered.

The neolithic site of Maadi is proving more and more to be one of the most important centres of neolithic culture in Egypt. Both the scientific and material wealth it has unexpectedly revealed during this year's campaign, as well as the multitude of problems connected with the site, make it indispensable to excavate the whole of the settlement, the scientific importance of which cannot be over-rated. The excavations at Maadi are expected to throw fresh light, not only on the complicated questions of the earliest history of Egypt, but also on that of Palestine and Syria, the most ancient chronology of which may possibly be linked in future with Egypt, by the help of correlations with Maadi.

Beside the above-mentioned hoard, there were unearthed during this season, two complete basalt vases, as well as a most remarkable pot of grey limestone, to which some red colour was applied in such a manner that, at a first glance, it looked like pottery.

Hundreds of exquisite flint implements were also collected, amongst which several big oval and exceptionally thin scrapers, and a fish-tail knife of the finest workmanship deserve special notice. Also worth mentioning is a group of wooden objects, including a fragment of a boomerang, two small sticks, perhaps of cedar, their burnt ends betraying their possible use as incense, and finally, a carefully carved stick, which may have belonged to some ornament. Beside the beads discovered in the above-mentioned cellar-hole, several body-ornaments were collected from the site; they include beads of quartz, limestone, yellow rock-crystal and azurite, as well as pierced shells and snails belonging to different species. For the first time at Maadi, a comb, made of ox-horn, was discovered. Plenty of bone implements were also found.

The booty in pottery was exceedingly rich. More than 100 complete vases were unearthed, many of them being quite new types. There were, for example, several representatives of a whitish ware, often provided with knobs or ear-handles, their appearance betraying their non-Egyptian character.

In many respects, this pottery bears likeness to the Syrian ceramics of the third millennium B. C., thus proving once more the connections of the Maadi people with their Syrian and Arabian neighbours, — connections which, however, date back to an earlier time, — for the culture at Maadi has to be placed at least about 3,500 B. C., taking the date of Menes to be about 3,200 B. C.

Of particular interest is a black pot of considerable size, decorated on the shoulder with the engraving of a crocodile, and provided with a round hole, intentionally cut at the bottom; it was probably used for cult purposes. But we have not, as yet, come across a complete specimen of painted pottery, and that, in spite of the fact that it is represented by so many sherds. Nevertheless, there was saved this season, a rather big fragment of a bowl, painted both inside and outside. The pot-painting of Maadi has a peculiar style of its own, quite independent of the various painted wares in Egypt. Its origin and connections are as yet unknown.

NOTES.

THE EXCAVATIONS
OF THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITY AT MAADI

BY

MUSTAFA AMER.

The third season's excavations of the Egyptian University (Geography Department), in the Neolithic site at Maadi, conducted by Professor Oswald Menghin and Professor Mustafa Amer, began on February 1st, and ended on April 4th, 1933. More than 5,000 square metres were excavated, including several trial-trenches.

The season's work was again fruitful, and many interesting finds were made. Most important is the discovery of a complete square hut-foundation, which gives us a valuable conception of the neolithic house-construction of Egypt, and which is believed by Professor Junker to be the origin of a certain hieroglyphic sign. Fragments of sun-dried bricks were detected; and in several places were observed long rectangular earth-holes in which possibly vertical looms were erected. There was also excavated a big stove, probably a pottery-kiln, in addition to several well-constructed hearths. But the greatest interest lies in the discovery of a hoard of seven basalt vessels placed in a deep cellar-hole cut in the virgin-soil, possessing overhanging rims, and a rough slab of limestone as a cover. The pots are, in most cases, in an excellent state of preservation, and represent several different types, which have always been taken to represent different periods, but which here are beyond all doubt contemporaneous. This is the biggest coherent find of prehistoric stone-vessels made so far in Egypt.

In the same cellar-hole were found a fine alabaster vase, and twenty-two beads, one of some whitish material, while the rest are of carnelian.

populations while on the coast, on the other hand, there is an infinite tangle of ethnic and cultural groups all alike 'weltering in savagery and sometimes in grades of barbarism even worse than the wild state'.

The closing of the overland route to India and China by the conquests of the Turks, is as important to West Africa as to Europe. The age of discoveries soon followed and the Portuguese in less than a century revealed the outline of the continent. This inaugurates the phase of the European cultural contributions to West Africa. The Portuguese who founded numerous trading stations along the coast and up the rivers, were not mere traders in gold, ivory and slaves because they really exercised an enduring influence. They might have been cruel to the negro through being relentless in endeavouring to convert him to Christianity or in imposing their rule, but nevertheless, they contributed generously to his material welfare.

According to Johnston, they introduced plants imported from their scattered colonies and added to these the introduction of domestic pigs and some breeds of dogs. They were rapidly followed by the French, English, Danish and Dutch attracted first by the gold, ivory and other minor products of the coast and later by the slave trade which proved more profitable. These as well as the Germans and the Italians contributed in turn to the cultures of West Africa. In every case, they made the best use of the already existing cultures while sometimes they introduced new cultures which proved their worth in other similar regions. The case of cocoa in the Gold Coast is one of the most interesting romances of commerce, colonial enterprise and cultural borrowing. In a quarter of a century, the cocoa culture which is not indigenous to West Africa as a whole, flourished and became the staple industry and the main basis of the economic development in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

In a word, the evolution of West African cultures owes a good deal to foreign cultural contributions which in fact made the new West Africa of today.

alists, fishermen or food-gatherers but are generally the victims of gross and cruel superstitions and of degrading practices. Among those who reached the tribal stage with recognised chiefs and some cohesion for attack and defence, a few have evolved 'systems of government under paramount rulers with an elaborate subdivision of authority and ceremonial observances. Where these institutions were of indigenous growth, or fell under the rule of dynasties preponderately negro, they appear to have become despotisms marked by a disregard for human life'. Holocausts of victims were sacrificed to 'appease the deity or at the whim of the despot' as in Dahomey, Benin and Ashanti. Explorers told of the human sacrifices and the 'cannibal feasts of twin babies destroyed and the mother driven to the forest, of wives and slaves buried alive in the grave of a dead chief and of tyrant kings slaughtering their subjects like goats' and terrorising the smaller tribes around them. The Nigerian pagans, the Ivory Coast pagans of the West Central uplands and those living in the 'closed forests' and the deltaic lagoon mangrove swamps, are among the most primitive in West Africa. These are groups which are indigenous in the sense that they have lost all tradition of associations with other groups in other areas. Here the position of the chiefs has been hardly developed. Each town or village may have its own chief but all chiefs and headmen have little authority beyond the village and the farmland adjoining it. The origin of common feuds can be traced to this form of primitive organisation. Towns and villages were generally walled and stockaded and sometimes were also hidden in dense forests and entered only by a narrow path in order to prevent surprise attacks. Until very recently, when the inhabitants went out to cultivate their lands, 'they went armed and posted sentries' to give them the necessary warning in case of attack.

It is interesting to note that the transition between the semi civilised Moslem negroid or Hamito negroid groups of the Western Sudan, to the savage negro of the wet Savana and the 'closed forest', is often abrupt. The savage aborigines of the inland plateau, retreating before the steady advance of Islam, found no place of refuge till they reached the Atlantic Coast where many as the Felups still hold their ground. This explains the marked contrasts now existing between the interior and so many parts of the West Coast. In the interior, one finds powerful political organisations with numerous more or less homogeneous and semi-civilised

African negro tribes vary among themselves in their political and social status; from those who recognise no chief and are still living in the patriarchal stage, lacking any but the most rudimentary communal organisation, to those with well defined tribal institutions, till they merge into the class of the more advanced communities. As a rule, the Savana groups show a much more advanced state of development than the forest groups who, in their turn, surpass the fragmentary tribes living in the lowest state of development and are found in the intricate marshes and mangrove forests of the Coast. Indeed every phase of human cultural evolution can be found and although great divergencies may exist among the different groups, yet the widely separated groups may often show a measure of similarity in the matter of beliefs, customs and social organisations. The only possible explanation of such a feature lies certainly in the annals of the complex history of the whole area. Moreover, such a feature may be taken as an important proof of the effects of previous migrations and the subsequent cultural drifts which swept all over West Africa in the past. Among the peoples, it is possible to find the two extremes; the advanced and the more primitive, but there are no hard and fast lines because there is a continuous gradation from the one to the other. Contrasts may be also seen in any one group which may be relatively high as regards its political and social organisation, while, in the meantime, possessing certain customs obviously derived from a more primitive phase of its history. Generally speaking, the more highly developed the people are, the more humane their customs become. The pagan manners and customs are altogether based upon religious motives, while their mode of living, where it is influenced by religion, is that of a man in the earliest stages of emancipation from barbarism if not actually living in such a state. The standards of civilisation vary according to the measure of contact, accessibility and the amount of external cultural contributions received. Here the geographical setting comes into prominence because the stage of progress, reached by any particular West African group, is simply the natural expression of the environmental influence permitting or prohibiting contact with the outside centres of civilisation.

Among the most primitive, the family is the unit and even the village head has but the least authority. They may be industrious agricultur-

Moreover, the Arab tribes which migrated from Arabia to Nubia and the Eastern Sudan pressed upon many of the Negro and Hamitic tribes settling chiefly in the Nile Valley and consequently set them on the move. These driven peoples migrated westward and forced their way into West Africa. Here it is most interesting to note that all the important migrations of the Western Sudanese groups are traditionally referred to disturbances connected with the wide-spreading movements of Islam. Through these continuous invasions, cultures were transmitted to West Africa and particularly to the open 'camel, goat and cattle' zones. Later on North Africa served as the main base from which West Africa derived its Berber and Arab cultural contributions. Through the activities of the Mandingo and Hausa traders, the newly received cultures were widely spread in West Africa and were even carried through the forest barrier to the Guinea Coast.

Thus continued the spread of Islam in West Africa until it became predominant all along the dry Savana belt with tongues penetrating the wetter Savana further south. There seems very little doubt that for the most part, the progressive West African communities adopted and owed their advance to the acceptance of the new creed which brought with it a highly developed culture. In fact it is to the adoption of Islam that their political and social development became possible. From a material point of view, the Arab greatly improved the conditions of Negro life. Johnston credits the Arabian phase with the introduction of such useful plants as rice, sugar cane, indigo, hemp and even cotton. Wherever Arab influence spread, the cultivation of these new plants soon followed. As to the introduction of the horse culture by the Arab, it is only fair to state that such a view seems very doubtful although he effectively helped the spread of its use.

It remains still to examine the influence of the Arab cultural contributions in the political and social evolution of the West African historical kingdoms such as Ghana, Melle, Songhai and Bornu. There is little evidence as yet to prove that this political development was the outcome of the process of evolution in the native population. What is perhaps certain is that the creation of such owed much to external influences cultural as well as racial. It seems as if the natives were never capable of producing a high standard of organisation by themselves. The West

knowledge of 'boat building, mud architecture, simple articles of furniture, musical instruments and weapons'. For these, the native offered in exchange his 'gold, ivory and slaves' and according to Talbot the Egyptian magic lore.

Beside the main cultural drift from Egypt, there were other minor cultural waves such as those coming from Fezzan and the Mediterranean lands which were connected with West Africa by overland trade routes across the Sahara. That there was such a trade, is fully proved by the evidence of remains in some of the ancient graves of the Ivory Coast. It is even supposed that enterprising Jews crossed the Sahara in the 5th and 6th Centuries A. D. by these oases routes and reached certain areas which, according to Lander the explorer, might be taken to be Borfu in Central Nigeria, where they transplanted their religious beliefs which, he said, lingered down to the 19th Century.

The rise of Islam stamps itself as an important landmark in the history of West Africa because it inaugurated the Arabian cultural phase. The subsequent invasions of Egypt and North Africa that followed, brought about permanent religious, cultural and ethnic consequences for the Western Sudan. The Arab conquerors swept over the continent and began to tear aside the veil which later gave Africa the name of the 'Dark Continent'. It is to the Arab geographers that the task, of making Africa known to the outside world, fell, in the hands of such tireless exponents as Ibn Haukal (930 A.D.), Al Bakri (1070 A.D.), Al Idrisi (1154 A. D.) and Ibn Batuta (1353 A.D.). These, among others, furnished the earliest reliable accounts. The knowledge of Africa thus acquired, began to reach Europe through the Crusades.

Following the Arabisation and Islamisation of the Berbers of North Africa, the spread of Islam in West Africa commenced. The Berbers once converted, became most ardent workers and it is due to their unfailing efforts that Islam spread so quickly. The best way of approach to the Western Sudan was on the western side from Morocco and Tafilet. The eastern route was neglected or rather dreaded because it ran through areas unconverted yet and whose peoples were very troublesome to deal with. It was only after the spread of Islam in these regions that the eastern route regained its eminence as a cultural channel affecting contact with highly cultured Egypt.

All along the northern open lands, other racial and cultural elements continued to percolate intermingling with the old inhabitants who must have benefited by the more advanced cultures of the newcomers. The settlement of the Yoruba and Efik blocked the main natural southern routes towards the coast.

Nevertheless it is important to note that not all West Africa benefited directly from these importations which continually found their way to the area. Here the natural internal conditions played a very important part and some of the obstacles of the past are still operating up to the present time. The tse-tse fly belt, whose northern limit corresponds with that of the low bush, acted as a barrier preventing pastoral groups from penetrating to the coast. This barrier proved as difficult to negotiate as the mosquito belt which thwarted approach from the sea. Consequently, in between the two zones, the peoples and their cultures were effectively isolated.

Thus Egypt began, through its cultural contributions, the development of West Africa. Johnston went further still by assuming that there was also a slight degree of race permeation which carried early Egyptian ethnic features right into the tropical forest and the basin of the Niger. As to the material contributions it is now assumed that all the suitable Egyptian plants were passed from one tribe to the other. Recently, Seligman has been working on "Egyptian influence in Negro Africa"; trying to point out a number of probable contacts between Egyptians and negroes.

Accepting this assumption to be true, then it is most significant because it is the real beginning of the utilisation of West Africa's natural potentialities. Such early exploitation, strange enough, is based on the unique phenomenon that the stimulus came from 'without and not from within'. In other words, development became possible through non-native inspirations and consequently the natives of West Africa should be assigned the role of copyists but not originators. The main channel, along which Egyptian contributions were usually transmitted, started from Dongola cutting across the Eastern Sudan to Lake Chad basin. Thus came the 'long and straight backed ox, the humped ox, the fat tailed sheep, the little Sudanese goat, soyum grain, millet, yam, various peas, beans, gourds and pumpkins'. In addition to these, the natives received some

What changes the region has seen, through being continually flooded by successive waves of migrations, must remain unknown. Both tradition and folklore are misleading because every group tries always to trace back its origin, history and culture to some respectable name of a tribe, sect or cult of some advanced country. This is particularly true of the Moslem groups invariably tracing themselves back either to Arabia chiefly Mecca and Yemen or to Egypt and Tunis. The relatively advanced pagan groups do the same thing as they tend always to choose for themselves some fancy remote origins.

Thus neither history, tradition nor record throws any light on the past of West Africa until the Arab historians began to do so. What is almost certain is the fact that during the early phases of West African history, the region was only the habitat of human beings living in the lowest stage of development. There is little doubt that without the aid of the external cultural transmissions which certainly reached the area, the people would have remained unaware of any appreciable progress. As a matter of fact, no traces remain of any advanced stage of development until comparatively recent times.

As to the external influences that reached West Africa during the pre-Islamic period, Meek, Barker and Talbot among others, are of opinion that Egypt was the main centre from which early transmissions took place. It is believed that during this early Egyptian phase, a constant stream of peoples, goods and ideas penetrated West Africa as far as Liberia and the Ivory Coast. This theory has been greatly strengthened by the finding of objects in Yorubaland which according to Meek, in his *Northern tribes of Nigeria,* vol. I have been traced by Egyptologists to belong to the 6th Century B. C. Among such movements was that which brought the Efik peoples to settle and colonise the Cross river district. It is also assumed that the ancestors of the "Yoruba Dahomey Benin" peoples came by the same route. Thus one is now able to account for the skilled agriculture and metal working shown by their descendants of today. Another movement brought the Mossi peoples who came along the northern edge of the Savana zone and passed towards the bend of the Niger. They showed reluctance towards any change in their cultures and retained, up to the present time, their old pastoral occupations in their new environment.

as a whole, are racially mainly negroid although they show certain appreciable Hamito-Berber influences as well as a comparatively recent Semitic infilteration.

In addition to these distinct racial types, every form of hybridisation may be seen among the various groups though these may be living in close proximity to one another. The excessive heterogeneity can be accounted for by the ferment of the peoples inhabiting or coming by the 'Sudan Road' especially after the Islamic conquests. Moreover, a long period of intermixture between members of radically different groups, has resulted in the defacement of many distinctive ethnic and cultural peculiarities. This applies more truly to the groups dwelling far from the coast as they have been greatly influenced by the successive waves of immigration which usually brought new elements and new cultures. As far as the original pagan 'forest negro' is concerned, he shows the least modification because his home was the least attractive for the newcomers.

In all these migratory phases, the newcomers drove the earlier and the more primitive peoples into the inaccessible districts until they were again set on the move by stronger groups. Resisting tribes were either conquered or exterminated or enslaved, blending in turn, with their conquerors or forced to take refuge in a hilly rugged region as the Bauchi plateau or into the equally inaccessible forest and swamp belt which characterises West Africa south of the 9th N. latitude.

The main lines of migration, which resulted in both racial and cultural infilterations all over the more open country of West Africa, came either as a southward movement from North Africa, as such which brought Berber influences, or through the "Sudan Road" following the Savana edge from the east and affecting contact with the upper valley of the Nile.

The history of such early racial and cultural migrations must remain obscure and speculative because there is scarcely anything in the form of authentic literature.

West African history proper does not begin until the 8th Century A. D. Prior to this date one seems inclined to agree with Moulin in his '*L'Afrique à travers les âges*' that we should be contented with a roughly sketched picture to give the necessary impressions. West Africa, doubtless, has been peopled by natives for countless ages but nothing definite is known as regards their ethnic composition as well as their cultural attainments.

of natural unhindered means of communication, namely navigable waterways, all told in the history of the cultural development of West Africa.

Consequently, West Africa and more particularly Western Sudan, has, from earliest times, seen constant admixture of races and cultures. The absence of natural barriers has largely contributed to this great admixture as well as to the fact that there are no sharp ethnographic or cultural divisions. In fact one must visualise the whole of West Africa as a zone of ethnographic and cultural sweepings. Such understanding may help to account for the existence of the most varied ethnological elements, which are found, distributed according to the measure of attraction that invited the occupation by anyone of these cultural groups. Indeed, internal conditions played an important part because they greatly affected the distribution and above all differentiated the various groups. Thus one finds regions altogether homogeneous, nomadic confederations, agricultural communities and multitudes of independent peoples, in all stages and degrees of development, speaking their own languages, living their own life and having their own customs and peculiar characteristics. Even at present, no part of Africa is more politically confused, consisting as it does, of a series of 'enclaves' stretching back from the coast, each originating in a coastal trading centre established between the 15th and 18th centuries and now belonging alternately to France and Great Britain, with a single remaining Portuguese possession and the liberian Republic of the liberated slaves to add to the confusion.

Beside the Negrillo peoples represented by the scattered groups who are gradually disappearing as they are being absorbed by the more vigorous elements, there is the 'forest negro' who is the purest representative of the West African negro type which constitutes the backbone of the whole population. In their purest state, these types are found mainly in the seaward slopes which are usually covered by either dense tropical or wet Savana forests. Hunting, fishing and food gathering were the main occupations but when the forest was cleared, the most primitive shifting type of agriculture was practised. De Preville considered this belt as his ''banana and millet'' zone. The northern slopes with their open character extending to the edge of the Sahara, constituted the pastoral area for his ''camel, goat and cattle'' zones, while possibly also practising cereal cultivation during the rainy season. The Savana peoples

EGYPTIAN AND FOREIGN ELEMENTS

IN THE EVOLUTION

OF WEST AFRICAN CULTURES

BY

M. A. M. SHARKAWY.

A study of the orographic, climatic and vegetational aspects of West Africa will reveal that West Africa constitutes a well defined natural region with certain marked features. This is why it has always been the custom to speak of West Africa as if it were a compact and uniform geographical unit. The whole of West Africa has been given a geographical unity from *Mauretania* to *Nigeria* by its common hinterland centring round the Niger and Senegal basins and depending on the long sweep of the Guinea Coast. It is a flat country of river basins and forests, the key to the whole, being the relation between the interior and the coastal outlets.

It is most important to think of West Africa as a whole, as a moderately elevated plateau girt by a narrow lowland coastal belt reinforced by a thick forest covering stamping it as most inaccessible from the sea. The very existence of the Sahara has rendered accessibility, on the landward side, extremely difficult. Thus bounded on the north by the Sahara and on the south and west by the triple barrier of 'surf, lagoon, fever fringe' and by the forest wall, West Africa is separated though not completely isolated from the rest of the continent. Only to the east, there is easy communication by the Sudan 'grass road' inspite of its being naturally limited southward by the steep faced and densely forested Camerons while northward it is flanked by the Sahara east of the Ashen plateau. The presence of these natural barriers as well as the absence

of minor interest. What is of importance is that all students in the same field should use key terms like magic and religion with the same meaning. Magic and religion are clearly what we define them to be in terms of behaviour. We do not want a discussion about the relation of abstractions to one another in a cultural vacuum but we want a discussion about the relations between magical behaviour and religious behaviour in specific cultures. Tylor and Frazer defined religion much more clearly than they defined magic and their division has been accepted by many scholars [1] and may be used as a convenient starting point for more intensive research.

(5) Frazer's division of magic into "homoeopathic" and "contagious" likewise is a step in advance of Tylor's analysis and serves as a basis for still further analysis of the symbolism of magic.

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[1] To mention only one : W. H. R. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic and Religion*, Kegan Paul, 1927, p. 4 and *passim*. This writer does not consider, however, that primitive peoples have the "concept of the natural" and therefore not of the supernatural.

the objection with Freud «dass die Assoziationstheorie der Magie bloss die Wege aufklärt, welche die Magie geht, aber nicht deren eigentliches Wesen, nämlich nicht das Missverständnis, welches sie psychologische Gesetze an die Stelle naturlicher setzen heisst" [1].

If I have criticised Frazer severely I render hommage to his scholarship. The *Golden Bough* is an essential source-book for all students of human thought and the faithful way in which he has treated his authorities is an assurance that we drink at an undiluted stream. His writings have always been, and no less today than in the past, a stimulus to those working in the same field and every criticism is a tribute. But we can go farther than making these acknowledgements—we must take over from Tylor and Frazer many sound ideas and use them in the foundations of any theory of magic which is to stand the test of criticism and research. As we are, as it were, taking these ideas away with us, they may be listed as briefly as possible since in future writings they will be utilised, while those ideas which we believe to be erroneous and to which we have devoted lengthy criticism are being jettisoned once and for all.

(1) Tylor's exposition of the variations of magic as a form of social behaviour with variations in cultural developement.

(2) Tylor's brilliant analysis of the mechanisms which compel and maintain faith in magic among savage and barbarous peoples.

(3) Frazer's observation, cautiously stated, of the oft found identity of the public magician with the political chief.

(4) The division of ritual into religion and magic on the formal basis of presence or absence of belief in spirits with attendant cult, put forward by Tylor and adopted by Frazer, is an acceptable terminological device. So much time and labour has been expended in a futile endeavour to define the respective spheres of magic and religion in the abstract that it is necessary to state that sociology studies social behaviour and distinguishes between one type of behaviour and another and whether a particular type of behaviour is labelled with one term or with another term is

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[1] *Totem und Tabu*, p. 111.

an ideal connection for a real one and confused subjective with objective experiences his life would be chaos. He could not exist. It is a psychological absurdity. Why then do savages only *sometimes* make these associations between phenomena and not *always* make them? Why do *some* peoples make them and *others* on the same cultural level, not make them? Knowledge of the cultural situation in which the association is made will alone answer these questions. The association will be found to be not a general one but a particular one which is specific in a certain situation. Stones and sun are not linked in a general association but only in the special situation in which a stone is placed in the fork of a tree to keep the sun from sinking. The association comes into being by the performance of a rite. There is no mystical relation between sun and stones but man endows a particular stone with a ritual quality by using it in a rite and for the duration of the rite. When a savage throws water into the air he does not imagine that by doing so he produces rain. He only thinks this when he throws water into the air during the performance of a rite to produce rain. Hence there is no mistaken association of ideas. The association between a certain quality in one thing and the same quality in another thing is a correct and universal association. It does not violate the laws of logic for it is a psychological process altogether outside their sphere. It would certainly be a mistake were the savage to hold that because things are alike they can, in virtue of their likeness alone, act on one another at a distance or that by merely imitating an act he can produce it. But here again the savage makes no such mistake. He believes that certain rites can produce certain results and the mimetic or homoeopathic elements in the rite are the manner in which the purpose of the rite is expressed. It is the rite itself, the performance of standardised movements and the uttering of standardised words and the other stereotyped conditions of ritual, which achieves the result. The savage does not say "Whatever I imitate will happen so that if throw water into the air rain will fall". What he says is "There is no rain at this season of the year when there ought to be rain and if we get the rain-maker to perform a rite rain will fall and our crops will be saved". Why rites so often take a mimetic form is a psychological problem which we shall not discuss here. Marett has put forward a brilliant hypothesis but it is possible to advance other theories. We must therefore make

together in magical performances when he does not associate them together in other situations and why he associates these two particular things and not other things which have the same qualities of colour. It would never occur to us to associate gold and jaundice together so why should the Greek peasant associate them together? The answer can hardly be avoided that he associates them together in certain situations because he learns to do so when he learns to speak and behave as other members of his society learn to speak and behave. But one presumes that the Greek peasant does not always make this association and that it is possible for him to think of and use gold without thinking of jaundice and even that he can think of jaundice without associating it with gold. It is also pertinent to ask why he should associate gold and not something else with jaundice and in posing this question a whole range of problems present themselves. We ask whether there are other things which in their culture fulfil the conditions of colour and adaptibility to the requirements of magical useage, we ask what is the social value given to gold in other situations, we ask whether there is evidence of the association, in the situation of jaundice, having been borrowed as a single trait from neighbouring peoples, and we may ask many other questions.

The point I wish to emphasize is that these associations are situational associations. They derive their sociological significance because they are social facts and not because they are psychological facts. It is the social situation which gives them meaning, which even gives them the possibilities of expression. Magic and gold come into cultural associations in the life of an individual because they are linked together by a magical rite. We must not say that a Greek peasant sees that gold and jaundice have the same colour and that therefore he can use the one to cure the other. Rather we must say that because gold is used to cure jaundice colour associations between them becomes established in the mind of a Greek peasant. It may even be asked to what extent the resemblance between their colours is consciously formulated by the performer of the rite, to what extent he is aware of the colour link in the association of gold and jaundice.

No savage believes that everything which has the same size, or colour, or weight, or temperature, or sound, etc., are in mystical connection and can be used to operate on one another. If primitive man really mistook

problems distinct if we are to find our way through this labyrinth of vague generalisations. Sensations and abstractions and simple comparison of abstractions are psychological processes common to all mankind and in a sociological study of magic they do not concern us as psychological facts. We are also not concerned with the question why magical associations embody notions of position and resemblance. It is inconceivable that they should not. The problem which concerns us is related to the social value or social indication which is given to objects and qualities. This value may be empirical, that is to say it may attribute to a thing, and utilise, the qualities which it really possesses. For example, a stone is considered to be hard and is therefore used as a tool. Or the value may be mystical, that is to say it may attribute to a thing qualities which it does not possess and which are not subject to sensory impressions. For example a stone may be used in magical rites or be considered the dwelling place of a spirit. The perception of similar colouring in gold and jaundice is a psychological fact which requires a psychological explanation. The embodiment of this perception in a social technique is a sociological fact and requires a sociological explanation. It is not our business to explain the sensations which the physical qualities of an object produce in men but it is our task to explain the social qualities with which men invest the object. The tendency of Tylor and Frazer to explain social facts in terms of individual psychology have been justly criticised by Durkheim and his school. Either this means that a pattern of thought can be explained in terms of psycho-physical functioning of a individual's brain which appears to be absurd if only because the pattern existed before the individual was born and he inherited it as part of his social heritage, even when it involves sensations which have to be individually experienced, or it means that a pattern of thought can be explained by an individual's mental content which is, of course, no explanation at all.

Even the simplest associations if they are to be anything more than passing images are creations of social useage, of language, of technology, of magic, and so on. This is why in experiments on association there is really so little free association and why the responses evoked in so many subjects are so often of the same type. One is not surprised that a Greek peasant can see a resemblance between the colour of gold and the colour of jaundice but the problem is why he should associate these two things

in the magical situation of therapeutic treatment or have they an association outside this situation in the minds of Greek peasants? An example of association fixed by language is elephantiasis for when we speak of the disease we inevitably mention this animal. The Azande of the Nile-Uello Divide make the same comparison and the association is embodied in the word and is therefore not restricted to situations in which elephant's foot is used to cure elephantiasis. We have to enquire also whether the abstraction of a quality in magical associations is always a culturally indicated perception, e.g. in colour associations; and other lines of enquiry could be suggested.

The second proposition is most misleading and is illustrative of one of those perilous leaps backwards and forwards in the dark from observable social behaviour to individual psychological processes which distinguish anthropolgical gymnastics. Frazer's argument runs as follows : to the Greek peasant jaundice and gold are of the same colour and since things which are alike react on one another gold if used according to certain rules will cure jaundice. I would prefer to state the proposition as follows : gold and jaundice produce the same sensations of colour and this similarity is culturally indicated by their association in magical behaviour. It is the middle expression in Frazer's thesis to which objection is taken. In his account he frequently informs us that in savage minds like produces like and that contiguous things remain in contact when their contiguity ceases to be objective and remains, as we would say, only a memory image. We are told that "the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it" and that "homoeopathic magic makes the mistake of assuming that things which resemble each other are the same".

We may first note in criticism of this point of view that it is always uncertain what Frazer means by his statements because the inferences he refers to are only "implicitly believed" or "tacitly assumed". But beliefs and assumptions are judgements, they are conscious processes in which the middle term between two associated images is known to the thinker. Apart from this terminological haze which hangs over the whole discussion and which alone serves to obscure all issues there is a hopeless jumble of psychological and sociological problems in which psychological concepts are used where they are quite irrelevant. We must keep our

They are found to rest on perception of position and perception of similarities. (2) These associations are to us no more than memory images of qualities of things which have an ideal relationship in our minds but the savage mistakes these ideal relations for real relations in the world around him. We and savages both think in the same way insofar as perception and comparison of sensations are concerned but the savage then leaves us behind and goes a step further by believing that because two things are associated together in his memory image that they are objectively associated. He believes that because things are like each other they will act on each other since they are bound by an invisible link.

We can accept the first proposition without hesitation. It was clearly ennunciated by Tylor and abundantly illustrated by Frazer. We can adopt the terminology of the *Golden Bough* and speak of *Homoeopathic Magic* and *Contagious Magic*. But it is surprising that Frazer made no deeper analysis for to tell us that magical thought rests on perception of position and similarities is not to tell us much since these are the elementary processes of all thought and it follows from the fact that magic is man-made. A more comprehensive analysis could be made by listing the particular qualities of objects which are associated in the ideology of magic. For example in the instance of the gold-jaundice association it is the quality of colour. The mental associations embodied in magic can thus be resolved into even simpler elements than Frazer's laws of similarity and contagion; they can be resolved into the simplest of conscious sensations and the notions and memory images resulting from them. It can be shown upon which abstractions magic is built up, whether of sight, hearing, odour, taste, or touch. When a stone figures in magic which of its qualities is abstracted in the magical association, its size, its colour, its roughness, its temperature, or its weight? Magical associations can likewise be resolved into elementary notions of the dimensions of sensations, position in space, position in time, dimensions of size, and so on. He might also have shown us how in a complicated rite a single part of a process is selected to stand for the whole, as Thurnwald has done. A third, but difficult, task would be to show whether the association is restricted to a single cultural situation or whether it figures in a number of cultural situations; sometimes even being given a permanence and inevitability by language. Are gold and jaundice associated together only

and it is not then assumed that because phenomena are alike in respect to this single quality that they are alike in other respects which have not been subject to critical comparative analysis. In a study of social facts the procedure is all the more hazardous for these are defined by their inter-relations and if they are abstracted from their social milieu it is essential to realise that they are only comparable in a limited number of respects and not as complete social facts. By use of the comparative method Frazer was successful in demonstrating that the ideology of magic rests upon fundamental laws of thought for it is possible to isolate the ideological associations of a vast number of magical rites and to compare them simply as examples of evident notions which are the raw material of all human thought. But when Frazer then proceeds to find a similarity between magic and science merely because the scientist and the magician use the processes of all thought building, sensation, abstraction, and comparison, the procedure is clearly inadmissible because it does not follow from the fact that both magic and science display in their ideologies the most elementary processes of thought that there is any real similarity between scientific and magical techniques and systems of thought. This *pars pro toto* fallacy is again shown in Frazer's argument that because magic and science both disregard spiritual beings they are similar in virtue of this absent association. This is equivalent to saying that *x* is not *y* and *z* is not *y* and that therefore *x* and *z* are the same. I conclude therefore that Frazer's theories of the similarity between magic and science and of their historic stages are unsupported by either sound evidence or logic and that they have little heuristic value. Indeed they are formulated in such a manner that it is difficult to present them in a scientific form at all and consequently they impede rather than assist us in our quest. It is useless to attempt to solve the queries which Frazer raises. We have to formulate the problems anew if we are to conduct a scientific enquiry.

Of what value is the whole Tylor-Frazer conception of magic as a mistaken association of ideas. Here we may distinguish between two propositions : — (1) in the words and actions of magic we can discern the operation of certain elementary laws of thought. The associations which link the rite and its objective are so simple that they are evident to us who are far removed from the cultures in which magic flourishes.

and ready to make adjustments in its notions of reality whereas magic is relatively non-experimental and the magician is impervious to experience, as science understands the term, since he employs no methods of testing or control. If moreover Frazer had not brought the scientific specialist on to the scene in order to compare him with the magical specialist but had compared magical knowledge and behaviour with scientific knowledge and behaviour, that is to say had compared those forms of knowledge which accord with objective reality with those which distort objective reality and those forms of behaviour which achieve their purpose with those forms of behaviour which are only believed to achieve their purpose, and had compared them as types of thought and behaviour in the same cultural conditions instead of in totally different cultural conditions, his investigations would have been of greater value. He might have compared empirical behaviour with magical behaviour among the savages of Australia and observed their interaction, their social inter-relations, and their concomitant psychological states, with some chance of reaching valid conclusions about the differences which exist between them. Lévy-Bruhl who took an exactly opposite point of view, holding that magical thought and scientific thought stand to each other as black to white, made the same mistake of comparing our science with savage magic instead of comparing savage empiricism with savage magic.

Besides suffering from the influence of current psychological and evolutionary theories Frazer's exposition also suffered from current methodological deficiencies. He used what is known as the comparative method and this does not mean the conviction that any scientific generalisation must rest on a comparative study of similar phenomena, a conviction common to all men of science and an essential part of their methodology, but a particular way of comparing phenomena which was extensively used by all anthropological writers at the end of the last century. It consisted in selecting from a vast mass of data, uneven and often poor in quality, whatever phenomena appeared to belong to the same type. This proved to be a very dangerous proceeding because the selection of facts was made on the grounds of similarity between phenomena in virtue of a single common quality. The qualities which were different in each instance were neglected. This is a perfectly sound method of scientific analysis so long as conclusions are restricted to the particular quality abstracted

science and magic is unintelligible. He says that science and magic both visualise an uniform nature subject to invariable laws and that the scientist and the magician have a like psychological approach to nature. It is clear from accounts of savages that they have no conception of nature as a system organised by laws and in any case the utilisation of magic to influence the course of nature is surely in direct opposition to the scientist's conception of the universe. You cannot both believe in natural law and that you can delay the sun by placing a stone in the fork of a tree. If there are any regularities and uniformities of thought they are in the workings of magic and not of nature. But the whole discussion seems rather pointless for you have to be a scientist to note regularities and uniformities and organise them into a conscious theory of the universe. Indeed Frazer himself speaks of the magical view of the universe subject to law and expressing uniformity as implicit and not explicit and it is difficult to see any sense in theoretical magic which is not explicit. All it can mean is that if we used magic in the same way as the savage uses it we would have a theory that the world was sufficiently regular in its working for us to rely on magic to control it since it may be expected always to react in the same manner to the performance of the same spell or rite. We should generalise our experiences in this manner because we are scientifically orientated but since we are scientifically orientated we should at once perceive the fallacy of magic. With regard to the supposition that the man of science and the man of magic both approach their task with quiet confidence and masterful assurance and that their psychology contrasts with the nervous apprehension and humility of the man of religion it can only be said that Frazer produces no facts in support of his contention.

The apparent futility of Frazer's analogy between science and magic is due to the fact that he sees both as modes of thinking and not as learnt modes of technical behaviour with concomitant speech forms. If he had compared a magical rite in its entirety with a scientific performance in its entirety instead of comparing what he supposes to go on in the brain of a magician with what he supposes to go on in the brain of a scientist he would have seen the essential difference between science and magic. This difference is most strikingly shown in the experimental standpoint on the two modes of behaviour. Science experiments and is open to experience

are technologically advanced we shall find that on the whole the technique of magic in less prominent a mode of behaviour in the latter than in the former. We may say therefore that magic is a technique characteristic of simple societies and tends to disappear with the advancement of civilisation, a point of view advanced by Tylor and strikingly developed by Lévy-Bruhl in the provoking contrast he makes between Primitive Mentality and Civilised Mentality.

If we mean by science an elaborate system of knowledge, the result of experimentation in the hands of specialists, such as we think of when we speak about science today, there is little difficulty in assigning to it an historical stage in the developement of human thought. But if we mean any correct knowledge of natural processes and acquaintance with technological methods then it is clearly improper to place science at one end and magic at the other end of a series of developemental stages, as Frazer has done, since it is evident that no peoples could possibly have lived in a state of culture sufficient to engage in ritual unless they first had sufficient technological knowledge to master their environment. You cannot have agricultural or hunting magic unless you have agriculture and hunting. Moreover, the most primitive societies of today are always found to be equipped with a sound knowledge of nature. The difference between scientific knowledge used in the first sense and scientific knowledge used in the second sense is one of degree but it may be generally stated that in the first useage means that you understand that certain things do happen invariably and that the second useage means that you understand how and why they happen. In the first case you know that if you plant maize seeds in a certain type of ground at a certain time of the year maize will grow. In the second case you know why the seeds grow at all, why they grow in one soil and not in another, and why they grow at one time of the year and not at another. But even here there are many degrees of knowledge and the empirical shades into the scientific.

It is never clear what Frazer means by science for he uses the word now in one sense now in another but on the whole he seems to mean the conscious striving after knowledge, the systems of criticism and controls, and the use of logic and experiment, which the word implies in ordinary useage today. Used in this sense the analogy which he draws between

mental associations between phenomena. Moreover this evolutionary theory suffers from the same drawback as others of its kind, namely that it is quite beyond proof or disproof. If anyone had been present when men performed their first rites he might have recorded their nature and we could then have classified them as religion or magic according to our several formulæ. Frazer's theory of how mankind changed from a magical to a religious view of the universe is hardly presented as a serious thesis and is not treated as one here.

Nevertheless the priority in time of magic over religion, though it cannot be inductively proved might have been deductively concluded if Frazer had made an exhaustive survey of the facts by the method of correlation such as was employed by Tylor, Steinmetz, and Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Wheeler. It might be possible to show that magic is specially prominent in those societies with a low technological equipment and undeveloped political organisation and that when we examine types of society with more efficient technology and more complex social organisation we find a greater absence of magical rites and a greater number of religious ones and that finally we reach societal types of greatest technical efficiency and most complex social life in which magic is almost absent and religion less prominent than in the second type while behaviour and thought are becoming more and more exclusively empirical.

An analysis of the kind suggested here, particularly of the correlation of magical and empirical thought with other forms of social behaviour would be well worth the labour that it would cost. There can be no doubt that magic as a dominant form of social behaviour is restricted to savage and barbarous peoples. This does not mean that all uncivilised societies are magic-ridden or does it mean that magic is totally unknown in civilised communities [1]. What it means is that if we trace the changes which have taken place in those civilisations for which we possess written history we shall find that there is a slow and cumulative increase in empirical knowledge and a slowly diminishing body of magical knowledge and that also if we compare societies without the art of writing and without advanced technology with those that possess the art of writing and

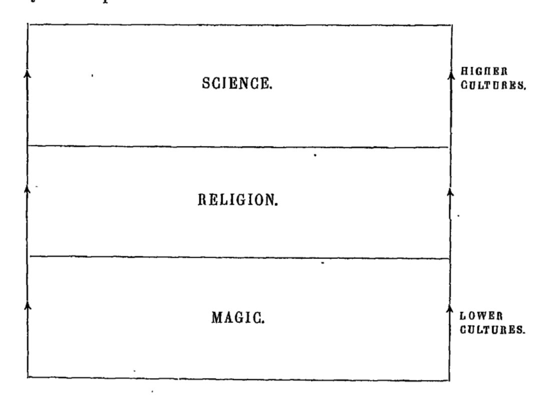
(1) A vast literature could be cited on magical rites practised by the peasantry of Europe.

Having summarised the theories of Tylor and Frazer I shall now try to sort them out and class them as hypotheses capable of inductive proof and in accordance with present knowledge, hypotheses which cannot be proved inductively but which have heuristic value, and hypotheses which are useless either because they are contrary to ascertained facts or being beyond proof or disproof by inductive enquiry lack also even heuristic value. Into the last class come Frazer's theories about the affective and ideational similarity between magic and science, about the developement of thought through stages of magic, religion, and science, and the greater part of his analysis of magical symbolism.

Tylor and Frazer were both dominated by the evolutionary ideas of their time and tended to see different types of behaviour as representatives of historic stages. Frazer especially arranged his types in a temporal sequence which was hardly justified by his methods of investigation. He could have shown the historical developement of magic and science, as Thorndike, for instance, has done, in a definite culture of which we have historical knowledge, or he could have carefully defined cultural types on a consensus of cultural traits and demonstrated the correlation between these types and modes of thought. He used neither of these methods with the result that his theory of the evolutionary progress of mankind through stages of magic, religion, and science, has earned Marett's title of a platonic myth and it is possible that Frazer would have been content with this description and regarded his scheme as a convenient framework on which to weave his vast assortment of facts. There is nothing in Frazer's arguments which proves a chronological priority for magic over religion and empirical knowledge. Frazer's argument that the Australians, who have the simplest material culture we know, show much magical and little religious behaviour falls to the ground on the impact of critical analysis. It has been pointed out that other peoples who may be considered as low in the cultural scale as the Australians, have little magic; that the Australians cannot be taken as a cultural unit since they differ widely among themselves; and that moreover many Australian tribes have pronounced animistic beliefs and cults. Frazer's plea that animals make mental associations between phenomena and that this is also the essence of magical beliefs is a very remote and superficial analogy. Magic is a system of ritual techniques and not simple

«Hence the king starting as a magician, tends gradually to exchange the practice of magic for the priestly functions of prayer and sacrifice. And while the distinction between the human and the divine is still imperfectly drawn, it is often imagined that men may themselves attain to godhead not merely after their death, but in their life time, through the temporary or permanent possession of their whole nature by a great and powerful spirit» [1].

While Tylor traced the changes which have taken place in the form and functions of magic, religion, and science, through the ages and kept his conception of their growth and decay within the limits set by knowledge derived from history and a comparative study of cultures, Frazer traced the progress of human thought through stratified grades of unilinear developement, each grade representing a step on which mankind has everywhere rested awhile on his path of upward progress. We may therefore present Frazer's scheme diagrammatically to compare it with the diagrammatic presentation which we have drawn to demonstrate Tylor's viewpoint.



[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 372.

velopement of human thought we find a distinction drawn between religion and superstition, magic being classed as a superstition.

«But when, still later, the conception of the elemental forces as personal agents is giving way to the recognition of natural law; then magic, based as it implicitly is on the idea of a necessary and invariable sequence of cause and effect, independent of personal will, reappears from the obscurity and discredit into which it had fallen, and by investigating the causal sequencies in nature, directly prepares the way for science. Alchemy leads up to chemistry» [1].

(5) Finally Frazer rounds off his account of magic by showing the part it has played in the history of political developement. Magic is practised in primitive societies not only by private individuals for their own private purposes but also by public functionaries on behalf on the whole community and these men are able to gain great wealth and repute and may acquire rank and authority by their ritual functions. Moreover the profession of public magician selects the ablest, most ambitious, and most unscrupulous, men in society since it sets a premium on knavish imposture. That 'public magic' is often a road to political influence and social prestige and private affluence Frazer shows by many actual examples from Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, and Africa, and he justly concludes that :

«in point of fact magicians appear to have often developed into chiefs and kings. Not that magic is the only or perhaps even the main road by which men have travelled to a throne» [2].

In this progress from magician to king the fear inspired by ritual power is backed by the wealth the magician is able to amass in the exercise of his profession. The profession of magician appears to be the earliest professional class in human society and the first sign of social differentiation. Frazer then brings his thesis of political developement into connexion with his theory of the chronological sequence of magic to religion. For he believes that the evolution of the magician-chief goes hand in hand with the breakdown of magic and the birth of religion. Hence the magician as he gains political supremacy tends at the same time to emerge as the priest.

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[1] Sir J. G. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 374.

[2] *Id.*, p. 332.

«The shrewder intelligences must in time have come to perceive that magical ceremonies and incantations did not really effect the results which they were designed to produce, and which the majority of their simpler fellows still believed that they did actually produce. This great discovery of the inefficacy of magic must have wrought a radical though probably slow revolution in the minds of those who had the sagacity to make it. The discovery amounted to this, that men for the first time recognised their inability to manipulate at pleasure certain natural forces which hitherto they had believed to be completely within their control. It was a confession of human ignorance and weakness. Man saw that he had taken for causes what were no causes, and that all his efforts to work by means of these imaginary causes had been vain. His painful toil had been wasted, his curious ingenuity had been squandered to no purpose. He had been pulling at strings to which nothing was attached; he had been marching, as he thought, straight to the goal, while in reality he had only been treading in a narrow circle. Not that the effects which he had striven so hard to produce did not continue to manifest themselves. They were still produced, but not by him. The rain still fell on the thirsty ground : the sun still pursued his daily, and the moon her nightly journey across the sky : the silent procession of the seasons still moved in light and shadow, in cloud and sunshine across the earth : men were still born to labour and sorrow, and still, after a brief sojourn here, were gathered to their fathers in the long home hereafter. All things indeed went on as before, yet all seemed different to him from whose eyes the old scales had fallen. For he could no longer cherish the pleasing illusion that it was he who guided the earth and the heaven in their courses, and that they would cease to perform their great revolutions were he to take his feeble hand from the wheel. In the death of his enemies and his friends he no longer saw a proof of the resistless potency of his own or of hostile enchantments; he now knew that friends and foes alike had succumbed to a force stronger than any that he could wield, and in obedience to a destiny which he was powerless to control» [1].

In the end magic is suppressed by religion and eventually comes under the ban of the priesthood as a black art. So at a late period in the de-

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. 1922. Vol. I, pp. 237-8.

magic to religion and he asks whether the recorded facts from Australia do not justify the query that «just as on the material side of human culture there has been everywhere an Age of Stone, so on the intellectual side there has everywhere been an Age of Magic?»[1].

His third argument in favour of the priority of magic asserts that since we find everywhere an enormous variation in the forms of religious belief while the essence of magical belief is always the same we may assume that just as magic represents a substratum of belief in civilised communities whose upper social elements are busied with some one or other of the multitude of religious creeds so it represents as well an earlier, more primitive, phase of thought in the history of the human race in which all men held the same magical faith.

«This universal faith, this truly Catholic creed, is a belief in the efficacy of magic. While religious systems differ not only in different countries, but in the same country in different ages, the system of sympathetic magic remains everywhere and at all times substantially alike in its principles and practice. Among the ignorant and superstitious classes of modern Europe it is very much what it was thousands of years ago in Egypt and India, and what is now among the lowest savages surviving in the remotest corners of the world. If the test of truth lay in a show of hands or a counting of heads, the system of magic might appeal, with far more reason than the Catholic Church, to the proud motto, «*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*» as the sure and certain credential of its own infallibility»[2].

Frazer then proceeds to enquire about the process of mental change from an exclusive belief in magic to a belief in religion also. He thinks that he can do no more than «hazard a more or less plausible conjecture» about this change in orientation of belief. This conjecture is that the shrewder intelligences began to see that magic did not really accomplish what it set out to accomplish and fell back on the belief that there were beings, like themselves, who directed the course of nature and who must be placated and cajoled into granting man what he had hitherto believed himself able to bring about through magic on his own initiative.

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* 3rd, ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 235.

[2] *Id.,* pp. 235-6.

as regulate all natural and magical causation, or whether mankind admits their absolute control over nature and tries to conciliate or propitiate them in consequence of his belief in their powers.

(4) But it is not merely in their philosophies and in their modes of attempting to control nature that magic and religion are different. They belong to different strata in the history of human developement and where we find that they have amalgamated we may regard this overlapping of one stage on to the other as being in no sense primitive and we may conclude that «there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of such wants as transcended his immediate animal cravings»[1]. For this startling conclusion, borrowed from Jevons, Frazer gives us three reasons. Firstly he claims that magic is logically more primitive than religion, and may therefore be fairly considered to belong to an earlier stage in the developement of thought, since the simplest recognition of similarity or contiguity of ideas is not so complex as the conception of personal agents, even animals being supposed to associate the ideas of things which are like each other or which have been found together in their experience, while no one attributes to the brutes a belief in spiritual agents. To this purely deductive argument Frazer adds a second and inductive observation. He claims that among the aborigines of Australia,

«the rudest savages as to whom we possess accurate information, magic is universally practised, whereas religion in the sense of a propitiation or conciliation of the highest powers seems to be nearly unknown. Roughly speaking, all men in Australia are magicians, but not one is a priest; everybody fancies he can influence his fellows or the course of nature by sympathetic magic, but nobody dreams of propitiating gods by prayer and sacrifice»[2].

It is not, therefore, unreasonable, says Frazer, to deduce from the fact that the most backward culture in the world is prolific in magic and barren in religion that all other races have advanced to their higher cultural position through the same historic stages of developement from

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Boug*, 3rd. ed., 1922 vol. I, p. 233.
[2] *Id.*, p. 234.

tical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them »[1].

Hence religion assumes that nature is under the control of spirits and that these spirits can alter its course as they please. Frazer contrasts this notion of a plastic and variable nature with the notion of nature subject to immutable laws as postulated by magic and science.

« The distinction between the two conflicting views of the universe turns on their answer to the crucial question. Are the forces which govern the world conscious and personal, or unconscious and impersonal? Religion, as a conciliation of the superhuman powers, assumes the former of the alternative. For all conciliation implies that the being conciliated is a conscious or personal agent, that his conduct is in some measure uncertain, and that he can be prevailed upon to vary it in the desired direction by a judicious appeal to his interests, his appetites, or his emotions. Conciliation is never employed towards things which are regarded as inanimate, nor towards persons whose behaviour in the particular circumstances is known to be determined with absolute certainty. Thus in so far as religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious agents who may be turned from their purpose by persuasion, it stands in fundamental antagonism to magic as well as to science, both of which take for granted that the course of nature is determined, not by the passions or caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically. In magic, indeed, the assumption is only implicit, but in science it is explicit[2].

Frazer recognises the problem of reconciling this definition with recorded knowledge of barbaric cultures in which the gods are influenced by magic or are even themselves magicians. Are not magic and religion, as Frazer defines them, in such cases an insoluble compound of ritual and belief? From his intellectualist position Frazer says that they are not insoluble for in such cases it is easy to see whether mankind treats the gods in the same way as he treats inanimate objects, as subject to his spells which they are bound to obey through the same immutable laws

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(1) Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 222.

(2) *Id.*, p. 223.

And again :

« Wherever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. Thus its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony, accompanied by the appropriate spell, will inevitably be attended by the desired results, unless, indeed, his incantations should chance to be thwarted and foiled by the more potent charms of another sorcerer. He supplicates no higher power : he sues the favour of no fickle and wayward being : he abases himself before no awful deity[1].

Magic assumes « a sequence of events determined by law »[2]. Science differs from magic not in its assumptions and approach to reality but in the validity of its concepts and the efficacy of its art.

(3) Frazer's distinction between magic and science by the test of objective validity clearly will not hold as a means of differentiating magic from religion, between which Frazer saw « a fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle »[3]. Magic is to him something different in kind to religion and not merely the earliest phase in the developement of its thought. He differentiates between them in much the same manner as Tylor. Tylor considered belief in spiritual beings to constitute religion and recognised that belief invariably leads to cult. Frazer stresses the cult rather more than Tylor; otherwise their theories are identical. Religion according to Frazer is :

« A propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. Thus defined, religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a prac-

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(1) Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 220.
(2) *Id.*, p. 221.
(3) *Id.*, Preface, xx.

(2) The analogy between the basic ideas of magic and those of science which we find merely sketched by Tylor is presented to us as a finished picture by Frazer. To him magic represents a Weltanschauung in every way comparable to the Weltanschauung of science. Both view nature as «a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency»[1]. In a well known passage Frazer has stated his theory of the intellectual kinship of magic to science[2].

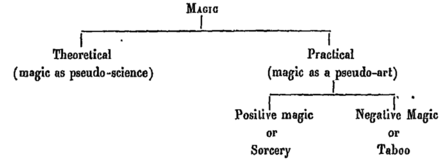
«For the same principles which the magician applies in the practice of his art are implicitly believed by him to regulate the operations of inanimate nature; in other words, he tacitly assumes that the Laws of Similarity and Contact are of universal application and are not limited to human actions. In short, magic is a spurious system of natural law as well as a fallacious guide of conduct; it is a false science as well as an abortive art. Regarded as a system of natural law, that is, as statement of the rules which determine the sequence of events throughout the world, it may be called Theoretical Magic; regarded as a set of precepts which human beings observe in order to compass their ends, it may be called Practical Magic. At the same time it is to be born in mind that the primitive magician knows magic only on its practical side; he never analyses the mental processes on which his practice is based, never reflects on the abstract principle involved in his actions. With him, as with the vast majority of men, logic is implicit, not explicit; he reasons just as he digests his food in complete ignorance of the intellectual and physiological processes which are essential to the one operation and to the other. In short, to him magic is always an art, never a science; the very idea of science is lacking in his undeveloped mind. It is for the philosophic student to trace the train of thought which underlies the magician's practice; to draw out the few simple threads of which the tangled skein is composed; to disengage the abstract principles from their concrete applications; in short, to discern the spurious science behind the bastard art.

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 51.
[2] *Id.,* pp. 52-53.

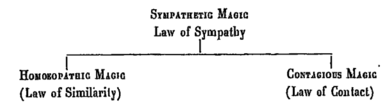
act in that way lest he should incur them. In other words, he abstains from doing that which, in accordance with his mistaken notions of cause and effect, he falsely believes would injure him; in short, he subjects himself to a taboo. Thus taboo is so far a negative application of practical magic. Positive magic or sorcery say «Do this in order that so and so may happen». Negative magic or taboo say «Do not do this, lest so and so should happen». The aim of positive magic or sorcery is to produce a desired event; the aim of negative magic or taboo is to avoid an undesirable one. But both consequences, the desirable and the undesirable, are supposed to be brought about in accordance with the laws of similarity and contact».

Thus with the inclusion of taboo in his analysis of magic Frazer presents his conception of the theory and practice of magic in the following diagram :



When Frazer asks himself why the beliefs and experiments of magic are not at once detected as fraud by the sensible savage he answers by giving one of the several reasons ennumerated by Tylor to account for such supineness, namely that the end aimed at in a magical rite is actually attained sooner or later by processes of nature. Hence the very failure by primitive man to detect the fallacies of magic is a tribute to his rational and enquiring mind which is able to observe that magic rites and such happenings as rain falling, wind blowing, sun rising, man dying, have a temporal sequence which may fairly be considered a causal sequence. Hence the primitive philosopher may point to the evidence of his senses as proving to any intelligent man that magic is a sensible belief. Moreover it is part of Frazer's argument that the more intelligent minds did at last perceive the futility of magic.

ive, mode of classification but the ideas of objects which are similar or contiguous are linked in the savage mind by a notion that there is real connexion between them. Hence it is thought they have a sympathetic relationship between them and can act on each other. So Frazer classes the two types of association under a single heading [1] :



Into this scheme of magic Frazer has incorporated in the second edition of the *Golden Bough* the notion of taboo as Negative Magic and he considers that the basis of taboo is just those two Laws of Similarity and Contact which are the invariable laws of magical thought.

The inclusion of taboos in Frazer's general theory of magic gave it a more rounded form and a fuller comprehension of the cluster of facts which are included in the performance of a magical rite. In his own words [2] :

«For it is to be observed that the system of sympathetic magic is not merely composed of positive precepts; it comprises a very large number of negative precepts, that is, prohibitions. It tells you not merely what to do, but also what to leave undone. The positive precepts are charms : the negative precepts are taboos. In fact the whole doctrine of taboo, or at all events a large part of it, would seem to be only a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact. Though these laws are certainly not formulated in so many words nor even conceived in the abstract by the savage, they are nevertheless implicitly believed by him to regulate the course of nature quite independently of human will. He thinks that when he acts in a certain way, certain consequences will inevitably follow in virtue of one or other of these laws; and if the consequences of a particular act appear to him likely to prove disagreeable or dangerous, he is naturally careful not to

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(1) Sir J. G. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 54.

(2) *Id.*, pp. 111-112.

types the analogies upon which it is based. This task Frazer has accomplished in his *Golden Bough* which rightly ranks among the great acheivements of English literature and scholarship. He writes :

« If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two : first that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion. From the first of these principles, namely the Law of Similarity, the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it : from the second he infers that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not. Charms based on the Law of Similarity may be called Homœpathic or Imitative Magic. Charms based on the Law of Contact or Contagion may be called Contagious Magic » [1].

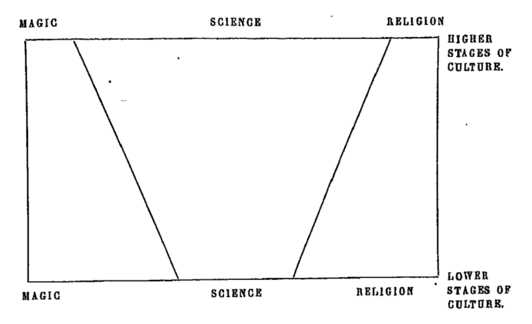
And again he says :

« If my analysis of the magician's logic is correct, its two great principles turn out to be merely two different misapplications of the association of ideas. Homoeopathic Magic is founded on the association of ideas by similarity. Contagious Magic is founded on the association of ideas by contiguity. Homoeopathic magic makes the mistake of assuming that things which resemble each other are the same : contagious magic commits the mistake of assuming that things which have once been in contact with each other are always in contact » [2].

In other words we may say that to an European observer all acts of magic rest upon one or other, or both, of two simple modes of classifying phenomena, by the similarities which exist between them and by their contiguous position in relation to each other. This is a scientific, object-

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 52.
[2] *Id.*, pp. 53-54.

makes him conscious that nothing survives which does not spring from deep-lying mental causes whose operation continues always and may at any moment change what appears to be a languishing survival into a flourishing revival. We may, perhaps, therefore, present Tylor's scheme of developement in a simple diagrammatic form, as we may imagine he would have presented it himself.



Frazer added little that was new to Tylor's brief survey of magic but he expanded the salient points of the survey and made a deeper analysis of their meaning. Arguments implicit in Tylor's account are developed as explicit theses, illustrated by a lavish catalogue of examples, by Frazer. But if Frazer has built substantially on the foundations laid by Tylor he has also fallen into some pits which his cautious predecessor avoided. We will discuss his contribution under five headings (1) his analysis of the logic of magic, (2) his theory of the relationship of magic to science, (3) his theory of the relationship of magic to religion, (4) his chronological scheme of developement of magic to religion and from religion to science, (5) his observations on the part played by magic in political developement.

(1) Whilst Tylor showed that there is a false association of ideas underlying the ideology of magic he did not then proceed to classify into

the magic appears to perform : (3) when a magic rite fails, its failure is not attributed to the futility of the rite, but to neglect of one of the prescriptions or prohibitions which accompany its performance : (4) there are always hostile forces at work which may counteract a magic rite, rival practitioners in particular furnishing a useful excuse for failure : (5) the plasticity of such notions as success and failure allow that what seems to some people a complete failure may seem to others a comparative or partial success. People everywhere find it hard to appreciate negative evidence and one success outweighs in their minds and memories many failures : (6) the very weight of authority behind magical practice forces men to accept what adds support and confirmation and to reject instances which contradict its claims.

The two positive contributions made by Tylor to a study of magic were the unravelling of its symbolic principle or its idealogical logic and his analysis of the causes which have prevented its exposure as a fraud. Both have the merit that they are capable of psychological and sociological investigation and can therefore be scientifically rejected or accepted. Tylor's account also, in my opinion, contained a negative virtue, a virtue all the more to be commended when his bias towards evolutionary interpretation of culture is taken into account. Whilst tracing the developement of magical and animistic ideas both in the known chronology of history and in the logical stratification of cultural types he made no attempt to build out of his facts a hierarchy of historic stages of magic, religion, and science, an error into which Frazer was to fall. Tylor contented himself with demonstrating beyond doubt that whether we consider those cultures whose history we know and compare the earlier forms of their cultures with the later forms of their developement, or if we compare the more primitive societies in the world today with the more advanced societies, we shall find the same broad statement to hold true, that everywhere there is magic and religion and science but that in the later stages of developement or in the more advanced societies magical and animistic ideas play a lesser part in the thought and behaviour of men than in the earlier stages of developement or in the more primitive societies. In modern civilisation they tend to become idealised or to survive as superstition, though a tinge of pessimism suffuses Tylor's thought when he considers the human psyche and its limitations and

It is evident from Tylor's treatment of the subject that he realised that the province of magic and religion, thus loosely defined, must continually overlap since there is often a notion of animism in the *materia medica* of magical rites. That he believed the terms were best employed without too great rigidity is shown by his statement that whilst dreams are more properly treated under the heading of religion since they are attributed to spiritual intercourse nevertheless the art of oneiromancy, the art of taking omens from dreams by analogical interpretation, (e. g. the dreams of Joseph), may be treated under the heading of magic.

Tylor's theory of animism, the substratum of all religious experience, is typical of his intellectualist bias in examining the beliefs of primitive man and may be compared with his discussion of magic when it will be clearer from an analysis of his treatment of religion how he came to reach his conclusions about magic than if we read his views on magic alone. Tylor was of the opinion that mankind came to believe in the human soul and, by extension, in the souls of animals and plants and even of objects which we call inanimate objects, through an effort to account rationally for such phenomena as life and death, waking and sleeping, disease and trance, dreams and visions [1].

His treatment of religious facts throughout thus follows the same method of rationalistic interpretation as his treatment of magical facts. This is well illustrated when he asks how it is that mankind has for so long placed implicit faith in « the whole monstrous farrago » of symbolic magic in which there is no truth whatever. Explaining the logic of magic, as Tylor does, by interpreting it as a rational, if mistaken, inference from natural phenomena, he feels the need to account in a similar manner for the fact that primitive man did not perceive its falsehood. He explains what appears to us as unaccountable density of intelligence on the grounds that magic is not obviously futile since (1) the arts of magic are associated often with common sense behaviour; the cunning and knowledge of the magician achieving what his ritual fails to achieve : (2) it is difficult to perceive the fallacy of the magic art when what it sets out to acheive so often follows its practice; nature performing what

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[1] *Id.*, p. 428.

to associate in thought those things which he found by experience to be connected in fact, proceeded erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connexion in reality. He thus attempted to discover, to foretell, and to cause events by means of processes which we can now see to have only an ideal significance» [1].

Nevertheless Tylor pointed out that this ideal or subjective association of phenomena is not haphazard but rests on a rational appreciation of the similarities which exist between phenomena, an appreciation which takes the form of analogy or symbolism. Hence we can generally see at once wherein the analogy of magical symbolism lies, in what consists the symbolic principle of magic, as Tylor calls it.

«Fanciful as these notions are, it should be borne in mind that they come fairly under definite mental law, depending as they do on a principle of ideal association, of which we can quite understand the mental action, though we deny its practical results» [2].

However, not all symbolism is of this direct and obvious kind but some of it embodies associations which have been arbitrarily invented to fill in gaps in the magical system and never had any rational sense or of which the rational sense has been forgotten.

Tylor thus implicitly, for he does not explicitly discuss the question, recognises that the difference between magic and science is the difference between a false association of phenomena in which the link is of a subjective, symbolic, and ideal, nature, on the one hand, and an association of phenomena in which the link is of an objective, and real nature, on the other hand. In the same way he does not attempt to make a clear theoretical distinction between magic and religion but is content to claim «as a minimum definition of Religion, the belief in Spiritual Beings [3]», and to leave the rest of the supernatural to magic.

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[1] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, pp. 115-116. The same type of explanation is given in his earlier work *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 1870, p. 129.

[2] *Id.*, p. 119.

[3] *Id.*, p. 424.

Tylor and Frazer approached the problems of magic from an intellectualist standpoint. They considered that primitive man had reached his conclusions about the efficacy of magic from rational observation and deduction in much the same way as men of science reach their conclusions about natural laws. Underlying all magical ritual is a rational process of thought. The ritual of magic follows from its ideology. . It is true that the deductions of a magician are false — had they been true they would have been scientific and not magical — but they are nevertheless based on genuine observation. For classification of phenomena by the similarities which exist between them is the procedure of science as well as of magic and is the first essential process of human knowledge. Where the magician goes wrong is in infering that because two things are alike in one or more respects they have a mystical link between them whereas in fact the link is not a real link but an ideal connexion in the mind of the magician. A Greek peasant is quite right in classing jaundice and gold together in virtue of their common attribute of colour but he is in error in deducing from this common attribute that they can react on each other. The African peasant is quite right in seeing a connexion between rain falling and water which he has thrown up into the air falling but he is wrong in considering that on account of the similarity between the two processes there is a causal relationship between them. A causal relationship exists in his mind but not in nature. It is a subjective and not an objective connexion. Hence the savage mistakes an ideal analogy for a real connexion.

Tylor surveyed the facts of magic as a logician. Magic was to him «One of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind»[1] but at the same time he saw that it contained a logical scheme of thought which can be well understood by civilised men of the twentieth century.

«The principal key to the understanding of Occult Science is to consider it as based on the Association of Ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also. Man, as yet in a low intellectual condition, having come

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[1] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 3rd. ed. 1891, vol. I, p. 112.

THE INTELLECTUALIST (ENGLISH) INTERPRETATION OF MAGIC[1]

BY

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

All scientific theory is eclectic for a scientist takes the hypotheses of his predecessors and examines them by logical tests and checks them by observation. By these means he selects what he finds to be valid in each hypothesis and works them into a coordinated system. He adds his own observations and inferences and these in turn serve as hypotheses till they are verified by independent workers and are recognised as true by the consensus of specialised opinion. I have worked for several years on the subject of magic both by reading and by repeated observation of magical operations among savage peoples in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and have therefore had occasion to acquaint myself with most theories of magic and to test them by direct observation.

Writers about magic may be roughly divided into three schools of interpretation, the Intellectualist, the Emotionalist, and the Sociological[2], though we might include a fourth, the Historical. The constructions of these schools overlap and some writers find themselves in all three but a division of this kind enables me more easily to define the main viewpoints from which the subject of magic has been treated and to select the problems which we have to investigate. I propose in this paper to make a digest, analysis, and criticism, of what we may call the Intellectualist school of interpretation in England, chiefly represented by Tylor and Frazer.

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[1] This paper embodies the first part of a course of lectures on «Magic, Religion, and Science» at the Egyptian University (Faculty of Letters) in 1932-3.

[2] P. W. Schmidt treats the subject under three headings in his *Origine et Evolution de la Religion*, translated from the German. Paris, 1931.

1457... Anon. Gotha MS. 1628-9, transl., in Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, pp. 187-90.

1469... Abu'l-Maḥāsin, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhira*, Juynboll's ed., II, pp. 363, l. 9; pp. 404-12 and 415-16.

1522... Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh*, I, p. 44, l. 27; p. 45, l. 12, and p. 46, l. 22.

1677... Vansleb (F.), *Nouvelle relation d'un voyage fait en Égypte*, pp. 117-19; English transl., (1678 ed.), pp. 72-4.

1730... Granger, *Relation du voyage fait en Égypte*, pp. 135-8; Forster's transl., pp. 311-18.

1755... [Fourmont], *Description des plaines d'Heliopolis et de Memphis*, pp. 16-21.

1837... Quatremère, *Vie du khalife fatemite El-Moezz. Journal Asiatique*, 3e sér., t. III, pp. 44-50 and 169-70.

1848... Marcel, *Égypte*, pp. 98-101.

1849... Curzon (Hon. Robert), *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 24-5.

1851... Poole (Mrs S.), *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, I, p. 135.

1880... Charmes (G.), *Cinq mois au Caire*, pp. 54-6.

1882... Kay (H. C.), *Al Kâhirah and its Gates, J. R. A. S.*, 1882, pp. 229-45.

1883... Vaujany (H. de), *Le Caire*, pp. 97-102.

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1891... Abbate (W.), *Les origines du Caire, B. I. É.*, 3e sér., no 1, pp. 16-18.

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1894/7.. Casanova (P.), *Citadelle, M. I. F. A. O.*, VI, pp. 525-34.

1896... Lane (E. W.), *Cairo fifty years ago*, pp. 22-9.

1898... Lane-Poole (S.), *Saladin*, pp. 112-15.

1901... — *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 101-3.

1902... — *Cairo (Mediaeval Towns Series)*, pp. 117-26.

1903... Reitemeyer (E.), *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, pp. 185-93.

1912... — *Städtgründungen der Araber in Islam*, pp. 112-15.

— Becker (C. H.), *Cairo*, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, pp. 821-3.

1913... Todd (J. A.), in E. du Cane, *Banks of the Nile*, pp. 55-6.

1922... Haswell (C. J. R.), *Cairo : Origin and Development, Bull. de la Soc. Roy. de Géographie*, XI, pp. 171-6.

1923... O'Leary (de Lacy), *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, pp. 102-5.

Herzfeld found a town wall with bricks 42 cm. square and 13 1/3 cm.[1] thick.

The walls of the round city of Baghdād, founded by al-Manṣūr in 145 (762), were built with sun-dried bricks, some of which were square, measuring a cubit each way and weighing 200 ratls; others were a cubit long but only half a cubit wide[2]. The enclosing wall of the Mosque at Raqqa c. 154 (770) is built of mud bricks 43 cm. square and 11 cm. thick[3]. The latest example known to me occurs at Shurgaz, in the so-called Mīl-i-Nadiri, a minaret dating from the XIth or XIIth Century A. D. The kiln-burnt bricks of which it is built measure 14×12×2 inches[4].

We may therefore assert that the enclosure of Gōhar, judging from the single architectural fact known about it, exhibited Persian influence, for the bricks hitherto used in Egypt were of quite moderate size.

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1220... Ibn Hammād, Vonderheyden's text, pp. 40-46; transl., pp. 63-69.
1225... Yāqūt, IV, p. 422, ll. 8-19.
1274... Ibn Khallikan, de Slane's transl., I, pp. 340-347 and III, pp. 378-380.
End XIIIth. Ibn al-'Adhārī, I, pp. 229 and 236; Fagnan's transl., I, pp. 321-332.
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1329... — *Ta'rīkh*, Reiske's ed., pp. 498-501.
1405... Ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Hayawān*, Jayakar's transl., I, pp. 195-6.
d. 1406. Ibn Duqmāq, V, pp. 35-6.
c. 1412. Qalqashandī, pp. 348-63; Wüstenfeld's transl., pp. 66-77.
1427... Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 361-77.

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[1] *Iransche Felsreliefs*, p. 237. Between each course was a layer of reed matting.

[2] Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 19, and Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 108, n° 3.

[3] Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 359-361.

[4] Euan Smith, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 247-8. Other information regarding the size of bricks in antiquity may be found in Diez, *Persien*, pp. 165 and 170.

shores of the Caspian, about twenty feet in height and full of broken bricks, he saw some averaging 14 inches square by 3 1/2 thick[1]. Colonel A. C. Yate[2] mentions four bridges, the Pūl-i-Khātūn, Maruchak, Tirpūl and Pūl-i-Khishtī (at the junction of the Khuskh and Murghab rivers) as being built of large flat kiln-baked bricks about a foot square. Euan Smith mentions kiln-baked bricks 11 inches square in the ruins of Qalaʿi-Fath in Sīstān[3], he also speaks of a reservoir at Nād ʿAlī «with enormous bricks»[4]. Lady Shiel[5] says that the rampart at Veramīn, about half a mile square and strengthened with bastions at short intervals, is constructed of unbaked bricks of large size.

Although there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the above examples, they cannot be exactly dated, nevertheless they serve to show that the use of large bricks was widely spread. We will now consider more exactly dated examples. At Ctesiphon the inner city wall is built on a foundation course of three layers of burnt bricks, stamped with the name of Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B.C.), which had been pillaged from the ruins of Babylon. They measure from 31 to 33 cm. square and vary from 6-7 1/2 cm. in thickness. The bricks of the outer wall and the rest of the inner wall, due to Seleukos Nikator, c. 300 B.C., are about 36 cm. square and 13 cm. thick[6]. The bricks used for the great Īwan of Ctesiphon, which Herzfeld has shown to be the work of Shāpūr I (A. D. 241-272), measure 30-32 cm. square and 8-9 cm. thick[7]. At Tell Mismai, about two hours ride away, Commander Jones found sun baked bricks 14 inches square, and large kiln baked bricks also[8]. Near Dastagird

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[1] *Khurasan and Sistan,* pp. 272-3.

[2] *Afghan Boundary Commission,* pp. 149 and 189.

[3] *Eastern Persia,* I, p. 293.

[4] *Ibid.,* I, p. 299.

[5] *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia,* p. 187.

[6] Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise,* II, pp. 53-55. — The excavations of Andreae and Koldewey have shown that the bricks used in Assyria and Babylonia from the earliest times were always large. For details see Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.,* II, p. 110, n. 2 (quoting W. Andreae, *Festungswerke von Assur,* p. 14; *Anu- und Adad-Tempel,* p. 3; and Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon*).

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 75-76 and 62.

[8] *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government,* N. S., Vol. XLIII, p. 81.

Miniet al-Asbagh. It was commenced Sha'bān 360 (June 971) and very quickly finished[1]. Two attacks by the Qarmathians are recorded shortly after this, one in Rabī' I, 361 (Dec. 971) and the other in 363 (974); the dyke was crossed on the second occasion, but Cairo held out[2].

SUN-BAKED BRICKS EMPLOYED FOR WALLS AND GATES. — Unfortunately we have not a single architectural detail on the walls and gates built by Gōhar, except the statement of Maqrīzī, quoted above, that the sun-baked bricks of the fragment seen by him near the Bab Bārqīya measured a cubit by two-thirds of a cubit. Large bricks are a characteristic of early work in Persia and Mesopotamia. Usher[3] says that the bricks composing the ancient wall at Kuyunjik (Nineveh), averaged 15 inches square by 5 thick. When speaking of the *Ateshgar* near Iṣfahān, where a wall was shewn him as all that remained of the ancient fire temple, he comments again on the great size of the bricks[4]. Ferrier saw kiln-baked bricks measuring 20 inches by 15 in the ruins of Balkh[5], and even larger ones «nearly three feet long and four inches thick» scattered about in the Citadel at Farah in Sīstān[6]. He also mentions bricks a yard square at Rūdbār and Pulkar on the Helmund[7]. Colonel C. E. Yate mentions large flat bricks «say a foot square by two to three inches thick» in a series of mounds and ruins in Sīstān, between Margān and Jalālābād on the Hāmun[8] and also in a ruined bridge of two arches called Takht-i-Pūl, near Pulgī[9]. At Gumish Teppé (Silver Hill) a mound on the

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(1) See KAY, *ibid.*, p. 230, and RAVAISSE, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 421-2, quoting MAQRĪZĪ, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 136-9.

(2) QUATREMÈRE, *Vie du Khalife Moëzz, loc. cit.*, III, pp. 83 and 177-180; also LANE-POOLE, *History of Egypt* (2nd ed.) pp. 106 and 113; and KAY, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

(3) *London to Persepolis*, p. 394.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 596.

(5) *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 206-7.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4. He says that they bore cuneiform inscriptions, which astonished his editor, Captain W. Jesse. I do not know whether this discovery has been confirmed.

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 410-1.

(8) *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 122.

(9) *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

this practice is the following : ʿAmmūrīya (Amorium in Phrygia)[1] was captured by the Khalif al-Muʿtaṣim in 223 (838), after a siege of 55 days, and levelled to the ground, the town gate being taken to Sāmarrā[2]. After Sāmarrā was abandoned it was taken to Raqqa[3] but in 353 (964) it was sent to the Qarmathians by Saif ad-Dawla to help in satisfying their demands for iron[4]. We next hear of its being employed at Aleppo by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf in 654 (1256) in his restoration of the Bāb Qinnasrīn. When the Mongols took Aleppo in 1258 it was the first thing that they looted, but Baybars recaptured it when he took the city, tore off the plates of iron with which it was faced, and transported them, together with the great nails, to Cairo[5].

The Khandaq or trench. — We have seen that the site of al-Qāhira was chosen for the express purpose of covering the approaches to the triple city of Fusṭāṭ-al-Askar-al-Qatai, and of defending it against attacks by the Qarmathians who devastated the plain and threatened Fusṭāṭ. As part of this scheme of defence, Gōhar ordered the digging of a great trench, ten cubits in depth and width, which ran west from the Muqaṭṭam to

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and had a door of iron. It had been built by a Governor of Sīstān under the Samānids, c. 315 (927); see Herzfeld, *Khurasan*, in *Der Islam*, XI, p. 166. The only gateway of Mayyāfarīqin (the Greek Martyropolis) in Nāṣir-i-Khusrau's day (1046) had a solid iron door, into whose construction no wood entered; Schefer's transl., p. 25; and Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 111-112. He also tells us that at Diyārbekr, there was an inner and outer circle of fortifications each with four gates entirely of iron; *ibid.*, p. 27. Two pairs of fine doors entirely of iron still exist in the great iron gateway of the Citadel at Aleppo, one in the outer entrance tower, the other at the inner end of the main gateway. Both bear inscriptions of Malik az-Ẓāhir Ghāzī; the former dated 608 (1211/2) the latter 606 (1209/10); see Van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien*, pp. 39-40; and van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, pp. 211-213; also mentioned by H. Cowper Swainson, *Through Turkish Arabia*, p. 91.

[1] The modern Assar Qalʿa; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, I, p. 451 ff.

[2] *Description of Aleppo*, MS. ar. 1683 of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, extract translated by Blochet in *R. O. L.*, VI, p. 31, and the article «Amorium» in the *Encyc. of Islam*, I, p. 334.

[3] Blochet, *ibid.*, p. 237.

[4] De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[5] Blochet, *ibid.*, p. 237-238.

the first Bāb al-Futūḥ and, more remarkable still, makes a right-angled turn at its west end to join the Sūq Margūsh at the very point which we have suggested as the site of the Bāb al-Qanṭara.

At this very point on the north side of the junction of the roadway with the Khalīg, Patricolo, during excavations about twelve years ago, found the base of the north tower of a gateway, with a half round front similar to the towers flanking the Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, in that the plan shows that the curved front portion was decorated with a sunk panel curved on plan.

The lower part of a spiral staircase is visible in the hinder part of the tower and, to the north of it, far below the present surface of the ground, is the lower part of a stone wall which runs north parallel to the Sharia Khalīg al-Maṣrī, that is to say, the line of the old Canal.

An iron gate transferred from Fusṭāṭ. — Reitemeyer remarks that just as the Arabs, when founding new towns in 'Irāq, were fond of transferring the doors of old towns to the new ones [1] so Gōhar, when founding Cairo, transferred thither an iron door from the Palace of the Emīrate at Fusṭāṭ [2], but we are not told exactly where he placed it [3]. He was probably anxious to emulate al-Mahdīya, which, according to al-Bakrī, had two doors entirely of iron [4]. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of

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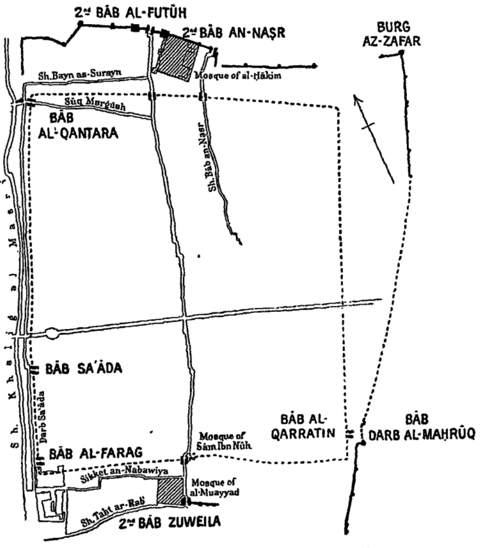
[1] For example the gate of the old Persian town of Zendaward was transferred to Wāṣit, and afterwards from Wāṣit to Baghdād shortly after its foundation; Ṭabarī, III, p. 321, l. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115 (quoting Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 10). Also recorded by Qalqashandī (Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 57), who says that this door had been added to the Palace by the Ikshīd in 331 (942/3). There may have been others also, for Muqaddasī says that the town was fortified and had iron gates (p. 200, and Ranking's transl., in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1258, p. 328).

[3] Qalqashandī merely says it was transferred to the *Qaṣr*. Lane-Poole, speaking of the attack made by the Qarmathians in 971 A. D., says that the *Khandaq*, or great dyke, (see below) had only one entrance which was closed by an iron gate (*History of Egypt*, p. 106). As usual he does not state his authority. This may have been the same gate, transferred once more.

[4] P. 29; de Slane's transl; p. [74] 66 the *Kitāb al-Istibsar*, p. 8; Fagnan's transl., p. 14; and the Rud al-Qartās, Beaumier's transl., p. 329. Muqaddasī, when speaking of the Ribāṭ Āb-i-Shuturān, says that it was the most beautiful ribāṭ in Persia,

of Bahā ad-Dīn and the Bāb al-Qanṭara »[1]. This quarter according to Maqrīzī[2], lay between the old and the new Bāb al-Futūḥ, and therefore



The Walls and Gates of Cairo.

between the old and new enclosure. As a matter of fact a street, called Sharia Beyn as-Sureyn (« Between the two walls ») goes westwards from the south-west corner of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, where we have placed

[1] I, p. 376, l. 7. — [2] II, p. 2.

If we draw a line eastwards from the Mosque of Sām Ibn Nūḥ to a point immediately alongside the site indicated above for the first Bāb al-Qarrātīn, we shall probably be very nearly on the line of the wall of Gōhar, and it is interesting to note that this line can be drawn between the ends of a number of blind alleys, which stop on either side of it, just as we found when we drew a line westwards from the same mosque. It is only crossed by one zig-zag street, the Sharia Hidān al-Mōṣl, in which stands the Mosque of the Emīr Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī.

The Bāb al-Qanṭara. — Two years after the foundation of Cairo, Gōhar added another gate, the Bāb al-Qanṭara, which took its name from the bridge (*qanṭara*) which he threw across the Grand Canal, so as to put the town in communication with the port of al-Maqs during the advance of the Qarmathians, in Shauwāl 360 (July/Aug. 971)[1]. I should add that a bridge, the Qanṭarat al-Gedīd, existed here until the Canal was filled up at the end of the xix[th] Century. It is Casanova again who has collected the passages in Maqrīzī which refer to this gate[2]. I have altered the order of them so as to improve the logical sequence and clearness of the demonstration.

(1) «The Khaṭṭ (quarter) of the Bāb al-Qanṭara was known under the name of al-Muratāḥia and al-Faraḥia[3]. This latter quarter according to Maqrīzī[4] is the same as the Sūq al-Amīr al-Guyūsh».

(2) «The Sūq al-Amīr al-Guyūsh leads to the Bāb al-Qanṭara»[5]. Abu'l-Maḥāsin tells us that the name of Amīr al-Guyūsh was changed to Margūsh[6]. We must therefore conclude that the Bāb al-Qanṭara was at the point where this street, which still exists under the latter name, crosses the Khalīg.

(3) «Close to the Bāb al-Futūḥ is a road which goes to the quarter

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(1) Maqrīzī, I, p. 382, l. 38 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 95 and Qalqashandī, p. 354; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 70.

(2) *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 528-9.

(3) II, p. 14, l. 21, and II, p. 24, l. 1.

(4) II, p. 36, l. 1.

(5) I, p. 385, l. 34.

(6) Ed. Juynboll, II, p. 420, quoted by Casanova; also Ravaisse, *op. cit.*, 2e partie p. 39, n. 2.

madrasa no longer exists, but a *Mosquée du Cheikh Kased* appears on Napoleon's plan of 1798. I therefore place it near the southern corner of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, and astride the Sharia Bāb an-Naṣr, as it seems probable that the alignment of this street has not altered [1].

The Bāb al-Barqīya. — The site of the Bāb al-Barqīya is extremely difficult to fix, for Maqrīzī's chapter on the Gates of Cairo stops short after the heading «Bāb al-Barqīya». Casanova adds that this paragraph remains blank in all the Paris MSS. of Maqrīzī that he has consulted, and that in some of them even the heading Bāb al-Barqīya is lacking [2]. No gate of this name exists to-day; it is even absent from the map of 1798. Nor do we know in any precise manner the position of the northern part of the eastern wall.

The Bāb al-Qarrātīn. — The site of the Bāb al-Qarrātīn may be fixed with comparative accuracy, as the site of the gate which replaced it is still known, under the name Bāb al-Maḥrūq or «Burnt Gate». This name was given to it owing to the action of a party of 700 Mamlūks who fled from Cairo on learning of the execution of the Emīr Aqtaī on 21st Sha'bān 652 (6th October 1254). During the night they left their houses and proceeded towards this gate, which they found closed, it being the custom at that time to close all the gates of Cairo at night. They therefore set fire to the great door, and escaped through the breach made by the flames; henceforth this gate was known as the Bāb al-Maḥrūq [3]. As Maqrīzī tells us that there existed until 803 (1400/1) a great fragment of the brick wall of Gōhar between the Bāb al-Barqīya and the Darb Baṭūṭ, and that this wall was 50 cubits behind the wall of Saladin [4], we may place the site of the first Bāb al-Qarrātīn at that distance within the present Bāb al-Maḥrūq.

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(1) At the Bāb al-Qanṭara, for example, the alignment has remained true.

(2) See his translation, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 97, n. 4.

(3) Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 383 (Casanova's transl., *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 96-97), also his *Kitāb as-Sulūq*, translated by Quatremère under the title *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, Ia, pp. 47-49, where the date, however, is given as 3rd Sha'bān.

(4) *Ibid.*, I, p. 377, l. 34 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 82-83; the translation says 550 cubits — a misprint for 50).

Casanova, because of the passage in Maqrīzī [1] according to which it took its name from Sa'ādat ibn Ḥayyān, who came from Morocco after Gōhar had built Cairo, and installed himself at Gīza. Gōhar went to meet him, whereupon he struck camp and entered Cairo by this gate in Ragab 360 (May 971), Casanova [2] concludes that he must have crossed to Fusṭāṭ by the Bridge of Boats and marched on Cairo from the south, and as he entered by the Bāb Sa'āda, which we know was in the west side, he concludes that it must have been very near the south end of that side. If Sa'ādat ibn Ḥayyān had been intent on entering Cairo by the first gate he came to, this argument might have weight, but as we have seen that he must have refrained from entering by the Bāb al-Farag, the first gate he would come to, this cannot have been the case. He evidently chose the Bāb Sa'āda as being the most convenient route of access to the palace or other buildings to which duty called him. A street called Darb Sa'āda preserves the memory of this gate, but as this street runs parallel to the Khalīg from Bāb al-Khalq to the Mosque of Sultan Gaqmāq, it is possible that the Bāb Sa'āda stood as far north as the latter.

The first Bāb al-Futūḥ. — Maqrīzī says [3] that, of the first Bāb al-Futūḥ, there still existed in his day a fragment of the vault and the left pier, together with some lines of Kufic inscription, and that this fragment was at the head of the Ḥāret Bahā ad-Dīn to the south, beneath the wall of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. This mosque was commenced in Ramaḍān 380 (November/December, 990) and was outside the walls of that day, so the first Bāb al-Futūḥ must have stood quite near its western corner.

The first Bāb an-Naṣr. — The first Bāb an-Naṣr likewise occupied a site well within that of the present one. Maqrīzī [4] speaks of having seen a fragment of one side of it opposite the west corner of the Madrasat al-Qāṣid, where there was a *raḥaba* (open square) which separated this madrasa from the two southern doors of the Mosque of al-Ḥakim. This

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 383, l. 4; and Casanova's transl., IV, p. 95.
[2] *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 526-7.
[3] I, p. 363, l. 2 and p. 381, l. 28-30 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 43 and 92, also in van Berchem, *Notes*, p. 58).
[4] I, p. 361, l. 38 and p. 381, l. 20-21 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 43 and 91).

name : they call it *Taḥt ar-Rab*ᶜ. . . . . » [1]. *Taḥt ar-Rab*ᶜ still exists.

(3) «In the middle of Gumāda II, 818 they commenced to destroy the stone wall between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag» [2].

Casanova adds that a street — *Sikket el-Cheykh Farag* — which may well be a souvenir of this gate, is shown on Napoleon's map of 1798, at the side of Sharia Taḥt ar-Rabᶜ near the Khalīg.

I therefore conclude that it was at the south end of the west side, and not at the west end of the south side, as Casanova places it on his map (see his pl. II), contrary to the express statement of Maqrīzī, four times repeated, that it was in the west side.

We must now try to fix the site of this angle of the wall. If we draw an imaginary line westwards from the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ, we have, just south of it, a street the west part of which is called Sikket an-Nabawīya and the east part Sharia al-Ashrāqīya. To the north of this imaginary line we have innumerable little streets, each of which ends in a *cul-de-sac,* instead of opening into the Sikket an-Nabawīya. Why do all these twisted alleys stop dead in this way? I suggest that they all stopped short at the wall of Gōhar, which ran just south of them, and that the street plan has survived to this day. We have another instance of a similar thing in the fact that there is not a single opening on the north side of the Sharia Taḥt ar-Rabᶜ, which we know ran along outside the south wall of Badr al-Gamālī, although this wall was removed by al-Muayyad 500 years ago. If my suggestion is correct, the south wall must have joined the west wall on the site of the present Egyptian Court of Appeal, and it is therefore here that I place the Bāb al-Farag.

The Bāb as-Saᶜāda. — Ravaisse [3] puts both the Bāb al-Fārag and Bāb as-Saᶜāda on the west side, put places the latter nearest the south-west angle of the city. As Maqrīzī speaks of the *rab*ᶜ of the Sultan outside the Bāb Zuwayla between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag», it surely follows that these two gates were neighbours, and that the Bāb as-Saᶜāda was beyond, i. e. further north than, the Bāb al-Farag.

The Bāb as-Saᶜāda is placed close to the south end of the west wall by

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[1] I, p. 379, l. 32. — [2] I, p. 379, l. 32. — [3] *Loc. cit.,* p. 421 and pl. 2.

Sāʿada; on the north the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb an-Naṣr; and on the east the Bāb Barqīya and the Bāb al-Qarrāṭīn (later re-named Bāb al-Maḥrūq). None of these gates exists to-day, but the site of many of them can be fixed with great accuracy, as Ravaisse and Casanova have shown.

The first Bāb Zuwayla. — The site of the first Bāb Zuwayla is fixed by the statement of Qalqashandī and Maqrīzī that a fragment of it, which still existed in his day, was near the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ. If one enters by the present Bāb Zuwayla and walks on, leaving the Mosque of al-Muayyad on the left, one comes almost immediately to a late Turkish sebīl (called the Aqqadīn School on the 1/5000 map of the Survey). At the corner nearest the Bāb Zuwayla is a little door leading to the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ, which gives us our fixed point [1].

The Bāb al-Farag. — The site of the Bāb al-Farag is not so clearly indicated, but Casanova [2] has collected all the passages in Maqrīzī relating to it, as follows : —

(1) «There were in the west side of Cairo, that is to say the side which faces the Grand Canal, two gates; one, the Bāb as-Saʿāda, the other, Bāb al-Farag» [3]. Other passages also place this gate in the west side [4].

(2) «The *rabʿ* of the sultan outside the Bāb Zuwayla between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag. This region is known to-day under this

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passed through the other never succeeded in any affair. This gate (i. e. the unlucky one) has disappeared without leaving any trace». A similar account is given by Qalqashandī, p. 353; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 69. The Bāb Zuwayla took its name from a tribe who occupied a suburb of al-Mahdīya. This tribe had provided a contingent to Gōhar's army and, on the foundation of the city, had been allotted a quarter near this gate.

[1] See Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 421, n. 3, and 440-441. He says that it is also known as the Mosque of Ibn al-Banā, and that it was formerly a synagogue called the Synagogue of Sām ibn Nūḥ, which the Khalif al-Ḥākim had turned into a mosque. The present building, however, is modern.

[2] *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 526-7.

[3] I, p. 362, l. 8.

[4] I, p. 364, l. 11; I, p. 380, l. 23; II, p. 24, l. 3.

prevail at the foundation of the town. But alas! when the day and moment chosen had arrived, his head felt heavy and he slept, and a crow at a chance moment alighted on the line, set the bells ringing, and the workmen set to work. Alexander awoke and, when he realised what had happened, said «I had wished one thing, but God wished otherwise » [1].

Thus it would appear that the story related by Maqrīzī had been in circulation twenty six years before the foundation of Cairo, the town to which he applies it. This puts the matter in quite a new light; Maqrīzī's account can no longer be accepted without great reserve, in fact, I consider that the foregoing fully entitles us to regard it as a legend.

The walls and gates. — The outline of the enclosure of Gōhar can be traced throughout the greater part of its circuit with considerable accuracy, thanks to the information given by Maqrīzī, except that part between the Bāb an-Naṣr and Bāb al-Barqīya for which we have no details. Owing to the fact that the preliminary work was done at night in great haste, it was observed on the following morning that there were irregularities in the lay-out of the palace, the lines not being straight [2]. No doubt this was the case with the city walls also. Nevertheless it formed a fairly regular square, oriented approximately to the four cardinal points. The south side faced Fusṭāṭ, the west ran along the canal, the east faced the Muqaṭṭam, and the north the open country.

There were seven gates, as follows : — in the south wall the double arched Bāb Zuwayla [3]; in the west wall the Bāb al-Farag and the Bāb

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[1] Mas'ūdī, *Prairies*, II, pp. 423-5.

[2] Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 36, l. 18; Qalqashandī, p. 349; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 68; and Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 361; l. 28; (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 42). See also Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 420-21, and III, p. 112.

[3] Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 380, ll. 25-9 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 89) says «this gate, when the Qa'id Gōhar founded Cairo, consisted of two doors, side by side, near the *masgid* known under the name of Sām, son of Nūḥ. It was by one of these that al-Mu'izz entered when he came to Cairo, and it was this one which was next the mosque, of which there remains to-day a vault, whence the name of *Bāb al-Qūs* (Gate of the Arch) given to it. It was preferred by the public; they entered and left by it, while the other gate was not used; it was a common saying that whoever

reading of the horoscope, saw a good omen in this fact, that the name of al-Qāhira — «the Subjugator» or «the Triumphant» — was given to the town. Maqrīzī says that they made the walls of brick and called the town al-Manṣūrīya until al-Muʿizz, on his arrival four years later (7 Ramaḍān 362 = 11th June 973)[1], changed its name to al-Qāhira, although, about seven lines later, he tells the story of the astrologers in such a way that one might think the name of al-Qāhira had been given to it there and then. It is Ravaisse[2] who has made this last point clear, a point that Lane-Poole appears to have missed[3]. Becker, in his article on Cairo in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (I, p. 821) adopts Ravaisse's view.

The story about the astrologer and the crow is so clear and circumstantial that none of the writers who have discussed the foundation of Cairo have thought of doubting its authenticity[4]. It appears to have escaped their notice that a nearly similar story is told by Masʿūdī (A. D. 943) in his obviously legendary account of the founding of Alexandria by Alexander the Great. He says that the workmen, by order of Alexander, placed themselves along the lines marked out for the new town. Stakes were fixed in the ground at intervals along those lines, and a cord was attached to them, one end of which was fixed to a marble pillar in front of the King's tent. Bells were attached to the cord and the workmen waited for a signal to be given, on hearing which they were all at the same moment to stark work on the foundations. Alexander hoped by this means to ensure that a fortunate hour and horoscope should

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(1) Ibn Hammād, p. 44, transl., p. 68; and Ibn al-ʿAdhārī, I, p. 237; transl., I, p. 333. Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 277, ll. 18-19) says 5th or 7th Ramaḍān.

(2) *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, p. 420, n. 2.

(3) *History of Egypt*, p. 103.

(4) E.g. Vansleb, *Nouvelle relation*, pp. 117-19; Granger, *Relation du Voyage*, 2e éd., pp. 136-8; Fourmont, *Description des plaines d'Héliopolis et de Memphis*, pp. 19-21; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 100; Curzon (R), *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 24-5; Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, p. 135; Charmes, *Cinq mois au Caire*, pp. 55-6; Vaujany, *Le Caire*, pp. 98-100; Abbatte, *B. I. É.*, 3e série, no. 1, p. 17; Lane-Poole, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 24-5; his *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 105; and his *Cairo* (*in the Mediæval Towns Series*) pp. 118-19; Becker's, art. *Cairo* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, p. 821; Todd, *Banks of the Nile*, pp. 55-56; and O'Leary, *Short History of the Fāṭimid Khalifate*, p. 102.

was in the ascendant; this planet was for them Qāhir al-Falak, the Ruler of the Sky, and this they considered an evil omen [1]. It would appear from the somewhat disjointed account of Maqrīzī [2] that the new city was first named al-Manṣūrīya, evidently after the palace-city founded outside Qairawān by the third Fāṭimid Khalif, al-Manṣūr billah, and that it was only when al-Mu'izz came to Egypt four years later and, from his own

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(1) Maqrīzī, I, p. 377, l. 19 ff.

(2) *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 377 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 81-82); Anon. Gotha M.S., transl. by Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*, p. 189; Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, p. 420. Many examples of the complete lack of system in Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* might be given, even if one confined oneself to his account of the Fāṭimids. In this he describes twice over the flight of Sa'īd (later 'Ubaydallāh) to Egypt and Morocco and his arrest and imprisonment at Sigilmāsa, then he gives the history of each of the Fāṭimid Khalifs from al-Mahdī to the extinction of the dynasty by Saladin. After this he comes back and describes the site chosen for Cairo, the extent of that city, and then the victorious arrival of Gōhar and the foundation of the city, together with a certain amount of information about the Fāṭimid Palace. He then relates its fate under the Ayyūbids, after which comes a chapter full of extracts and verses collected from many authors. He then describes the main arteries of medieval Cairo as they were in his day, and finally takes us right back to the building of its first wall by Gōhar and the story about the astrologers.

We have another instance of this method in his account of the enclosure of Saladin. He first describes the works executed by him in 566 H. (I, p. 379), apparently getting his date from Ibn Abi Ṭay, and in his second volume, coming back to the subject, gives a quotation from Imād ad-Dīn which refers to the more ambitious scheme commenced by Saladin in 572 H. (II, p. 233, l. 22). It is obvions that he does not realise that these two accounts refer to two distinct phases of Saladin's work; the insight of Casanova (*Citadelle, M. M. A. F. C.*, VI, pp. 535-538), however, has made this clear, and my own archæological examination of the walls has confirmed it; see my *Archæological Researches at the Citadel of Cairo, B. I. F. A. O.*, XXIII.

This complete lack of method observable in Maqrīzi, is of course chiefly due to his «Scissors and paste» method of compilation, the works of many authors being drawn upon but not digested. Nevertheless as many (three-quarters according to Guest) of these works no longer exist, Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* derives enormous value from this fact, and, in spite of the above criticism, it is easy to admit with Guest that «the diligence and learning of the writer of *El Khiṭaṭ* cannot but command admiration. He has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large quantity of information that would but for him have passed into oblivion»; *A list of Writers, Books and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzī* in this *Khiṭaṭ; J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 106.

or foresaw what afterwards happened, viz : — that the population of the triple city Fusṭāṭ-al-Askar-al-Qatai would gradually move to the immediate vicinity of the Imperial stronghold and, eventually, on the extinction of the dynasty by Saladin in 567 (1171), would overflow into the enclosure and erect mosques and secular buildings on the site of its rapidly decaying pavilions. Until then no person was allowed to enter the walls of al-Qâhira but the soldiers of the garrison and the highest officials of the State [1].

As for its site, Maqrīzī says [2] that Gōhar wished it to become a fortress placed between the Qarmathians and the town of Miṣr, so as to protect the approaches to the latter.

Under a dynasty like the Fāṭimids, who stood for mysticism, such an important operation as the foundation of a city could not be undertaken without the assistance of astrologers [3]. Gōhar, therefore, had them summoned and told them to choose a propitious moment for the foundation of the town, so that the Fāṭimid dynasty would never be dispossessed of it. All along the line of trenches, dug to receive the foundations of the walls, were fixed posts, connected by cords on which where hung bells, so that when the exact moment arrived the astrologers could send a signal down the line. They told the workmen to stand by, ready to throw into the trenches the stones and mortar which were placed within their reach, but before the right moment arrived, a crow alighted on the cord, the bells tinkled and the workmen, thinking that the signal had been given by the astrologers, set to work. At this moment the planet Mars

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[1] *Op. cit., J. R. A. S.*, 1882, pp. 230-231. He adds that both Ibn Khallikān and Abu'l Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Bardī refer to Gōhar's foundation as *al-Qaṣr*.

[2] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 361, l. 3 (transl., IV, p. 42); and Kay, *ibid.*, p. 230).

[3] The same idea prevailed at the foundation of Baghdād, the first brick being placed in position on a day and at an hour which had been fixed beforehand by the astrologer Naubakht (al-Khaṭīb, Salmon's text, p. 1; transl., p. 76 and Ya'qūbi, p. 238, l. 15, who says that he was assisted by the Jewish astrologer Māshā Allāh ibn Sarīya); and at the foundation of Dīn Panāh, one of the Seven Cities of Dehli, by Humāyūn, «In the middle of the sacred Muḥarram 940 (August 1533) at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers», Humāyūn put a brick on the earth and then all his court did the same, and on the same date work was commenced on the palace; see Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*, p. 185.

The intention of Gōhar is very clearly expressed by Ibn Duqmāq [1] who says that he «built palaces for his master so that he and his friends and their armies were separate from the general public, as [later on] was the custom with the kings who were sons of ʿAbd al-Mumīn, and who did so in Marrākesh and Tlemcen and other places».

It was first named al-Manṣūrīya, *The Victorious*, evidently after the palace-city al-Manṣūrīya, founded outside Qairawān by al-Manṣūr billah, the father of al-Muʿizz. This coincidence in names struck Kay, who remarks [2] that the foundation of an isolated and fortified palace-city appears to have been simply in accordance with the already established custom of the Fāṭimid Court [3], and that al-Manṣūrīya, which neither became the nucleus of a new city nor superseded Qairawān, the ancient capital, was doubtless the prototype of al-Qāhira. It is pretty evident, as Reitemeyer has pointed out [4], that Gōhar must have had orders to build a palace-city which should stand in the same relationship to Fusṭāṭ as Manṣūrīya did to Qairawān, and in this connection it is interesting to note that two of the gates of Manṣūrīya, according to al-Bakrī [5] were named Bāb Zuwayla and Bāb al-Futūḥ, names which we shall see adopted for two of the gates of Cairo. It recalls in many of its aspects the arrangement at Pekin, of the Chinese City, the Tartar City and the «Forbidden City», as laid out by Kubilai Qāān three centuries later [6]. As Kay has pointed out, there is nothing to show that either Gōhar or his master intended to found a new city in the ordinary sense of the word,

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(1) V, p. 36, ll. 7-8. Maqrīzī, however (I, p. 364, l. 26; Casanova's transl., IV, p. 49; also translated in Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*, p. 193) is not so specific.

(2) *Al-Ḳāhirah and its Gates, J. R. A. S.*, 1882, p. 233.

(3) And of the Aghlabids before them. The first act of Ibrāhīm, the founder of the dynasty, was to build al-ʿAbbāsīya, a royal enclosure, three miles to the south of Qairawān, to which it bore the same relationship as al-Manṣūrīya did later on; see Balādhurī, p. 234; Hitti's transl., p. 371; al-Bakrī, p. 28; de Slane's transl., pp. [70-71] 64; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 107; Ibn al-ʿAdhārī, I, p. 84; Fagnan's transl., I, p. 112; etc.

(4) *Städtegründungen*, p. 114.

(5) P. 25; de Slane's transl., p. 64 [58].

(6) See Yule's *Marco Polo* (3rd ed.), I, pp. 392-378.

al-Mu'izz, and when the notables of Fusṭāṭ came next morning to congratulate him, they found that the foundations had already been excavated. He made an enclosure, about 1200 years square, of sun-dried bricks (ṭūb)[1]. Maqrīzī says that in his day a long section of this wall still existed « 50 cubits behind the present wall » (i. e. Saladin's), between the Bab al-Barqīya and the Darb Baṭūṭ, until it was destroyed in 803 (1400/1). He remarks on the astonishing size of the bricks — 1 cubit long and 2/3 of a cubit wide — and says that the wall was thick enough for two horsemen to ride abreast[2]. It is curious to find that Yāqūt[3] uses the very same expression when speaking of the thickness of the walls of the Qaṣr of al-Mahdīya, the first capital of the Fāṭimids. The reason for broad ramparts is sufficiently obvious. It is to enable the body of men defending the wall being rapidly rushed to any spot threatened by escalade or otherwise. As early as Roman times it was the practice of the besiegers to construct great towers of wood, moveable and higher than the walls to be attacked. These, when brought up to the walls, commanded the ramparts and, by means of flying bridges, allowed a storming party to be thrown upon them. Unless the ramparts were broad the besieged would only be able to oppose a single line of men to a deep column of attack[4]. It was to be a fortified enclosure containing two palaces[5] for the Khalif, Government Offices, and quarters for the garrison. There were also many other buildings, such as the Treasury, Mint, Library, the Imperial Mausoleum, Arsenal, Stables, etc.

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[1] IBN DUQMĀQ, V, p. 36, l. 6; MAQRĪZĪ, *Khiṭāṭ*, I, p. 377, l. 13 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 81). See also IBN IYĀS, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, I, p. 45, l. 12; and VAN BERCHEM, *Notes*, p. 38.

[2] *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 377, l. 33 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 82-83). Van Berchem suggests (*Notes*, p. 39, n. 1) that the cubit spoken of by Maqrīzī is the *dhirā' baladi*, the base of the whole Egyptian system of measurement. It measures .578 m., which gives 58 × 38,5 cm. as the size of the bricks used. This may be regarded as a certain, for Maqrīzī's measurement of the south side of the Mosque of 'Amr as 190 cubits gives 109.82 m. on this basis, and its actual length is 109.20 internally.

[3] IV, p. 694, l. 20; quoted by REITEMEYER, *Städtegründungen*, p. 139.

[4] See VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *Military Architecture*, Macdermott's, transl , 2nd ed., pp. 24-25.

[5] The Eastern or Great Palace and the Western or Lesser Palace.

defeated it[1]. The City then surrendered; the Fāṭimid Army passed through Fusṭāṭ in triumph[2] and camped on the great sandy plain lying to the north[3] a plain which was bounded on the east by the Muqaṭṭam[4], and on the west by the Khalīg, a canal which left the Nile to the north of Fusṭāṭ, passed by the ancient Heliopolis and finally entered the sea at Suez. This plain was free from buildings except those belonging to the Garden of Kāfūr, a Coptic monastery called Dayr al-'Iḍam, which occupied the site of the Mosque of al-Aqmar, and a little castle called Qaṣr ash-Shauk, the name of which still survives, as the name of a quarter[5].

Foundation of al-Qāhira (Cairo). — That very night Gōhar marked out (*ikhtaṭa*) the site of the palace destined for the reception of

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[1] Within less than a century the story of this conquest had become surrounded with legend, and a fantastic account of it is given by Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, who says that the troops of al-Mu'izz, consisting of 30,000 mounted slaves, swam accross the Nile, led by a black dog, whilst the Khalif himself came by sea, sailed up the Nile and beached his ships. Nāṣir claims to have seen seven of them in 439 (1046/7). He omits all reference to Gōhar and attributes the foundation of Cairo to the Khalif himself; see Schefer's, *Nassiri Khusrau,* pp. 125-6.

[2] Yāqūt makes the extraordinary statement that the inhabitants of Fusṭāṭ had made an agreement with him that he should not settle down in the town. Reitemeyer rejects this account as very improbable (*Städtegründungen,* p. 113) and also points out that Maqrīzī's statement that the Khalif had designated the site beforehand in contradicted by another statement of his (and of Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 36, ll. 8-11) that the Khalif on his arrival at the end of 361 (972) was not satisfied with the site chosen by Gōhar, and would have preferred the neighbouring heights (i. e. the high ground south of Fusṭāṭ, to-day dotted with the remains of Napoleon's windmills), or one on the banks of the Nile (*op. cit.,* p. 113).

[3] This area to-day is either covered with houses or mounds of debris, and no sand is visible until one comes to Abbassīya. However, excavations at the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar (the north-eastern angle of Saladin's enclosure) have shown that there is fine yellow sand at a depth of about 7 metres below the present ground level. The foundations of the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar rest on this stratum.

[4] That part of this canal which passed through Cairo was filled up at the end of the nineteenth century, and its place taken by the tram line which runs from the Mosque of Sayeda Zenab to adh-Dhāhir. This street bears the name of Sharia Khalīg al-Maṣrī.

[5] For a discussion of this topography see Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la Topographie du Caire, M. M. A. F. C.,* I, pp. 415-419.

connected with the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of the Ram, due in 296 (908), a year which actually did witness the fall of the Aghlabids and the inauguration of Fāṭimid rule at Qairawān. It is known that the Fāṭimids expected that a new era, the era of the true religion, would commence with a state of the heavens due in 316 H. (928). The origin of his dynasty dating from 296 (908), de Gœje suggests, with great probability, that al-Muʿizz, who is known to have been well versed in astrology [1], was prompted by a similar conjunction in 356 (967), to commence in this year the equipment of his great expedition against Egypt [2]. He reminds us that even Hūlāgū Khān in 656 (1258) at the summit of his power, did not dare to attack Baghdād until his astrologer, the celebrated aṭ-Ṭūsī, had reassured him [3].

THE INVASION OF EGYPT. — As a result of internal disorders, famine caused by a low Nile and plague, Egypt lay helpless and open to an invader, and its precarious position was fully reported to al-Muʿizz by the refugee Yaʿqūb ibn Killis, a renegade Jew and former favourite of Kāfūr. The Arab tribes were accordingly summoned, and Gōhar at the head of 100,000 men, with ample stores and equipment ou pack animals, marched from Qairawān 14 Rabīʿ I, 358 (5th Feb. 969) [4]. He arrived at Gīza in 17th Shaʿbān 358 (6th July 969) [5], forced the passage of the river and, falling upon the army drawn up on the east bank, totally

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(1) QUATREMÈRE, *Vie du Khalife Moezz, Journal asiatique,* 3e série, t. II, p. 207, quoting Ibn al-Athīr, Haidar-Razī and an-Nowayrī.

(2) *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein* (1886), pp. 115-128, and especially, pp. 121-124.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 128.

(4) QUATREMÈRE, *Vie du Khalife Moezz, loc. cit.*, t. II, pp. 425-435; LANE POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2; and MANN (J.), *The Jews in Egypt under the Fāṭimid Caliphs,* I, p. 17.

(5) IBN AL-ATHĪR, VIII, p. 435; Fagnan's transl., *Annales,* pp. 366-7; IBN ʿAL-ADHĀRĪ, *Bayān,* I, p. 229; Fagnan's transl., I, p. 321; ABU'L-FIDĀ, *Taqwīm,* p. 108; Reinaud's transl., I, p. 148; and his *Ta'rīkh,* II, p. 498; IBN DUQMĀQ, V, p. 35, ll. 16-17 and 20; QALQASHANDĪ, p. 349; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 68 (gives date as 12th Shaʿbān); MAQRĪZĪ, *Khiṭaṭ,* I, p. 361, l. 20; Casanova's transl., IV, p. 42 (also transl., in REITEMEYER, *Beschreibung Ägyptens,* p. 190).

during his retreat [1]. He died 13 Shauwāl 334 (18th May 946) after a reign of twelve years, and was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr, who, in 337 (948/9) founded Manṣūrīya, the fourth royal suburb built in the neighbourhood of Qairawān [2]. He reigned until his death in Shauwāl 341, and was succeeded by his son al-Muʿizz who was then twenty-four years of age. Al-Muʿizz was a highly educated and cultivated man as well as an energetic ruler. With the assistance of his Prime-Minister and Commander-in-Chief Gōhar, a Byzantine Greek, he soon brought order and tranquillity to his kingdom. This however, was merely a prelude to the conquest of Egypt, the aim of his life, for which purpose he had amassed a fortune of twenty-four million dinars, and spent two years in digging wells and building rest houses on the road to Alexandria [3].

Astrological reasons for attack on Egypt. — De Gœje suggests that al-Muʿizz was led to meditate this attack on Egypt on account of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the Ram in 356 (967). In support of this view he shows by numerous examples the enormous part astrology played in the daily life of the medieval East, especially among the Fāṭimids. He mentions the books on astrology and the occult sciences of which ʿUbaydallāh (later the Mahdī) was robbed near Ṭahūna when he was a fugitive in Africa. These books, which were recovered by al-Qāïm during his otherwise profitless campaign against Egypt, are supposed to have contained the prediction, current at that time, that the rule of the Arabs in the west would cease at the end of the third century of the Hijra [4]. This prediction, according to de Gœje, was undoubtedly

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[1] Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 213.

[2] Al-Bakrī, transl., de Slane, p. 64 [58]; and Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[3] For the above see Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 349-353 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 7-17), and Lane Poole, *History of Egypt*, pp. 92-101.

[4] Compare the similar prediction as to the duration of Cairo in Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 372, transl., IV, pp. 69-70) and his statement that whenever Saturn has entered Gemini, famine has afflicted Egypt. Equally fatal to the country, according to him, is the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in Cancer. The prediction as to the duration of Cairo being 460 years is also referred to by Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, in *Notices et Extraits*, XX, p. 231.

Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful »[1]. Abū ʿAbdallāh soon found himself ignored and, becoming jealous, began to cast doubts on the genuineness of the Mahdī, saying that he ought to work miracles and so give proofs of his mission. The Mahdī nipped the danger in the bud by having him murdered[2], and ruled for twenty five years, establishing his authority from Fez to the frontiers of Egypt, against which he had sent three expeditions, in 301 H. (913)[3] 302 H. (914)[4] and 306 H. (918)[5]. He founded al-Mahdīya in Dhu'l-qāda 303 (7th May 916)[6] and died there in Rabīʿ I 322. Until then he had resided at Raqqāda[7] four miles from Qairawān.

He was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Qāsim, who took the title of al-Qāim. He sent an army against Egypt and took Alexandria, but was driven out by the brother of the Ikhshīd and sustained a crushing defeat

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[1] I give below his genealogy in tabular form for the sake of clearness : —

Ma'mūn al-Qaddāḥ
|
ʿAbdallāh
|
Aḥmad
|
Ḥusayn — Muḥammad (Abū ash-Shalaghlagh)
|
Saʿīd (ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī) A. D. 907-934. First Fāṭimids Khalif.

[2] His murderers sarcastically replied to his protests saying «He whom thou has told us to obey, has told us to kill thee». ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī, transl. by Nicholson, *An Account of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa* (Bristol, 1840), p. 126; Ibn al-Athīr, p. VIII, p. 41 (Fagnan's transl., *Annales*, p. 307); and Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 351, l. 5 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 12).

[3] Ibn al-Athīr, VII, p. 63.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 83-4.

[6] Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 351, l. 14 (transl., IV, p. 12). Al-Bakrī, a much earlier authority, for he wrote in the eleventh century A. D., gives fuller details, saying that ʿUbaydallāh first inspected the place in 300 (912/3), that the walls were finished in 305 (917/8) and that the Prince made his entry into the new town in Shauwāl 308 (Feb./March. 921). *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trad. par Mac Guckin de Slane (1913, ed.), p. 68; also given in Reitemeyer's, *Städtegründungen*, p. 138.

[7] Al-Bakrī, p. 28, transl., p. 69 [63]; and Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 38.

an extreme Shi'a sect[1]. He died A.D. 875 and his son 'Abdullāh carried on his teachings, established seven stages of initiation and claimed to be an Īmām of the family of Muhammad, the son of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. He acquired a great reputation at Aḥwāz, but eventually had to flee to Baṣra and then to Salamīya where a son named Aḥmad was born to him.

At his death, Aḥmad succeeded him and sent a Dā'ī[2] to 'Irāq. The latter met Hamdān ibn al-Ash'ath, known under the name of Qarmaṭ, who was converted, and became the founder of the Qarmathians. These in turn became the forerunners of the Fāṭimids. Aḥmad had two sons, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, known as Abū ash-Shalaghlagh. Ḥusayn succeeded his father and he, on his death, was succeeded, not by his son Sa'id, but by his brother Abū ash-Shalaghlagh, who sent two *dā'īs* to Morocco, viz : — Abū 'Abdallāh and his brother Abū 'l-'Abbās. They established themselves among the Berbers with extraordinary success and soon acquired an enormous following of armed men, by means of whom the last Aghlabid prince, Ziyādat-Allah, was driven out of the country in 909 A. D.[3]

A son of Ḥusayn named Sa'id had meanwhile been brought up by his uncle Abū ash-Shalaghlagh. He became celebrated at Salamīya (15 miles east of Ḥamā) after the death of the latter, but later on had to flee to Morocco by way of Egypt, where he narrowly escaped arrest, a fate which actually overtook him at Sigilmāsa. He was rescued by the victorious Abū 'Abdallah, who humbly prostrated himself before him and hailed him as the expected Mahdī and, in Rabī' II, 297 (January, 910), he was prayed for in the Mosque of Qairawān as «the Īmām 'Ubaydallāh al-

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(1) E. g. 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Shaddād Himyarī, in Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 20 ff., translated by Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb*, p. 276 ff. The following version is taken from Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 348; Casanova's trans., IV, pp. 2-4; also translated in Silvestre de Sacy's, *Chrestomathie*, 2e éd., II, p. 88. See also Quatremère, *loc. cit.*, p. 115 ff.

(2) The title means «missionary», literally «he who calls». It was the fifth in the scale of dignitaries in the sect; see Carra de Vaux's article «Dā'ī» in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, p. 895.

(3) See Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, pp. 30-36; translated by Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb*, pp. 290-99.

THE FOUNDATION OF CAIRO

BY

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

Origin of the Fāṭimid Dynasty. — Establishment at Qairawān. — Astrological reasons for an attack on Egypt. — Gōhar, the General of al-Mu'izz, the fourth Fāṭimid Khalif, invades Egypt. — Fall of Fusṭāṭ. — Foundation of al-Qāhira (Cairo). — The Walls and Gates.

ORIGIN OF THE FAṬIMID DYNASTY.

The Fāṭimids [1] traced the origin of their dynasty to 'Ubaydallāh the Mahdī, whom they claimed to be the brother of the twelfth Īmām who had mysteriously vanished at Sāmarrā. There are other versions [2] and, according to one of them, he was the son of one of the «hidden» Īmāms who succeeded to the direction of the sect after the death of the seventh Īmām. However, in spite of De Gœje's learned and ingenious study [3], Becker [4] and Reitemeyer [5] both agree that the origin of the Fāṭimids is still involved in obscurity. The opponents of the Fāṭimids attributed the origin of the dynasty to Ma'mun al-Qaddāh, an oculist who founded

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[1] So called, as the author of the *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh* says, because they based their claims to spiritual and temporal authority «on the nobility of their descent from Fāṭima,» the Prophet's daughter; see Browne (E. G.), *Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 195.

[2] For a discussion of this question see Quatremère, *Mémoires historiques sur la dynastie des Khalifes Fâtimides, Journal asiatique*, 3e série, t. II, p. 97 ff.

[3] *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein et les Fatimides* (Leyde, 1886).

[4] *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, I, p. 2.

[5] *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, p. 112.

This is perhaps Meyer's most unfortunate reading. The Greek is *καὶ πῶς τινὲς ἀφροδίτην προκαλοῦνται*, and G II reads *veneram* for *ventrem*. There is not the least doubt that we should read *venerem*, which actually occurs in the later Latin version.

(quare quarundam fructus faciunt lac, quarundam non)

Vid. *Bull.*, *loc. cit.*, no. 1. Meyer rightly rejects this phrase as spurious.

CORRIGENDA.

Bull., I, 1.

	الخطأ	الصواب
P. 54, l. 12	لم يستتم كامله	لم يستتم كماله
55, l. 5 from end	بانتشار	بانتثار
56, l. 8	معلق بقامته	ملصق بقامته
57, l. 14	اذا لم يعد بفلاحته	اذا لم يعن بفلاحته

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quia masculus spissior, durior, ramosior, minus humorosus, fructus brevior, minus maturabilis — لأن الذكر اكثف من الأنثى وأكثر أغصانا وأقل رطوبة وثماره أصغر وأقل نضوجا

Bas omits *fructus brevior;* G I reads *magis maturabilis* (cf. *καὶ ταχύτερον εἰς πέπανσιν*); G II has *minus humorosus maturabilis.* It is evident that some word equivalent to *durior* has dropped out in the Arabic.

ut cognoscamus arbores per se et genera per se — أن نفرس فى الشجر على حدته

Mayer holds *et genera per se* suspect, and has little doubt that what is wanted is *et olera :* our Arabic however gives a clear meaning, 'separately'.

et inspiciamus libros eorum de his scriptos — وتمارس علومهم وكتبهم الموضوعة فى هذه الاشياء

This suggests that we should read نمارس. It is interesting to note that Bas reads *scientiis* for *scriptos,* for this is undoubtedly the correct tradition (علومهم).

et nos poterimus perscrutari eorum medullam perscrutatione compendiosa — ونحن قادرون على فحص اقدر من هذا

Alfredus evidently had before him a text somewhat different from ours.

et plantas vinales, et plantas medicinales — وعن النبات الخمرى الشرابى وعن النبات الطبيعى وعن نبات الادوية

We should probably strike out the superfluous and meaningless words الشرابى ومن النبات الطبيعى.

et inquiramus proprietates omnium plantarum, et maxime radicum; et quare quidam fructus mollefiunt, quidam non

Vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 76, no. 8. The two clauses were reversed in Alfredus' original.

f. 108 *a*

et quare quidam ventrem provocant — وكيف صار بعضهم يهيج شهوة الجماع

So G I : *in coruna* Bas *in vico Roma* G II. Albertus Magnus gives *coronia* (Basil.) *coronya* (Argent.). It is clear from this evidence that, we should emend فرونية to قرونية : this is the ancient Κορώνη, a town in the Peloponnese. How appropriate this name is in this context, will be appreciated by a perusal of Meyer's note at the bottom of page 103 of his book, where he quotes Theophrastus as mentioning Laconia as a place where this phenomenon occurs. It seems probable that وأفرنسية is a corruption of أو قرنية, recording a variant spelling : it should therefore be struck out.

ex suo ligno — من خشبه الاماس

Perhaps the adjective الاملس is a gloss.

quaedam ubique

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 75, no. 7. This phrase is omitted in G II.

f. 107 *b*

et quaedam uno anno fructificant, altero reficiuntur, ut olivae, licet multos ramos producant, quibus cooperiuntur

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 75, no. 1 (f. 107 *b*). It is evident that the corresponding passage in the Arabic has dropped out.

quaedam in juventute fertiliores sunt quam in senectute; quaedam e contro melius fructificant (*in senectute*), ut amygdali, piri et ilex.	ومنه ما يحمل فى وقت كبره وهرمه اكثر من حمله فى شبيبته

Such is the reading of Bas (the words in italics are added by Meyer). For the first clause, G I has *quaedam in juventute steriles, fertiles sunt in senectute;* G II has *quaedam in juventute steriliores sunt quam in senectute,* and this is the reading of Albertus and of the Greek. It looks as though the confusion has arisen from Alfredus' clumsy attempt at periphrasis. For *ilex* we have in the Greek αἴγειροι, a sheer mistranslation.

silvestrium et hortensium — البستانى

Perhaps we should read : الجبلى والبستانى .

Meyer has a long and learned note on this passage, of which the following speculative table of equivalents is the end :

Nicolaus	Arabic	Latin
σισύμβριον	فوذنج	calamentum
μίνθη	نعناع	mentha
ὤκιμον	ترنجان	terugena
ἕρπυλλον	نمام أو سيسنبر	sesebra

Theophrastus in a similar context states that sisymbrium (*σισύμβριον*) changes into mint (*μίνθη*), and basil (*ὤκιμον*) into thyme (*ἕρπυλλον*). Now *calamentum* is the same as *σισύμβριον*, and there is little doubt that شاهسفرم is an attempt to transliterate this word into Arabic. On the other hand, *sesebra* (Albertus), *soesebram* Bas, *schelapram* G I, *cellebra* G II, represent Alfredus' attempt to put the selfsame شاهسفرم into Latin characters. If we interchange شاهسفرم and النمام, we probably get the first of Theophrastus' examples accurately reproduced : and of the second, we get the second term, thyme (النمام), correctly in place. It therefore remains to obtain the Arabic for basil out of الباذروج in the MS. and *teruga* G I *terrugena* G II *turregene* Bas; *turego* Albertus (MS. Basil.) *citrego* Albertus (MS. Argent.). *Viride* is due to reading الاخضر for الاحمر .

f. 107 *a*

stercore porcino fimata — إذا طرد فى اصله من بزر الخبازى

Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* II c 2 xi : *τῇ θεραπείᾳ δὲ μεταβάλλει ῥόα καὶ ἀμυγδαλῆ. ῥόα μὲν κόπρον ὑείαν λαβοῦσα καὶ ὕδατος πλῆθος ῥυτοῦ· ἀμυγδαλῆ δὲ ὅταν πάτταλόν τις ἐνθῇ, καὶ τὸ δάκρυον ἀφαιρῇ τὸ ἐπιρρέον πλείω χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποδιδῷ θεραπείαν.*

It is impossible to doubt that this is the origin of our Arabic : presumably the whole passage was incorporated into Nicolaus' epitome. We must emend بزر الخبازى to براز الخنازير .

in Coruma (Gk : *ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ*) — فى بلد فرونية وأفرنسية

quaedam pejus, et a quibusdam malis seminibus bonae arbores proveniunt

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 74, no. 1. But Bas and G I omit *quaedam pejus* (τινὰ χεῖρον), and the Arabic proves that they are to be rejected.

in palmis quoque si folia vel pulvis foliorum vel cortex masculae palmae foliis femineae palmae apponantur, ut cohaereant

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 2. There is evidently corruption of some sort in the Arabic text, which may be emended thus :

فاما النخل الانثى فاذا نشر فى طلعه من طلع الخ

ex quibusdam horum vel omnibus

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 3. The phrase ويكون طلعه ايضا دقيقا is seemingly a doublet of فيصير طلعه رقيقا, or perhaps it is a gloss noting the variant دقيقا for رقيقا : and it has displaced from the text the words which are translated by *ex quibusdam horum vel omnibus.*

quando folia masculi inter illa fuerint apprehensa	اذا جعل فيها من طلع الذكر

The Greek is : ὁπόταν τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ἄρρενος τῷ Ͽήλει ἀπαιωρῶνται. *Inter illa* is taken by Meyer from Albertus : all the MSS give *in illa*, and this is evidently correct (فيها). For *apprehensa* (G I), Bas G II read *appensa* (ἀπαιωρῶνται). If جعل is right, perhaps we should read *apposita*, cf. *apponantur* above.

The next phrase, واما بزر الاترج .... ويخرج السمّ, is not translated by Alfredus, and does not appear in the Greek : probably it is to be regarded as a gloss.

dicitur quoque, quod calamentum transmutatur in mentam. Teruginaque abscissa et plantata secus mare viride fortasse fiet sesebram	ويزعمون ان النمام ربما تغيّر وصار نعنعا والباذروج اذا حصد وصير بقرب البحر الاحمر ربما صار شاهسفرم

Meyer correctly identifies *belotae* with بلوط. The Latin equivalent for لفاح (mandragoras) has dropped out.

ut mora et cerasa كالتوت

This is the reading of G II only. Bas has *mora cerasa*, G I *mora*.

ut omnes fructus silvestres

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 73 no. 4. A little later التين الجبلى is rendered by *ficus silvestres*

quaedam tarde

Vid. *ibid.*, p. 74 no. 5. The omission in the Latin is due probably to the homoeoteleuton ومنه ما ..... ومنه ما.

quaedam ad albedinem, quaedam ad rubedinem

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 7. G II adds : *propter calorem inflammantem aerem admixtum cum terrico.* This is clearly the origin of the inflated Greek text.

sed et figura fructus, si fuerit silvestris, est diversorum modorum واما شكل الثمار فما كان منه † حرس † فهو مختلف

In the published text I conjectured جزئين for † حرس † : now, however, with *silvestris* (ἄγρια) before us, it is safe to conclude that we should read احرش.

f. 106 *b*

ut artemisiae in adul silvestre, et olivarum in botam كالفستق فى اللوز والبطم بالزيتون

For *artemisiae* (G I), G II has *arthemele*, Bas *marchemesie*. G I has *in adul silvestri*, Bas *in adul silvestris*, G II *in advulsum silvestre*, Albertus *in absinthium*. The Greek of this passage is : ὡς ἀρτεμισία εἰς ἀγρίαν ἀρτεμισίαν καὶ καλλιέλαιος εἰς ἀγριέλαιον. The Arabic rescues us from this morass of obscurities, but it is difficult to understand how such corruptions arose. Meyer rightly identifies *botam* (so Bas; *betam* G I, G II) with بطم.

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 72 no. 5. Alfredus omits the words كالشيل as well he might.

nascitur in solo ramo　　　　　　　　　　تنبت له شعبة واحدة

For *ramo* G II has *raro*, which was translated by the Greek interpreter *ἀραιῶς*.

olivae et nucis pineae　　　　　　　　　　كالزيتون والجوز والصنوبر

We should insert *et* after *nucis*.

ex carne et osse et grano, ut pruna; quidam ex carne et grano, ut cucumeres

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 73 no. 10. There is a fundamental difference here.

f. 106 *a*

et quosdam fructus quidam comedere possunt, quidam vero non; et quosdam quaedam animalia comedunt, quaedam vero non. Fructuum iterum quidam sunt in siliquis, ut grana; quidam in coopertura sicut tela, ut triticum

Vid. *Bull.*, I p. 73 no. 1. Evidently some words have dropped out in the Arabic, corresponding to *fructuum iterum* . . . *ut triticum*.

et quidam in cafta, ut belotae (glandes), et quidam in caftis multis　　ومنه ما هو فى قشر كالبلوط واللفاح ومنه ما هو فى قشور كثيرة

Meyer conjectures *cafta* and *caftis*, supposing this to be a latinisation of the word جفت, in support of which he quotes the following sentence from Avicenna:

واشد ما فى البلوط قبضاً هو جفته وهو قشره الداخل

Now the MSS read as follows: *in cascha* . . . *in tascis* G I; *in casia* . . . *in casis* Bas; *in cassa* . . . *in cassis* G II. In the corresponding passage in Albertus Magnus, cod. Bas. has *casca*, cod. Argent. *casta*. On this evidence, and with the original Arabic before us, we cannot doubt that Alfredus is doing his best to put the word قشر into Latin characters.

in locis altis, et quaedam in humido loco, et quaedam in arido, et quaedam vivunt in utroque — على التلول ومنه ما يعشب على البر والماء

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 72 nos. 7, 8. The Arabic seems to have become somewhat abbreviated.

ut salix et atharafa — مثل العرف والطرفاء والاشنة

Theophrastus mentions three trees as particularly prone to grow near water, viz. μυρρίνη (emended by Schneider to μυρίκη 'tamarisk'), ἰτέα 'willow', and κλῆθρα 'alder' (vid. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p 82). Meyer correctly identifies *atharafa* with الطرفاء 'tamarisk', and *salix* points to a word for 'willow' in the Arabic.

et planta terrae affixa non separatur ab ea. Quidam quoque loci meliores sunt quibusdam.

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 72 no. 8. Evidently Alfredus' text lacked تغير, and also the phrase وتربة اجود من تربة.

f 105 *b*

ut mediannus — مثل † اللاس †

So G I. Bas and the Later Latin Version have *medianus;* G II *medua;* Albertus *ut sunt istae per dimidium annum durantes, propter quod et mediannes dicuntur;* the Greek version gives μεσιτεύων, a desperate expedient. Meyer conjectures that the Arabic original was ما هو دانه, the *euphorbia lathyris.*

ut alaz (, et i. e. rhamnus) — مثل العوسج

So Meyer prints his text. Albertus writes : *ut ramnus, qui alaz Arabice dicitur.* G II has *ut alanar, i. rampnus;* Bas, *ut alacer, et i. rampnus;* G I *ut allatum et rampnus.* Alfredus attempted to transliterate the Arabic word, and then gave the Latin equivalent, and this is the origin of so much confusion.

et quaedam carent ramis, et quaedam habent ramos multos, ut morus silvestris

Above we have already met the forms بامسو اوحبوب and بامسو أو حبوب and in both contexts we concluded that the word *ϑάμνος* must have been in the original Greek : and it is entirely appropriate to the present context that the same word should be looked for.

ut vovet et fingekest (i. e. pentaphyllon), et planta, quae dicitur bacca caprarum	مثل التين والفنجكشت والنبات المعروف † بهار السوس † والعليق

For *vovet* (which is only found in Albertus), G I reads *vestiet*, Bas *vecciet*, G II *ventilli* : the Greek version has Ἀραβικοὶ βέντελοι. In a similar passage, Theophrastus names the following : *ἄγνος*, *παλίουρος*, *κιττός* (vid. Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 80). Now *παλίουρος* is evidently to be found in the corruption بهار السوس (cf. بهار البوس above) : and فنجكشت, a Persian word, is identified with *ἄγνος*, the "chaste-tree". It must remain a mystery, how Alfredus produced *bacca caprarum* from these letters. The word العليق is not represented in the Latin. Are we, then, to conjecture that some word for *κιττός* or *κισσός* ('ivy') lies behind the specious التين and the mysterious variety of forms used by the Latin MSS. as its equivalent?

myrtus quoque et malus et pirus sub hoc genere continentur	دخل الآس والتفاح والكمثرى والرمان في مثل هذه الاشياء

Alfredus' MS seems to have lost والرمان.

f 105 *a*

multi et superflui	كثيرة جداً

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 71 no. 1. *et superflui* is to bring out the force of جداً.

et quaedam nascuntur et vivunt in locis aridissimis, ut in terra Aethiopum, quae dicitur Ziara	ومنه ما يعشب في الصحراء

For يعشب the MS has يعش : this may be meant for يعيش, but the context asks rather for يعشب, and so I have emended. Meyer correctly conjectures that *Ziara* is for Sahara (sc. الصحراء).

its equally strange original † بهار البوس †? What but *παλίουρος*, which is found in company with *βάτος* e. g. in Theophrastus *op. cit.* (vid. Meyer p. 77), and, in its Latin dress, *paliurus*, with *rubus* (*βάτος*) as at Columella, *De Re Rustica* XI 3 : *semina vastissimarum spinarum, maximeque rubi et paliuri*, cf. Vergil, *Eclogues* 5.39 : *spinis surgit paliurus acutis.* In Arabic characters this name becomes فاليورس, which is not so very far from what our MS gives. Meyer's guesses in this context make very interesting reading.

et non possumus haec omnia nisi per syllogismos et exempla et descriptiones manifestare	وانما جعلنا هذه الاشياء قياسات ومثالا ورسما

Bas and G II omit *manifestare*. The Greek is : *οὐ δυνάμεθα δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσ7ασθαι εἰ μὴ κτλ.*

I suggest that we should omit *manifestare*, and emend *possumus* to *posuimus* (= جعلنا).

ut olus, quod dicitur olus regium	مثل البقلة المعروفة بالمؤخية

For *regium* Bas and G II have *regum*, which is however substantially the same. The Arabic text is evidently corrupt, and we must look for some Greek word in Arabic characters in place of المؤخية, for our author commonly introduces a Greek word in Arabic garb with المعروف بكذا وكذا. Now Meyer points out (*op. cit.*, p. 79) that Theophrastus, in a similar context, mentions the plant called *μαλάχη* : this name has passed over into Arabic in the form ملوخية or ملوخيا. We must therefore emend بالمؤخية to بالملوخية. As for Alfredus, he was apparently at a loss to understand the somewhat rare word before him, and supposed that the phrase was a corruption of some form of the root ملك.

acelga

Meyer (*ibid.*) correctly identifies this strange form as representing the Arabic السلق.

in figura granorum plantae †	على شكل نبات الحبوب † والفاسوا †

In such a welter of corruption, conjecture becomes powerless, and only rewriting is of any avail. Here, however, we may note.

a) From III our text can almost certainly be restored thus : والقضبان الصغار التى بها تعلق ورق النبات بالنبات وثمرته وكذلك

b) From v we may conclude that we should read البزر for البزور, especially as this reading is supported by the Latin (*semine*), and is required by حوله .

ambrachion

For the context, vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 71 n. 3 (f. 104 *b*). This is the reading of G I and G II here : Bas has *ambrechion*, Albertus *ambragyon*. A little lower, where the same word recurs, *ambrachion* is read by Bas, *ambrachinon* by G II, and *mandragion* by G I. From these variants we may conclude that Alfredus had before him some such combination as امرحنون or بامرحنون, assuming that he took the initial for a preposition. The context clearly requires a word meaning 'bush' or 'shrub', for which we have in Greek θάμνος : and that in this context we must look for a transliteration of this word into Arabic characters, besides being a suggestion put forward by Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 77), who notes that Avicenna has the form ثمنش 'haud raro', is also indicated by the unanimity between our Arabic MS and the tradition in the Latin as to the letters امر and perhaps بامر. Further than this it does not seem possible to speculate.

inter arbores et herbas minutas

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 4. We must emend the Arabic to : بين الشجر والعشب

ut id quod dicitur magnus cannae et rubus — مثل النبات المعروف † بقار الوس † ومثل القصب والعوسج

The Greek is : ὡς τὰ καλούμενα ἄγνοι καὶ βάτοι.

Evidently the Greek translator was using a Latin text in which *magnus* and *cannae* were fused into *agni*. القصب is of course *cannae*, and العوسج is *rubus*. What, then, are we to read into the strange form *magnus*, and

Meyer would exclude *quæ*, for which Bas had *rami et planta que*. At first sight this is a desperate affair : but fortunately there is a passage in Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* I c. 2) which exhibits so striking a similarity to this passage, that one cannot help concluding that it its the original of it : ἄλλα δὲ ἐσ7ὶν ὥσπερ ἐπέτεια μέρη τὰ πρὸς τὴν καρποτοκίαν, οἷον φύλλον, ἄνθος, μίσχος· τοῦτο δ' ἐσ7ὶν, ᾧ συνήρτηται πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ φύλλον καὶ ὁ καρπός· ἔτι δὲ ἕλιξ, βρύον, οἷς ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι σπέρμα τὸ τοῦ καρποῦ· καρπὸς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ συγκείμενον σπέρμα μετὰ τοῦ περικαρπίου.

"There are other parts which are, as it were, annual, namely, the parts connected with fruitbearing, such as leaf, flower, stem (μισχός) — the latter is the part whereby the leaf and the fruit are connected with the plant — likewise tendril and catkin (in such plants as possess them), and, above all, the seed of the fruit : and the fruit consists of the seed lying in position, and the pod (περικάρπιον)."

On the evidence now before us, we can make the following conclusions :

I. اخر, which is obviously wrong, must be emended to اخرى : cf. ἄλλα δὲ . . . . μέρη in Theophrastus. That this word is not reproduced in the Latin, is probably due to haplography of احرا احرا, as the words would appear in a MS of this period, written without points and with ى written as ا.

II. The Arabic translator must have used a version of the Greek in which ἐπέτεια (annual) had become corrupted to ἐπιτήδεια : this explains تصلح, which is of course nonsense. It is interesting to note that تصلح becomes ἐπιτήδεια again after passing through *aptae* in the Latin, thus affording confirmation of the corruption in the original Greek.

III. μίσχος is rendered by القضبان الصغار : while التى فيها ورق النبات contains a rendering of τοῦτο δ' ἐσ7ὶν, ᾧ συνήρτηται πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ φύλλον in a mutilated form. الثمرة has become displaced, and should follow النبات; while after وكذلك (ἔτι δὲ) must have originally come the Arabic equivalents for ἕλιξ, βρύον, οἷς ὑπάρχει.

IV. The phrase καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι σπέρμα τὸ τοῦ καρποῦ has dropped out.

V. والقفاح النابت من البزور وما حوله is the remainder of an attempt to render καρπὸς δ' ἐσ7ὶ τὸ συγκείμενον σπέρμα μετὰ τοῦ περικαρπίου.

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 10. The Greek translator renders *arborum*, which does not occur in any surviving MS.

et ista assimilantur membris animalium وهى تعدل أعضاء الحيوان

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 11. G II has *viriliter* for *membris*, and this is evidently the source of the variation in the Greek.

sicut statura erectionis شبيه بقائمة الشجر

This is the text which Meyer adopts, following Albertus. All the MSS read *similis staturae arboris*, and as this is the exact equivalent of the Arabic, it should undoubtedly be incorporated. The Greek translator introduces a fresh variant with *ἀνθρώπου*.

a radice arboris من قائمة النبات

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 13. قائمة is the trunk, شعب the branch, and غصن the twig.

ut fungi et tuberes

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 16. The Greek seems to read *similia* for *tuberes*.

f 104 *b*

et nodi et venae

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 1. The Greek seems to read *haec* for *nodi*.

et multotiens inveniuntur partes, quae aptae sunt ad generandum, ut folia et flores et parvae virgae, quae sunt flores praeter plantam; eodem modo et fructus et rami in planta, et (quae) nascuntur ex semine, et quod circumdat illud	وقد يوجد فى النبات اجزاء اخر تصلح للنتاج مثل الورق والزهر والقضبان الصغار التى فيها ورق النبات وكذلك الثمرة والغصن والفقاح النابت من البزور وما حوله

The Greek of this passage is : *καὶ πολλάκις εὑρίσκονται μέρη τινὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη. καὶ λύγοι δέ τινες βραχεῖς εἰσίν, εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν ἐπιτήδειοι ἄνθη, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰτεῶν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἄνθη καὶ καρποὺς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις, καὶ τἆλλ' ὁπόσα γεννῶνται ἐκ σπέρματος, καὶ ὅσα περικαλύπτουσιν αὐτά.*

should be read أو ما فوق, a gloss, referring to some variant reading written above in the archetype of our MS, and then mechanically copied into our text, thereby adding to the confusion. I would therefore rewrite the text thus : المعروف بأرخوس ومنه ما ثمره الخ [1]

et quarundam folia et nodi indiscreti sunt; et quarundam sunt folia aequalia et ad invicem similia; et quaedam habent ramos aequales earum quae habent ramos	ومن النبات ما ورقه وعقده غير مستور ومن النبات ما ورقه مستور ومنه ما له اغصان متساوية مثل النبات الذى له ثلثة اغصان

The relevant Greek passages will be seen at p. 70 of *Bull.*, I, nos. 7-9. *οἱ καρποί* is derived from G II, which reads *fructus folia et nodi.* The Greek translator seems to have had before him a text exhibiting considerable differences from that which Meyer published; it must have been something like this : *et quarundam fructus folia et nodi indiscreti sunt; et quarundam sunt folia ad invicem similia, quarundam non; et quaedam habent ramos aequales, quaedam non tales.* That مستور is corrupt, seems fairly certain : but I am at a loss to find an equivalent for *indiscreti* sufficiently similar to account for the corruption. As for the "three branches" mentioned in the Arabic (and omitted in the Latin, which seems to run into nonsense at this point), I know of no tree or plant that habitually has only three branches; but if there is one, then some words have fallen out of our text, and the whole passage should run : "Of some the leaves and notches are all of one kind (?), of others they are not so; some have equal branches (sc. equal in number on each side), others unequal, like the plant that has three branches (sc. two on one side and one on the other)".

omnium plantarum

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[1] Since this was written, Dr. Meyerhof has been so kind as to suggest that the plant here referred to is the ἀράχιδνα (vid. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* I c. 1 vii) and that the Arabic equivalent is ملفوف. This is a neat solution.

habet partes nec similes nec aequales, et quaedam habet partes aequales non similes. There is no origin for ἕτερον ὑγρά, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα in the Greek. With such diversity in such a seemingly haphazard catalogue, I do not care to speculate as to what is the correct text.

in diversitatibus (saporum) inaequalitate et augmento numeri et ejus detrimento — من الاختلاف فى الاستواء وزيادة العدد ونقصانه

Thus Meyer supplies *saporum*, arguing learnedly from Theophrastus. The Arabic shows that the Latin tradition is sound : *in diversitatibus in aequalitate et augmento numeri et ejus detrimento.* The φυσικῇ noted in *Bull.*, I, p. 69, no. 3 comes from the variant *naturali* for *numeri* found in G II.

et quaedam non erit unius modi

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 70, no. 4. The τοιούτου seems to derive from a misreading of *hujus* or *talis* for *unius*.

et quarundam a radice — ومنه ما ثمره معلق فى اصله

This suggests that we should read معلق بأصله

ut arbores Aegyptiae, quae dicuntur vargariaton — مثل الشجر الذى بمصر المعروف † بارحسو او ما فوق †

vargariaton is the reading of G I; Bas has *varcariariceo*, G II *margarita*, which is the basis of the Greek μαργαρῖται. Of the MSS of the book of Albertus Magnus, Basil reads *nagavariton*, and Argent has *margavaricon*, while editors print *nargavariton*. Meyer makes several suggestions as to the true name that lies concealed in this jungle of confused readings, vid. *op. cit.*, p. 72. Since the author is writing of a plant growing in Egypt, which has its fruit growing attached to its roots, an example which occurs at once to the mind is the peanut or فول سودانى; and there is in Greek the word ἄρακος or ἄραχος, which, we are told, is a kind of pulse or vetch. In Arabic characters, this would appear as ارخوس, which is very near indeed to what our MS gives us, ارحسو. As for the rest of the part of our text enclosed in daggers, I conjecture that this

similis est pici (ut in abiete, et in quibusdam est aquosus) ut humor . شبيه بالزفت مثل الرطوبة

The words in brackets are supplied by Meyer to restore the text : but there is no equivalent for them in the Arabic, although it is true that they are sorely needed.

origanalis معترى

This is the reading adopted by Meyer, although it is only given by G I, and as an alternative by Albertus : Bas and G II read *originalis*, which is copied by the Greek *ἀρχέγονος*. It is a triumph for Meyer that he should have chosen so well, and also that he should have deduced a reference to *ὀρίγανον* (vid. *op. cit.*, p. 99).

in origano et in planta, quae dicitur opigaidum .

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 9. The words *καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις* can be struck out as pure padding, for there is no authority for them in the Latin. As for *opigaidum*, this is the reading of G I, and it is followed in the Greek with *ὀπιγαΐς* : it is, however, a *vox nihili*, for no such word is to be found in the Greek language. Of the other MSS, Bas has *opigaldum*, which is substantially the same, G II has *epigader*, while Albertus gives *epygadrium*. The reading of our Arabic MS provides a neat solution of this impasse : it is of course *ὀρίγανον* in Arabic characters. The plant سعتر is thyme (*θύμος*), and صعترى must surely represent *θυμιατικὸς* in the original Greek, which must have read somewhat thus : *ἐν τισὶ δὲ θυμιατικὸς, ὡς ὁ χυμὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ θύμῳ καὶ τῷ ὀριγάνῳ*. The plant *ὀρίγανον* (in Latin *origanum*) is the aromatic herb called marjoram.

f. 104 *a*

est planta quae habet partes siccas; et est, quae habet partes terminatas nec similes nec aequales, et quaedam habent partes similes ad invicem, et quaedam habent aequales nec similes

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 1. The reading of Bas for this passage is : *est planta, quae habet partes terminatas, et quae habet partes similes ad invicem, et quae*

abjiciente ipsum propter causam. Et non est istud in planta, quia multotiens cadunt de planta partes multae non determinatae, sicut pili hominis et ungues in animali; et nascuntur pro eis aliae partes vel in loco, in quo fuerunt, vel extra in alio. Et jam certum est, quod partes plantae non sunt determinatae, sive sunt partes plantae, sive non. Et turpe est nobis dicere, res, cum quibus crescit animal et completur cum eis, non esse partes ejus; sed folia et omnia, quae sunt in eis, sunt partes ejus, licet non sint determinatae et paulatim decidant, quoniam cornua cervi, et capilli quorundam animalium et pili quorundam de eis, quae se abscondunt in tempore hyemali in caveis et sub terra, cadunt, et illud est simile casui foliorum.

The Arabic text of this passage will be found on p. 55 of the first number of the *Bulletin*, ١١, ١٣-٢٢.

I must confess that this passage appears to me to be beyond cure. There is no equivalent in our Arabic text for the words *non determinatae, sicut pili hominis et ungues in animali* (the last two words are missing in G I G II, and the Greek translator has not found them). Then there is a variation between *aliae partes vel in loco, in quo fuerunt, vel extra in alio.* The clause in the Arabic beginning at ومما ينبغي and ending at بجزء لأمه does not appear in the Latin or the Greek. In the face of such serious discrepancies, conjecture seems powerless to restore an accurate text : I suspect strongly that the Arab translator himself was here confronted with a corrupt Greek tradition, and that this is the true reason for the pure nonsense which he has written in the passage quoted in the last note. I am inclined to think that these words conceal a comparison between the flowers, fruit and leaves of the tree, which fall (or, in some cases, do not fall) every year, and the skin which is cast by snakes : but this is pure guesswork.

et fortitudine et debilitate

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 69, no. 7. It is evident that we must supply والضعف after والقوة.

ut lac (Gk : ὡς γάλα) ، ما هو لبن

We should read شبيه باللبن : cf. شبية بالزفت

So Meyer, on the authority of G I and Albertus : all other sources give *corticibus* (φλοιῶν), which, being supported by the Arabic, must be incorporated into the text.

tres coopertùras (Gk : περικαλύμματα) ثلاث طبقات

The Greek is following the tradition of G I, which omits *tres*.

nec effectum aequalem effectui animalis ولا فعل مثل الحيوان

The Greek is : οὐδὲ διάθεσιν ἴσην διαθέσει ψυχῆς.
Evidently the error arises from reading *animae* for *animalis*.

f. 103 *b*.

et quando generabitur, remanebit in sua dispositione species واذا تكوّن بقى على حاله ابدا

G II omits *species*, and it is possible that, as no equivalent for this word occurs in the Arabic text as preserved to us, it was added for the sake of clearness by some copyist. It turns up also in the Greek : καὶ ὅταν γεννηθῇ τι εἶδος φυτοῦ, μένει ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ διαθέσει.

nec remanent, ut cortex et corpus, cadens a re abjiciente ipsum propter causam... ولا يبقى مثل القشور والجرم الساقط من الشيء يرميه وسسه

Meyer eventually gives up this passage as incurably corrupt, and it is not necessary in this place to refer to the ingenious conjectures which he makes as to the nature of the (to him) lost Arabic original, conjectures which are, unhappily, not substantiated by the facts. It is to be noted that the only variation which occurs between the text which Alfredus used, and that which has survived, lies in the letters of the word وسسه, which I tentatively emended to بسببه, an emendation which I do not propose to retain : Alfredus must have read لسبب. Let us, however, examine the whole context, and note the numerous discrepancies which occur.

Et flores et fructus et folia plantarum quandoque omni anno erunt, quaedam vero non sic; nec remanent, ut cortex et corpus, cadens a re

تجزأ (twice), and يصير becomes تصير, and all is comparatively well : but what of أجزاؤه and هو? And what of the broken meaning? The idea of the writer is, that any compound can be divided in two ways : into similar particles of its own *compound* substance, and into dissimilar particles of its simple elements. Mud can be divided into particles of clay (تراب), or it can be divided into its elements of water and earth (تربة) : flesh can be divided into particles of flesh, or it can be divided into its elements or roots (reading أو الاصول for والاصل : cf. *elementa seu radices*). But (he goes on) a hand cannot be divided into elemental hands, etc.

nec folia ad alia folia

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 7. We should emend the Arabic text to : ولا الورق لورق اخر

sed in his, radicibus et foliis est compositio...... ولكن فى الاصل والورق تركيب

So Meyer prints his text, explaining that some words must have dropped out, such as : *est compositio tantum ex partibus similibus, ex humore, carne, fibris*, etc. But this is not the idea of the author at all : he is pointing out the difference between some compounds (such as mud and flesh), *inorganic* compounds as he would think of them, and others, *organic*, such as the parts of animals and plants, which resemble one another in that they cannot be broken up into smaller particles *similar to themselves*. We must omit the comma after *his*.

illae enim habent corticem et carnem et testam et semen

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 8. We should add after *habent*, *quattuor coopertu-ras* (اربع طبقات). The word *testa* (here 'shell') is used to render نوى, the kernel of the olive : the Greek interpreter fails to understand the meaning of this, and does his best with καὶ τι ὀστρακῶδες, thinking of *testa* as meaning a potsherd. Then his Latin text betrays him, and he translates the following : *corticem et carnem et testam et semen et fructum. Quidam habent* etc. (for : *semen. Et fructuum quidam habent* etc.).

ex duobus corporibus ذات قشرين

the best of the Latin MSS., reads *cum cute* for *cuti*, and then goes on : *animalis et radix carte similis est ori animalis.* The reading *carte* is quite properly pilloried by Meyer, who notes it thus : *carte* (*sic!*). Nevertheless, it is, ironically enough, the only vestige of the true reading, *carni* for *ori*. And yet, how appropriate that *ori* is! The comparison of the roots of a plant with the mouth of an animal is a familiar idea in Aristotle, as Meyer demonstrates on page 65 of his edition. But unless we are prepared to emend للحم to لفم, we are left with the inept comparison of the roots with the flesh, which Sylburg preferred.

et quaelibet harum partium dividuntur aliquo modo per partes consimiles, et dividitur etiam per partes dissimiles, quasi lutum uno modo per terram tantum, et alio modo per aquam; pulmo quoque et caro dividuntur, et sunt partes earum carnes, et alio modo dividuntur per elementa seu radices.

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 68 nos. 5, 6. Of the variants on the Latin text, the most important to be noted is that of Bas, *dividitur* for *dividuntur*, on at least two occasions (for Meyer is not very clear on this point). The first *dividuntur* must be altered to *dividitur*, for *quaelibet* is singular feminine, corresponding with كل جزء, and also apposite to *et dividitur etiam*. We must in the same way read يتجزأ twice (for تتجزأ), and retain the remainder of this part of the passage as I have printed it in the text (*Bull.*, I, p. 54-55), and not as in the Appendix (*ibid.*, p. 68), which gives the MS reading. *Quasi* is Meyer's conjecture : *quia* is the reading of Bas G I, G II, Albertus writes *sicut*, and the later Latin version has *veluti scilicet.* The Greek, which is a little periphrastic, supports the MS reading (note the γάρ). *Quia* is quite obviously correct (لأن), but there is a case for *quasi*, not (as Meyer argues) because its letters are similar to those of *quia*, but because it can be taken to represent a variant كأن for لأن.

What of *pulmo quoque et caro* (ὡσαύτως ὁ πνεύμων καὶ ἡ σάρξ)? By comparing the Arabic, it is clear that *pulmo* is due to a misunderstanding of التربة : التريبة means 'the upper part of the chest', and this is the word which is in Alfredus' mind. Alas for the consequences : يتجزأ becomes

The words *quaedam illas* are only found in Bas : as they do not occur in the Arabic, we must omit them.

ut radices, virgas, folia, ramos, flores, pullulationes, rotunditatem, et corticem, qui circumdat fructum

The Arabic and Greek versions are given in *Bull.*, I, p. 67 f. 103 *a* no. 2. It will be observed that the Latin is an exact rendering of the Arabic. The word λύγους appears to have been due to a misreading of *vitices* for *radices*. Meyer assigns the word βλαστούς against *rotunditatem*, but it is clear that it represents *pullulationes*, and that there is no equivalent in the Greek for *rotunditatem*.

et quaelibet partium plantae compositae sunt membris aliis | وكل جزء من أجزاء النبات نظير لعضو من أعضاء الحيوان

The Greek is : καὶ ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν τοῦ φυτοῦ σύνθετα εἰσὶν ὅμοια μέλεσι ζῴου. The word *compositae* (σύνθετα) is superfluous : and, as far as conjecture can be certain, it is certain that it is due to a misreading of نظيم for نظير. Both these words are expressed in the Greek : presumably, therefore, the Greek translator had before him a Latin version in which both *similes* (نظير) and *compositae* (نظيم) were noted, possibly as variants. The word *aliis* is evidently a corruption for *animalis*, as the Greek ζῴου shows. We must therefore read : *et quaelibet partium plantae similes sunt membris animalis.*

quia cortex plantae similis est cuti animalis, et radix plantae similis est ori animalis | لأن قشر النبات نظير لجلد الحيوان واصل النبات نظير لفم الحيوان

The Greek is : ὁ δὲ φλοιὸς τοῦ φυτοῦ ὅμοιος ἐστι φυσικῶς δέρματι ζῴου. It is obvious that the Greek translator (or his text) was a victim to the homoeoteleuton *similis est ... similis est.* It is to be noted that G II adds *naturaliter* after the second *animalis*, and this explains the superfluous φυσικῶς. Apelt reads in his text δέρματι, which he attributes to Sylburg, noting that the reading of *Na*, the best MS of the Greek text, is στόματι, which of course represents *ori*. Now Bas, in many respects

preserved in G I : while our Arabic text must be emended by adding فعل before النبات .

generabatur animal

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 4. Karsten proposed to emend *οὐ* to *αὖ* (*ad Empedoclem* p. 422), and there is no doubt at all that his correction must be adopted : it is incorporated in Apelt's text.

infirmabitur et veterascet et corrumpetur et arefiet — مرض وفسد وجف

The Greek is : *ἀσθενοῦσι τὰ φυτὰ καὶ γηράσκουσι καὶ φθίνουσι καὶ ξηραίνονται.* Some word corresponding to *veterascet* (*γηράσκουσι*) has dropped out of the Arabic text, probably هرم .

quaedam arbores habent gummi

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 6. The Greek is a mistranslation of the accurate Latin.

nodos . . . et venas et ventrem

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 7. Some word corresponding to *ventrem* (*κοιλίαν*) has fallen out in the Arabic, probably حشا, owing to its similarly to خشب, possibly, as Meyer suggests, معدّ .

scilicet inter corticem et lignum

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 8. These words, for which no equivalent exists in the Arabic, probably represent a gloss on the preceding phrase, such as : يعنى بين القشر والخشب

f. 103 *a*

et similia (Gk : *καὶ φύλλα*) — وغير ذلك

For *similia*, G I reads *folia*, and this is the reading of the Greek translator.

quaedam habent has partes, quaedam illas, quaedam non — منه ما له هذه الأجزاء ومنه ما ليس له شيء

We must read للنبات .

propter multa opera ejus et multas scientias ejus لكثرة أفعاله

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 66 no. 9. Evidently we should add وعلومه after افعاله .

f. 102 *b*

non habet nisi partem partis animae انما له جزء من اجزائها

Alfredus appears to have read جزء من جزئها

et si dixerit aliquis (Gk : *καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν εἴπῃ τις*) وان قلت

Bas reads *et aliquis dixeris*, G II *et si dixeris*. It is clear that we must adopt the latter reading.

indiget eo multum stabili continuo non interrupto فانه يحتاج منه الى شىء كثير قائم غير متّصل غير منقطع

For the Greek, vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 67 no. 1. We must emend the text of the Arabic thus : قائم متّصل غير منقطع

meliores et nobiliores أكرم

Bas omits *meliores et*, and the Arabic proves that this is the correct tradition.

et videmus opus animalis nobilius esse et melius quam opus plantae وفعل من أفعال الحيوان أفضل وأشرف من النبات

Such is Meyer's text, based on the reading of Bas : *videmus* is written by the second hand over *unum*, the original reading; and *esse* is supplied by Meyer *ex conjectura*. The other MSS have : *et unum opus animalis nobilius est et melius quam opus plantae* G I *et opus unum animalis* (*est omne opus*) *nobilius est et melius quam omne opus plantae* G II. The Greek version runs :

ἀλλὰ ἔργον ἓν τοῦ ζῴου ἐστὶ κρεῖττον παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ φυτοῦ.

From this evidence it is clear that the correct Latin version is that

ergo sic debemus opinari in mixtione masculorum et feminarum plantarum, sicut et animalium. Quae est causa plantarum in dispositione quadam . . .

وكذلك ينبغى لنا ان نفكر فى اختلاط
ذكور النبات بأناثه ومن الحيوان ما
يشبه النبات فى حالة من الحالات

It is evident that here Alfredus had before him a text quite different from that which we possess : but that ours is correct text, is shown by what follows.

quia in animali, quando commiscentur sexus (commiscentur vires sexuum), postquam erant separati, provenit ex illis ambabus res una; et ita non est in plantis, quando commiscentur sexus, commiscentur vires sexuum, (postquam erant separati).

لأن الحيوان اذا واقع ذكوره بأناثه
اختلطت قوتهما بعد ما كانا متفرقين

Such is Meyer's text, the words in brackets being those which he desires to omit, in order to restore sense to a sadly disturbed passage. It is to be noted that the words from *postquam* (first time) to the end are only to be found in G II, and also in the Greek version. The trouble really begins in the preceding passage. The train of thought is as follows : 'The mingling of the male with the female plant is after the manner we have described, sc. it is similar to the impregnation of an egg. Now, in a certain respect, the animal resembles the plant : for during the *coitus* of the male and female, the virtue (or potentiality) of the two is mingled, after they had been separate; in the same way, it is nature that mixes the male of the plant with the female (for we have seen above that, before the generation of a new plant, or of fruit, as follows, the male and the female must exist separately)'. If we omit the words that follow *erant separati* (first time), we shall have an exact version of the Arabic. Incidentally, we must read واقع ذكورُه أناثَه .

et non invenimus aliquam operationem in plantis nisi generationem fructuum

وما نجد النبات فعلا سوى توليد الثمار

abandons all hope of finding a proper name here, and, referring rather vaguely to the roots عون and لقن, produces *ideoque dicunt sapientes, illum* (Anaxagoram) *adjuvantes.* The Arabic suggests that the true solution is the name Alcinous, the epitomiser of Plato, whose works, with those of Maximus Tyrius, were published by Heinse.

debemus imaginari — قلنا إن تخيّله

We must emend قلنا to فلنا

in uno ovo (Gk : ἐν τοῖς ᾠοῖς) — فى البيضة

Meyer follows the text of G I and Albertus; the Arabic points to the fact that the other tradition, which omits *uno*, is the correct one.

arbores altae pullos (non) generant — الشجر الطوال لا تولد فراخا

Meyer wishes to exclude *non*, quoting as his authority the line of Empedocles : *οὕτω δ' ὠοτοκεῖ μακρὰ δένδρεα, πρῶτον ἐλαίας.*

"Utrum vero interpres Arabs pro *οὕτω* legerit *οὔτοι*, an Latinus pro particula inseparabili لَ, *sane, utique,* legerit لا, *non,* in suspenso manebit." It need remain in suspense no longer : it is clear from the evidence that the Arab interpreter had before him a version of the line which read *οὔπω* (rather than *οὔτοι*) for *οὕτω*.

quia res, quae nascitur, non nascitur nisi ex parte seminis — لأن الشىء النابت انما ينبت فى حر البزر

G II reads *ex natura,* and this reading is followed in the Greek (vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 66 no. 4). We must clearly emend the Arabic thus : فى جزء البزر .

et nascens movet se statim

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 5. The preceding phrase is : *et fit, quod remanet ex eo, in principio cibus radicis.* For *radicis,* G I has *cibi :* this is nonsense as it stands, but perhaps it is the clue to the passage in the Arabic which is placed between daggers; possibly it is the survival of an attempt to render السبب, in the sense of 'means of subsistence'. The rest of the passage will then read : والنابتة تحرّك على المكان .

find that its simple substances, before being compounded, must have existed separately first. So it is with plants. First the male and the female exist separately, then a mingling of the sexes takes place, and so a new plant is generated. The old plant was existent before the mingling took place, and therefore it could not be the efficient and the patient at one and the same time, nor could it be one of those substances whose male and female exist in a single thing together, for in this case the plant would be more perfect than the animal". This is his process of reasoning, which Alfredus failed to grasp.

f. 102 *a*

et temperantia naturali

Vid. *Bull.*, I, *loc. cit.*, no. 1. Meyer adopts the reading of Bas : G I omits *naturali*, G II has in its place *et vere*. From the latter fact Meyer deduces that Bekker 'mistakenly' (perperam) read *καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος* for *καὶ τοῦ ἔαρος*. What is much more certain, however, is that the Greek translator had before him a Latin text which read *et temperantia et aere*. The Arabic suggests that we should follow G I and strike out *naturali*.

quod earum frigus est (vel semina sunt) ab aere

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 2. Meyer is quite right in conjecturing that the word required here is *semina* (or rather *semen*) : the mistake, however, arose through the confusion of برد not with بذر, as he suggests, but with بزر, which is the actual reading of the Arabic text.

et ideo dicit lechineon (Gk : *ἔφη πρὸς Λεχίνεον*)	ولذلك قال رجل يقال له القناون

This passage has indeed exercised the ingenuity of scholars, as Meyer remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 57-8). The MSS read : *lechineon* G I, *lecinio* Bas, *lethineo* G II. Albertus Magnus reads *Leucineom*, and Jourdain (from his Paris MSS) *Lachineo;* while the later Latin version, following the Greek, reads *ad Lechineum*. Albertus conjectured that the name hidden in this confusion is Lycophro, Jourdain hasarded Leucippus. Meyer, taking the bold path of conjecturing from the unknown (to him) Arabic,

G II reads *masculus* for *masculinae*, *quae erit ea* for *quod erit ex ea*, and *fructuosa* for *fructifera*. The Arabic of this passage is certainly not very prepossessing, although the meaning must quite clearly be «because in every species of plant, the masculine is rough and hard, while the feminine is fruitful». Such an interpretation can be wrested from the Arabic, but the Latin does not so lend itself, except that G II makes a brave attempt to give sense, but unfortunately mixes his genders.

The Greek version has this meaning quite accurately, but at the cost of having made the blunder reported above in the last note. Are we to look for the source of the trouble in the words *asperius durius rigidius?* These neuter comparatives have no support in the Arabic, which has the simple forms خشن صلب, and they do not correspond with the simple feminine adjectives *debilis et fructifera* (which, incidentally, are changed in the Greek so as to fall into line : *ἀσθενέστερον καὶ καρποφόρον πλέον*). If we read *asper durus rigidus*, we get an exact translation of the Arabic (except that some word equivalent to *rigidus* appears to have fallen out), and we can then read the whole passage thus : *quia quaelibet species plantae, masculus quod erit ex ea, erit asper durus rigidus, et femina erit debilis et fructifera.* In the Arabic we should probably supply صلد after صلب to represent *solidum*, and ضعيفة for *debilis*.

sed ego non opinor, quod hoc ita sit — أما أنا فما أحسب ان هذا شيء يكون

Bas reads *quod haec res ita sit*, while G II has *haec tres ita sint*. The Greek text supports Bas, and it is quite clear that this is what Alfredus wrote : it is, however, a misrepresentation of the Arabic, which means "but as for myself, I do not think that this is possible".

inventa ergo fuit planta ante suam commixtionem

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 66 no. 8. The Greek is due to some expansion of the quite accurate Latin text.

et oportet, ut sit (Gk : *ἢ καὶ ὀφείλει εἶναι*) وما ينبغى ان يكون

The writer of the treatise declares that he is of the opinion that Empedocles is mistaken is supposing that plants can be masculine and feminine at the same time. "Take any compound", he says, "and you will

text (or had a defective text before him) owing to the homoeoteleuton ووقت نومه ..... ووقت نومه . If there is much rising of vapour, then we should expect the resulting sleep to be long : but the Latin, as it stands, states the exact contrary, albeit two of the MSS attempt to redeem the situation by reading the adversative *tamen* for the consequential *tum*.

et quod contingit maxime et proprie inquirendum in hac scientia

واخصّ الاشياء كلها بهذا العلم البحث

This is Meyer's text, although he has before him the reading of Bas *et quod maxime et proprie est inquirendum* etc., and that of G II *et quod magis et proprie est inquirendum* etc; the former reading being supported by the Greek : *ὃ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως ἐστὶ ζητητέον.* We must obviously follow the tradition of Bas.

sed dicimus quod (Gk : *λέγομεν τοίνυν ὅτι*)

على ما زعم لأن

Meyer bases his text on the Greek and Late Latin versions : Bas G II read *sicut diximus, quia;* G I *sicut diximus, quod.* The reference is to an earlier passage in the book :

واما همفدوقليس فزعم ان ذكوره واناثه مختلطة

From this it is clear that the Arabic text is correct, and we must emend the Latin thus : *sicut dixit, quia.*

masculus quando generat, in alio generat, et femina quando generat, ab alio generat, et sunt ambo separati ab invicem

The Arabic and Greek texts are to be found in *Bull.*, I, p. 65 no. 4. The *εἰς ἄλλο* in the Greek is evidently derived from the reading of Bas G II *in aliud.* We must emend the Arabic thus :

وان يكون كل واحد منهما معتزلا عن صاحبه

et illud non invenitur in plantis

Vid. *Bull.*, I, *loc. cit.*, no. 5. G II reads *et illud nominetur,* and this is evidently the basis of the Greek text.

quia quaelibet species plantae masculinae, quod erit ex ea, erit asperius durius rigidius, et femina erit debilis et fructifera.

لأن كل نوع من النبات الذكر منه ما كان
خشن صلب والأنثى كثيرة الثمر

The MSS read : *proprie* G I *prius* Bas *ideo* G II. From these variants, and by comparison with the Arabic and the Greek, we may emend *proprie* to *propterea*.

quia frigiditas inventa est in cibo sicco   لأن الحر والبرد موجودان فى الغذاء الرطب

The Arabic text is as I had emended it, basing my conjecture on the reading of the Greek text (*Bull.*, I, p. 65 no. 8). As, however, the reading of the Latin depends on a unanimous tradition (with however the exception of Bas, which omits the phrase altogether), and as it confirms the reading of the Arabic MS, it is better to emend our text to : لأن البرد موجود فى الغذاء الرطب .

et debent uti animal et planta tali, quale est illud   وينبغى ان يستعمل فى النبات نظير ذلك

The Latin in evidently slightly expanded for the sake of clearness : the Greek misunderstands the Latin (vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 65 no. 9).

f. 101 *b*

perscrutemur autem   وان يفحص

The Latin translator breaks up the sentence, which threatens to become rather complicated. It is clear that we should emend يفحص to نفحص .

et quod resolvitur ab ea. Et non habet planta spiritum   وما يتحلل منه وليس للنبات نسيم

This is an exact rendering of the Arabic. The Greek, which is here inaccurate (vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 65 no. 2), seems to be derived from the reading of G II : *et quod resolvitur ab ea anima plantae.*

et in quibusdam animalibus est hic vapor multus, quae tum parum dormiunt.

For the Arabic and Greek texts of this passage, vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 3. It is important to note the variations in the MSS here. Bas reads *quae tamen,* G II *quaedam tamen.* It is clear that the translator misread his

si habuerit animam et aliquem sensum (quod est), quia res, quae cibatur, non est sine anima, et omne animal habet animam.

ان كان ذا نفس والحيوان هو ذو نفس كاملة

Evidently the copyist of our Arabic text fell a victim to the homoeoteleuton ذا نفس ..... غير نفس (the latter نفس contained in the Latin *non sine anima*). We shall therefore expand the text thus :

ان كان ذا نفس (وحس ما لأن المغتذى ما يكون بغير نفس) والحيوان الخ .

The Latin translator, however, in overlooking كاملة, threw the process of thought out of gear. We must emend the Latin thus : *non est sine anima. Et (omne) animal habet animam perfectam, sed planta est res imperfecta.*

indeterminata

فغير محدود للطبيعة

The word الطبيعة seems to have no other function but that of making a balance with الاعضاء : nothing is lost if it is omitted, but also nothing is gained. Owing to the proximity of طبيعة, which may have caused the copyist of Alfredus' Arabic text to omit الطبيعة, I prefer to retain it.

quia anima est, quod facit motus nasci in locis et desideria; et motus in locis non erunt nisi cum sensu.

لأن النفس هى المنشئة للحركات من الاماكن والشهوات والشهوة والحركة فى الاماكن انما تكون مع الحس

It is interesting to compare the Greek : *ὅτι ψυχή ἐστιν ἡ ποιοῦσα ἐν αὑτοῖς γεννᾶσθαι τὰς κινήσεις. ἐπιθυμία δὲ καὶ κίνησις ἡ ἐν τόποις κτλ.* From this it is clear that we must add *et desiderium* before *et motus,* and *ἐν τόποις, καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας* after *τὰς κινήσεις.* We shall also twice read فى الاماكن .

et proprie eget animal (Gk : *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖται*)

ولذلك احتاج الحيوان

The Arabic and Greek of this passage are given on p. 64 of *Bull.*, I, no. 9. For *aliquid*, Bas and G I read *illud*: for *enim*, G I and G II read *autem*. There seems little doubt that some corruption of the first order has here crept into the text, if *syllogizabimus* is on good authority. The whole process of reasoning here is so complicated, and based on such strange 'scientific' ideas, that it appears hopeless to make any conjecture adequate to clear up our difficulties. Perhaps we may make an attempt to translate the Arabic as it stands : "Wherein does the essence of life consist? And wherein does it (? the plant, or the earth, if the latter, then تشبها) resemble life? We do not find any common factor between the earth (and life)." The *αἰσθητικά* in the Greek seems to appear from nowhere.

vitae animalis commune est sensus

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 64 no. 10. G I omits *animalis*, as does our Arabic text. Bas reads : *quod intentio est sensus*, and perhaps this accounts for the *αἰτία* in the Greek.

f. 101 *a*

nec oportet, ut quisquam recedat ab his nominibus, quia non est medium inter animatum et inanimatum, nec inter vitam et ejus privationem; sed inter inanimatum et vitam est medium

Vid. *ibid.*, f. 101 *a* 1. The Latin translator evidently had الاسماء for الاشياء : the latter is however preferable in the context.

Bas reads : *sed inter animatum et vitam.* This accords with the Arabic, and is preferable. The Greek translator at this point has a thoroughly corrupt text before him, apparently somewhat like this : *et hoc est inventio vitae. Ejus privatione igitur oportet, ut quisquam recedat ab his nominibus, quia non est medium. Sed vita est medium.*

et non dico tamen او لا نقول

The Latin translator reads ولا, and this seems better.

reading followed by the Greek translator. For *nobile* G II has *mobile*; probably a mere slip. G II slips again in reading *stellat* for *stellas*. The later Latin version has *solem, stellas et planetas*, which is a translation of the Greek version. G II has *extrahet ex hac* for *ab intricata extrahet*. For *vero*, G I has *enim*, G II *enim est*, the latter omitting *sentientis*.

It is evident that the Latin translator misread his original here, and omitted the words beginning وغير ذلك and ending جميع الكواكب. But our troubles by no means end there. There is surely some point in that هذا at the beginning of this passage : perhaps it refers to the kind of plant described by the word ينمو and whatever followed it in the original. If the Arab translator had not been so anxious to display his virtuosity in making the rhyme الكريم and العظيم, perhaps this part of the passage would have been a little clearer. The corruption is perhaps beyond repair. Tentatively, I would suggest emending the Arabic thus : ومنه ما ينمو بجآءة ما الخ. This ما is not, however, interrogative, as the Latin translator supposed, but negative. By بجآءة is implied the idea of spontaneous generation, which would be appropriate in this context : cf. the passage from Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* quoted by Meyer on p. 51. The author is contrasting animals with the stars : the latter, although possessing motion (which some animals, and also plants, do not possess), are nevertheless insensative to pain or feeling, and cannot therefore be held to possess animate life.

For يجد I would read يحد, which is supported by *circuit* in the Latin version, and *περιοδεύει* in the Greek, but in the sense of 'defining'. The beginnings of life in animals are characterised by the faculty of *sense*, in the stars by the phenomenon of *motion*. If there is any sense in the words ساس شیء عليه, I fear that it escapes me : the meaning of this part of the passage is however clear — (*a*) in order to experience sensation, the sensative must have something outside himself to provoke these sensations; (*b*) the sun, stars etc. are not impinged upon by any exterior entity; (*c*) therefore, they do not experience sensation.

unde ergo syllogizabimus, ei vitam ut faciamus, aliquid verisimile? Non enim continet illas res una communis.

which is half-animal and half-plant, that is, midway between the animate and the inanimate. What do the other MSS say? The Basle MS reads *estque communis ut inter;* G II has *est quia inquiens inter.* The corruption evidently arises from a confusion between the abbreviation used for the prefix *con-* and that used for the prefix *in-*. G I has simply reduplicated. Clearly we must read : *estque conveniens.*

conchylia — خراطيم الماء والأصداف

A generalisation, perhaps to cover the translator's ignorance of the meanings of the Arabic particularisations.

ex una causa esse in multis — من أجل سبب واحد

Bas omits *in multis*, and following the Arabic, we reject them.

suis individuis (Gk : *τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀτόμοις*) — انواعها

We must evidently emend the Arabic to افرادها.

quae ex arboribus crescunt — ما ينمو

The Basle MS omits *ex arboribus.* The paraphrase of Albertus Magnus gives : *quae crescunt in terra plantata ad modum plantarum.* The Greek is given in *Bull.*, I, p. 64 f. 100 *b* 7, and this is followed in the later Latin version. Evidently the Arabic gave some trouble to the translator or his copyists to understand (as well it might), and they did their best to fill it out with explanatory glosses. It is obvious that there is something missing in the Arabic : but whether this is due to faulty MS tradition, or to some misunderstanding on the part of the Arab translators, or to a faulty tradition in the original Greek, all this is more than it is possible now to say.

quid ergo est principium vitae animalis? Quidve animal nobile, ut quod circuit solem et stellas planetas, ab intricata extrahet ambiguitate? Impassibilia enim sunt, sensus vero sentientis passio.

The Arabic of this passage is given in *Bull.*, I, p. 64 f. 100 *b* 8, together with the Greek version.

Let us first examine the variants. G II reads *quicquid* for *quid.* For *vitae animalis*, G I has *vite in animalibus*, G II *in vita animalis*, which is the

namque difficile est, vitae plantarum regimen assignare praeter regimen vitae altricis	وقد يصعب علينا ان يوجد للنبات رئيس سوى رئيس حياة الحيوان

This sentence is missing in the Basle MS. G II reads *namque difficile est plantis* . . ., and this reading is supported by the Greek : *καὶ γὰρ δυσνόητόν ἐστι τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ φυτοῦ ἀποδιδόναι τῇ διοικήσει τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ζῴου.* As it also has the support of the Arabic, there seems little doubt that it represents the correct tradition. For the rest, the Greek translator seems to have misunderstood the Latin before him. For *altricis, animalis* appears required.

f. 100 *b*

qui autem plantas vivere negant, est, quod non sentiunt; quamquam sunt quaedam animalia sapientia et intellectu carentia. Natura tamen, animalis vitam in morte corrumpens, ipsam in genere suo conservat; estque inconveniens, ut inter animatum et inanimatum medium ponamus.	فاما الذى يدفع ان يكون حيا لا حس له فقد نجد فى الحيوان ما لا معرفة له ولا عقل على ان الطبيعة مقللة بحياة الحيوان بالموت ومثبتة لأجناسه بالتولد والتناسل ومع هذا فانه يسمح ان نضع بين ما لا نفس وبين ما له نفس شيئا بتوسطها

It is to be noted that *quamquam sunt* is Meyer's conjecture, based on the Greek and later Latin versions. The MSS. at this point read : *quia sunt* (Bas, G I) *quod sicut* (G II). It is clear that the trouble began, when the superfluous *est* crept into the text : omit it, and we have an exact version of the Arabic. For *quamquam sunt*, or whatever corruption of the MSS, we can by conjecture from the Arabic read *invenimus*. It is evident that we should add, after *in genere suo*, *generatione*, to represent بالتولد والتناسل, and to balance *in morte*. The Greek has *διὰ γενέσεως*, which gives the meaning exactly.

Inconveniens, which only has the authority of G I (but which is nevertheless followed in the Greek with *ἀσύμφωνον*), is clearly wrong for يسمح : moreover, it is exactly the opposite meaning that the context demands, for the author immediately proceeds to give an example of a creature

Meyer says (p. 50) 'locus certe corruptus. Dicendum erat : *sicut nutritio atque incrementum signa sunt, per quae scimus, eas habere animam.* Sic enim auctorem argumentatum esse, proxime sequentia docent'. He is quite right in looking for this meaning in the passage : but he is mistaken in supposing the text to be corrupt, for *sicut signa* is an exact rendering of كالدلائل, and the Latin, when closely compared with the Arabic, will be seen to be quite a faithful though slightly expanded version, and does in fact convey the idea for which Meyer seeks.

nec constat hoc nobis, nisi quia nutrimentum et augmentum partes sunt animae.	وانما يصح له بجزء الاغتذاء والنماء جزء من اجزاء النفس

If the Arabic text is sound, it appears to have been misunderstood by the Latin translator. Its meaning seems to be : 'only inasfar as feeding and growing are considered a part of the soul, can plants be reckoned to possess souls'.

cumque plantam talem invenimus, aliquam partem animae illi inesse necessario intelligimus; sensuque carentem sensatum esse, contendere non oportet, quia sensus est causa illustrationis vitae, nutrimentum vero causa est augmenti rei vivae.	فان وجدنا للنبات دليلا اوجب له جزءا من اجزاء النفس وبطل عنه الحس فما ينبغى لنا ان نقول إن له حسا لان الحس هو سبب صفاء الجبلة واما الغذاء فهو نمو حياة الحى وعيشته لان الغذاء رئيس العيش فاما الحس فهو رئيس صفاء الحياة

The Basle MS has *aliquamque* for *aliquam,* and *sensu quod careat tunc* for *sensuque carentem.* This reconstructs a text which is closer to the Arabic : *cumque plantam talem invenimus, aliquamque partem animae illi inesse necessario intelligimus, sensu quod caret tamen sensatum esse contendere non oportet,* etc. We shall also emend the Arabic thus : لان الحس هو سبب صفاء الحياة واما الغذاء فهو سبب نمو حياة الحى .

The remaining words in the Arabic appear to be a gloss on this phrase, for they are not represented in any of the MSS. of the Latin version : I therefore propose that they should be struck out.

The Latin order is the same as the Greek. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the hist ry of philosophy, the Arabic order is better, and therefore I propose to retain it.

et nostrae voluntatis finis ومنتهى ارادتها

So all the MSS without variation, and the Greek is in accord. Although the pronoun ها can be taken as referring to الشهوة, it makes easier and more sensible reading if we emend to ارادتنا : human desire reverts eventually to sense-impressions.

nec similitudinem ejus (Gk : οὔτε ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ) ولا مثالا

This is a pure mistranslation, or may be due to a reading مثلها.

nec consecutionem rerum ولا ادراك شيء

The Greek, which is given in No. 1 p. 63 f. 100 *a* 4, is a misunderstanding of the somewhat ambiguous Latin.

nec viam ad aliquid sensatum ولا نهوضا الى المحسوس

Meyer here adopts the text of the later Latin translation (to which reference is made in my former article), which is simply a translation of the Greek version of the earlier Latin. It is important to examine the MS authority on this point. The Basle MS reads *nec iterum aliquid sensatum*, G I has *nec unquam ad...* G II has *nec nec ad...* All these readings make nonsense. In the useful book of Albertus Magnus *De Vegetabilibus*, which contains a paraphrase of the present treatise, we find these words at this point : *nec vim ac virtutem, per quam cognoscimus, aliquid hujusmodi plantis inesse.* The verb نهض, when followed by the preposition الى, means 'to rush upon', especially of an army or an individual rushing against an enemy. The '*vim ac virtutem*' express this idea admirably. I propose tentatively to emend the Latin text to : *nec vim iterque ad aliquid sensatum*, which contains all the force of the Arabic, but is sufficiently difficult Latin for a copyist, ignorant of the Arabic, to emend as he chose.

nec signum, per quod judicemus, illas sensum habere, sicut signa, per quae scimus, eas nutriri et crescere. ولا دليلا يوجب له الحس كالدلائل التى اوجبت له الاغتذاء والنماء

rence of *constet*, which apparently represents صح, so near *constare desiderem*, which as we saw above is quite comprehensible for ليت شعرى, causes one to wonder whether the confusion is not more deep-seated even than appears on the surface. Is it not possible that some form of the word *desiderium*, representing قوة الشهوة, has dropped out through proximity to *desiderem*, and that *quod si constet* has crept into the gap, easily supplied from *constaret enim* above, and *constare* below? There is a lacuna in the Basle MS until the word *tristari*. I conjecture that we should read, for *quod si constet*, *desiderii autem*.

The next words, *an somno reficiantur excitenturque vigiliis*, are a somewhat ambitious expansion of the simple Arabic.

The remainder of the passage presents a whole series of difficulties. The Basle MS reads *speciemque et sexuum per mixtionem sexuumque habeant vel non*. Evidently the translator did not understand the emphasis thrown on نفس النبات in the Arabic, for he renders it *haec*, and misplaces the نفس a little before. The remaining words are simply a mistranslation of the Arabic as it stands, so much so that they give a contrary and entirely inappropriate meaning : for in fact the writer does proceed to discuss at length all the problems connected with this major question, whether plants have souls.

f. 100 *a*

dicit Plato — فنقول

Meyer's conjecture here (for the MSS read *dico ergo*), although defended by a weight of learning, is a little too audacious.

hujus igitur mirabilis erat intentio, qui eas sentire et desiderare opinabatur.

The Arabic and Greek texts of this passage are given on p. 62 of No. 1 of the *Bulletin*, f. 100 *a* 1. It will be observed that the superfluous words *οὐ μὴν φαῦλος* do not appear in the Latin in any existing MS. *πλατᾶται* is evidently due to a misreading of *errat* for *erat*.

et Democritus et Empedocles — وهمفدوقليس وديمقراطيس

which is used a little later to express the identical words. Palaeographically the change is not very considerable.

Abrucalis همفدوقليس

Meyer was quite correct in reading Empedocles into this strange form.

flexum foliorum انتثار ورقه فى حينه

This is Meyer's emendation of the MSS *fluxum foliorum* : and he produces such a convincing array of authorities in support, that it is a pity that the Arabic quite clearly demonstrates that he is wrong, and the MSS right. He finds it difficult to understand how the falling of the leaves of a tree can be regarded as a sign of desire : but the text states quite clearly that Anaxagoras adduced this phenomenon as a proof that plants are animals, and that they experience joy and grief. The words فى حينه, which do not appear in the Latin, make the meaning of the philosopher a little clearer : the shedding of leaves in due season may be interpreted as a sign that the trees are going into mourning for the death of the summer.

Quod si constet, gaudere quoque et tristari, sentireque eas, consequens erit. Id quoque constare desiderem, an somno reficiantur excitenturque vigiliis, spiritum quoque et sexum per mixtionem sexuum habeant, vel contra. Multa autem circa haec ambiguitas longam facit inquisitionem. Haec siquidem praetermittere, nec dispendiosis circa singula perscrutationibus memorari opportunum.

The Arabic and Greek texts of this passage appear on p. 62 of No. 1 of the *Bulletin*, f. 99 *b* 4. *Quod si constet* is a little elliptical for وان صح للنبات قوة الشهوة, but it is a quite comprehensible abbreviation. The reading of one MS (G II), *erat* for *erit*, is perhaps an imitation of the tense of وجبت. The phrase فليت شعرى seems to have presented some difficulties, judging by the confusion of the MSS at this point, a confusion which has passed over into the Greek incurably. The Basle MS reads *id quoque constare desidera;* G I reads *id quod quia constare desiderem;* G II reads *ideo quoque constare desiderii etiam.* Out of these readings Meyer has established what is undoubtedly a correct text. The occur-

NOTES ON "THE BOOK OF PLANTS"[1]

PART I.

BY A. J. ARBERRY.

In the first number of the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* of the Egyptian University, we published the text of Book I of Ishak ibn Hunayn's translation of the Book of Plants ascribed to Aristotle, and in an appendix to the text we illustrated the variations which occur between the Arabic version and the mediaeval Greek rendering. As we pointed out in the foreword to that article, the earlier Latin version of the Arabic was not then accessible to us : and our intention at that time was to publish in this issue of the Bulletin the Arabic text of the second book. Since then, however, the Latin version has come into our hands; and therefore it seems more convenient now to clear up the many points raised by this fresh source of information. In the following notes, the foliation is that of the Istanbul MS.

f. 99 *b*

inquisitionem بحث واستقصاء

Evidently the Latin translator decided that the Arabic was tautological, and therefore expressed it in a single word.

(constaret enim) ليت شعرى

These words are omitted in the Basle MS, and indeed they make nonsense as they stand : nevertheless, the Greek version does not hesitate to give συνίσταται, but the change of tense is a courageous attempt to make sense. I conjecture that the true reading is *constare desiderem*,

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[1] V. *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, vol. I, Part I, pp. 48-76. "An Early Arabic Translation from the Greek".

the statue at Samos was executed in accordance with Egyptian craftsmanship : it was divided into two parts from the crown of the head to the genitals, and these sections are exactly equal to one another in every respect. They also add that this image of Apollo with arms outstretched and legs apart shows resemblance in most respects to Egyptian statues.

This, then, is a sufficient account of the history of Egypt and its notable features; and now according to the plan set forth at the beginning of the book, I shall proceed to relate the next series of events and legends, beginning with the history of the Assyrians in Asia.

ERRATA IN PART I.

(*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts :* Vol. I, Part I).

P. 2, l. 2 (writters) writers; p. 2 note (Hisorical) Historical, (atracted) attracted; p. 3, l. 7 (He) His, l. 8 (charascteristic) characteristic, l. 16 (survived) survives; p. 5, l. 22 (action) actions; p. 7, l. 2 from foot (composition) compositions; p. 11, l. 9 from foot (acount) account; p. 13, l. 1 (autochtonous) autochthonous, l. 10 (then) than, l. 16 (achievemnets) achievements; p. 14, l. 2 (produces) nowhere produces; p. 16, notes-transpose, i.e. "(1) *Iliad,* XIV, 201 and 302. (2) *Odyssey,* XVII, 485-7"; p. 18, l. 3 (Heraoplis) Herapolis; p. 19, l. 15 (implicity) implicitly; p. 20 note, last line (Greeck) Greek; p. 27, l. 15 (Egyptians nations,) Egyptians, nations (delete comma after nations), l. 19 (gives) give; p. 30, last line (Erechteus) Erechtheus; p. 33, l. 6 from foot (ours) our; p. 34, l. 11 from foot (somwhat) somewhat; p. 35, l. 7 (ablong) oblong; p. 36, l. 10 (successfullly) successfully; p. 39 middle (after wards) afterwards; p. 42 note 2 (estesian) etesian.

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2 Egyptian institutions. Pythagoras [1] learned in Egypt the details of his
theology, his knowledge of geometrical theorems and arithmetic, and also
3 the transmigration of the soul into every animal. The Egyptians believe,
too, that Democritus [2] spent five years among them, and was taught
much about astronomy. Oenopides [3] likewise, by associating with the
priests and astronomers, learned among other things that the sun's orbit
has an oblique movement in the opposite direction to the other stars.
4 Similarly, after studying astronomy in Egypt, Eudoxus [4] introduced much
5 useful science into Greece, thereby gaining a notable reputation. The
most widely celebrated of ancient sculptors are said to have lived in Egypt
—I mean the sons of Rhoecus, Telecles and Theodorus [5], who fashioned
6 for the Samians the statue of Pythian Apollo. The story runs that one
half of the image was wrought by Telecles in Samos, while the other was
finished by his brother Theodorus at Ephesus; but when the sections
were put together, they harmonised so well that the whole statue seemed
to have been the consummate work of a single sculptor. Now, this man-
ner of working is never practised by the Greeks, while it is brought to
7 high perfection in Egypt. For the Egyptians do not, like the Greeks,
judge the symmetry of their statues by the image before their eyes; but
when they have set their blocks in position, divided them out, and begun
to hew, from that moment all the proportions are fixed down to the
8 smallest details. They divide the structure of the whole body into
twenty-one and a quarter parts, and thus reproduce the complete sym-
metry of the figure. Hence, when the craftsmen have agreed among
themselves about the size of a statue, they go apart from one another,
and fashion the proportions of the work in such exact harmony that the
9 unique character of their sculpture fills one with astonishment. Thus

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(1) Pythagoras of Samos lived in the 6th century B.C. For the doctrine of metempsychosis, see Hdt., ii, 123.

(2) Democritus of Abdera, *c*, 460-361 B.C., "the laughing philosopher".

(3) Oenopides of Chios : see *supra*, 41. 1.

(4) Eudoxus of Cnidus lived in the 4th century B.C., and probably introduced the sphere into Greece. See Strabo, xvii, p. 806, for his residence during 13 years at Heliopolis.

(5) See Pausanias, viii, 14, p. 929; x, 38, p. 896, for Telecles and his son Theodorus.

regularly performed by the Greeks in honour of Dionysus, the legends
concerning Kronos and the battle with the Titans, and in general the story
5 of the sufferings of the gods. Daedalus is said to have imitated the wind-
ings of the Egyptian labyrinth which is still standing at the present time,
built, as some say, by Mendes, or as others declare, by King Marrus,
6 many years before King Minos. The lines of the ancient Egyptian sta-
tues are the same as in those fashioned by Daedalus among the Greeks.
The finest gateway to the temple of Hephaestus at Memphis was the crea-
tion (they say) of Daedalus the architect : the Egyptians admired him so
much that they set up in this temple a statue of him wrought in wood
by his own hands. Finally, through his genius he won a great reputa-
tion, and after making many additional inventions, he was granted divine
honours : on one of the islands near Memphis, in fact, there is even at
the present day a temple of Daedalus held in honour by the people.
7 Among many tokens of Homer's sojourn in Egypt they cite in particular
the potion given by Helen to Telemachus in the house of Menelaus, cau-
sing forgetfulness of the troubles which had befallen him. This is the
drug *nepenthes* which the poet [1] says Helen brought from Polydamna, wife
of Thon, in Egyptian Thebes, and he has evidently examined it closely;
for even now, it is said, the women there use this potent drug, and
they say it was found in ancient times among the women of Diospolis
8 alone as remedy for anger and sorrow. Now Thebes and Diospolis are
the same. By ancient tradition among the Egyptians Aphrodite has the
title of "golden", and around the town of Momemphis [2] is a plain called
9 the plain of golden Aphrodite. Homer (they say) drew from Egyptian
sources the legends of the union of Zeus and Hera, and the sojourn of
Zeus in Ethiopia. Every year, indeed, the shrine of Zeus is borne by the
Egyptians across the Nile into Libya, and after some days it is brought
back again, as though the god were returning from Ethiopia. As for the
marriage of these deities, at the great festivals the shrines of both are
carried up to a hill strewn by the priests with all manner of flowers.
XCVIII Lycurgus, Plato, and Solon incorporated in their own legislation many

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[1] Homer, *Odyssey*, iv, 220 ff. — [2] Momemphis : *supra*, 66. 12.

6 tion of the funeral ceremonies of Egypt. So according to the ancient
Egyptian custom, Hermes the conductor of souls brings the body of Apis
up to a certain place, and then delivers it to one who wears the mask of
Cerberus. Orpheus instituted this rite among the Greeks, and Homer
accordingly set the lines in his poem [1] : "Now Cyllenian Hermes summo-
ned forth the souls of the suitors, and he held a wand in his hands".
Then, again, a little further on, he says : "Past the streams of Oceanus
they went and the rock Leucas, past the gates of the Sun and the land of
Dreams; and straightway they came to the mead of asphodel, where dwell
7 the souls, the phantoms of men outworn". Thus the poet calls the river
Oceanus because the Egyptians in their language give that name to the
Nile. The gates of the Sun (Helios) are those of the town of Heliopolis;
and the meadow, as he names the fabled abode of the departed, is the
region beside the Acherusian Lake, as it is called, near Memphis, sur-
rounded by the most beautiful meadows,—marshy ground with lotus and
reeds. It is appropriate too that the dead are said to dwell in these
parts, because the largest and most numerous tombs in Egypt are situated
there : the corpses are ferried across the river and the Acherusian Lake,
8 to be laid in their chambers there. The other details, too, of the Greek
legends about Hades are in harmony with the practices which are still
kept up in Egypt. For the boat which bears the bodies across is called
baris, and the fare is paid to the ferryman, who is called in the Egyptian
9 language Charon. Near this region there is also, they say, a temple of
Hecate of the Darkness, and the gates of Cocytus and of Lethe, fitted with
bars of bronze. There are also other gates called the gates of Truth,
XCVII and near these stands a headless image of Justice. Many other myths,
too, survive in Egypt, with their names still preserved and their rites still
2 enacted. For instance, at Acanthopolis beyond the Nile in Libya, fifteen
miles from Memphis, there is a perforated cask into which three hundred
3 and sixty priests pour water every day from the Nile. The legend of
Ocnus is shown being performed in full at a festival near by, where one
man begins the plaiting of a long rope, and many behind him undo what
4 is being plaited. Melampus, they say, took over from Egypt the mysteries

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(1) HOMER, *Odyssey*, XXIV, 1-2, 11-14.

king Cambyses[1], Darius was zealously desirous of living a virtuous and
5 godfearing life. He held converse with the Egyptian priests themselves, and received instruction in theology and in the history recorded in the sacred books. Learning from these the magnanimity of the ancient kings and their goodwill towards their subjects, he emulated their conduct, and thereby won such esteem that he was the only king to receive the name of god from the Egyptians during his lifetime, while after his death he gained the same honours as the kings who had ruled in Egypt
6 of old according to the strictest law. These men, then, they say, perfected the general body of the law which has won widespread renown among the other nations. In later times many of these institutions which seemed to be well framed were tampered with, they say, when the Macedonians took possession and completely abolished the native monarchy.

XCVI Now that I have elucidated these matters, I must tell of all the Greeks, men celebrated for wisdom and culture, who crossed over to Egypt in ancient times in order to become acquainted with the institutions and
2 culture of the country. The Egyptian priests, from the records contained in the sacred books, claim as ancient visitors to their land Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus[2], and Daedalus : besides these, the poet Homer, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon of Athens, and Plato the philosopher. There came also Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus the mathematician, as well as
3 Democritus of Abdera, and Oenopides of Chios. In token of these claims, they point to statues of some of the Greeks, and to places and buildings named after others; they bring proofs from the culture which each zealously followed, to show that everything that caused these men to be
4 admired in Greece was borrowed from Egypt. Thus, Orpheus (they hold) brought back to Greece the greater part of his mystic rites, the ceremonies relating to his wanderings, and the legends about Hades.
5 For the rite of Osiris is the same as that of Dionysus, and the rite of Isis is very similar to that of Demeter, the names alone being changed. The punishment of the impious in Hades, the meadows of the blest, and the imaginative fictions in which the many believe, were introduced in imita-

[1] Cambyses, 525-521 B.C.; Darius, 521-486 B.C.

[2] Melampus : see Hdt., ii, 49, and *infra*, 97. 4.

Sesoosis[1] who not only performed the most celebrated warlike exploits ever achieved by an Egyptian, but also established legislation dealing with the warrior class, and drew up all the consequent rules for military
5 service. As the fourth lawgiver they name King Bocchoris[2] who showed wisdom and excelled in unscrupulous cunning. He regulated all the king's prerogatives, and made precise laws about private agreements. He was also (they say) so sagacious as a judge that many of his decisions are remembered for their excellence down to our times. They add, however, that in physique he was utterly feeble, in character avaricious
XCV beyond all others. After him the next to deal with the laws, they say, was King Amasis. According to the Egyptian account, he regulated the government of the nomes and the whole administration of Egypt. Tradition says he showed himself more than usually wise, and of a virtuous and righteous character. It was because of this that the Egyptians had bestowed the sovereignty upon him, although he was not of royal descent.
2 The Eleans[3], they say, when giving anxious care to the Olympic games, sent envoys to him to inquire how these games could attain the strictest
3 justice : his reply was, "By excluding all Eleans from the contest". Polycrates[4], tyrant of Samos, had made a treaty of friendship with Amasis; but when Polycrates began to use violence both to his subjects and to foreigners who put in at Samos, Amasis is said to have first sent ambassadors to exhort him to moderation; but as he paid no heed to the advice, Amasis wrote a letter dissolving the bond of friendship and hospitality between them, and adding that he did not wish straightway to suffer grief himself, as he knew for certain that misfortune was imminent for one who was so notorious for tyranny. He was admired by the Greeks, they say, because of his nobility and because his prophecy to
4 Polycrates was speedily fulfilled. The sixth controller of the laws of Egypt is said to have been Darius, the father of Xerxes. Regarding with horror the lawless profanation of the Egyptian temples by the previous

(1) Sesoosis : *supra,* 53-58.

(2) Bocchoris : *supra,* 65. 1, 79. 1.

(3) The story of the Eleans is assigned by Herodotus (II, 160) to the reign of Psammis.

(4) For the friendship of Amasis and Polycrates, see Hdt., III, 39-43, 125.

contrary they are scoffed at by base men and are treated with much con-
4 tempt. Among the Egyptians, on the other hand, the punishment of the wicked and the recompense of the good are no fables, but visible truths : every day both the wicked and the good are reminded of their duties, and in this way the greatest and most beneficial improvement of morals takes place. In my opinion we must regard as the best laws, not those that will produce the greatest affluence, but those that will make the people the most virtuous in character and the best citizens.

XCIV I must also speak of the Egyptian lawgivers who instituted such novel and extraordinary practices. After the ancient Egyptian constitution, fabled to belong to the time of gods and heroes, the first, they say, who persuaded the people to obey written laws was Mneves, a great-hearted man, the most affable in manner of those whom we commemorate. He pretended that Hermes had given him these laws to be the source of great blessings, just as among the Greeks, Minos in Crete and Lycurgus in Lacedaemon alleged that laws had been bestowed on them, on the former
2 by Zeus, on the latter by Apollo. Among several other nations, too, this type of invention is said to have existed, a source of many blessings to believers. Among the Ariani, they tell that Zathraustes[1] claimed that the good spirit gave him laws; among the tribe called Getae[2], who believe in immortality, and among the Jews, Zalmoxis and Moses each made a similar claim of a gift from universal Hestia and from the god who is invoked as Iao. These men either judged that a conception which was likely to benefit a multitude of men was admirable and wholly divine, or assumed that the people would be more inclined to obey when they regarded the power and pre-eminence of those who were said to have devised
3 the laws. The second lawgiver, according to the Egyptians, was Sasychis[3], a man of remarkable wisdom. He increased the number of the existing laws, and most carefully regulated the worship of the gods; he was also the inventor of geometry, and taught his countrymen the con-
4 templation and observation of the stars. The third, they say, was King

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[1] Zoroaster or Zarathustra was the founder of the Magian religion in Persia.

[2] For the Getae near the Danube and their deity Zalmoxis or Salmoxis, see HDT., IV, 93, 94; STRABO, VII, pp. 297, 298.

[3] Sasychis may be the same as Asychis (HDT., II, 136).

anyone who wishes is privileged by law to denounce the deceased[1]. If, then, someone comes forward with an indictment, showing that he has lived a bad life, the judges declare their decision publicly, and the body is debarred from the customary burial. But if the accuser is deemed to
5 be making an unjust charge, he is sentenced to heavy fines. When no accuser answers the call, or when one comes forward and is recognised as a scandal-monger, the kinsmen cease their mourning and eulogise the deceased. Unlike the Greeks, they say nothing about his descent, for they hold that all Egyptians are of equally noble birth; but they recount his training and education from boyhood, then they celebrate the piety, justice, temperance, and other virtues of his manhood, and invoke the gods of the lower world to take him to dwell along with the pious. The crowd applauds the eulogy, and extols the renown of the deceased who is
6 to live for ever with the pious in Hades. Those who have private tombs lay the body in the place appointed : those who do not possess a tomb build a new shrine in their own house, and stand the coffin upright against the safest of the walls. Those who are, either by accusation or by a load of debt, debarred from burial, are laid in their own houses; and sometimes their children's children, having at length gained affluence, redeem the bonds, repeal the indictment, and celebrate their grandfather's fune-
XCIII ral with great magnificence. The most solemn care is shown among the Egyptians that their parents or ancestors should be seen receiving worship beyond the usual when they have removed to their eternal home. It is also customary in Egypt to give the bodies of deceased ancestors as security for a debt : those who fail to redeem them are dogged by the
2 greatest disgrace, with loss of funeral rites after their death. One may justly admire how those who established these institutions strove to introduce among the people virtue and purity of morals, not only as a result of the intercourse of the living, but also, as far as was possible, from the
3 sepulture and treatment of the dead. For the Greeks made use of invented fables and of discredited reports to form a traditional belief that the good will be rewarded and the wicked punished. However, so little power have these arguments to turn men to the virtuous life, that on the

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[1] Cf. *supra*, 72. 4-6.

on the other hand, are deemed worthy of all honour and esteem : they associate with the priests and enter temples without let or hindrance as being pure. When they have assembled for the treatment of the corpse which has been cut open, one of them thrusts his hand through the incision into the body, and removes everything but the kidneys and the heart [1]; while another cleanses each of the entrails, washing them with

6 palm wine and with essences. In general, every body is given treatment, first with cedar oil and other things for more than thirty days, then with myrrh, cinnamon, and substances which can not only preserve it for a long time, but also bestow fragrance. When the treatment is finished, they give the body back to the kinsmen of the deceased, with each of its parts so perfectly preserved that even the eyelashes and eyebrows remain as they were, and the whole appearance of the body is quite unchanged,

7 the cast of the features being recognisable. Hence many of the Egyptians keep their ancestors' bodies in costly shrines, and look face to face upon those who have died many generations before they themselves were born; and accordingly, as they behold the stature of each man, the proportions of his body, and the lineaments of his face, they experience a strange emotion, just as if their ancestors were alive there before their eyes.

XCII When the body is ready for burial, the next-of-kin announce the date of the funeral to the judges and to the kinsmen and friends of the deceased; and mentioning the name of the departed, they solemnly declare that he

2 is about to cross the lake. Then, when forty-two judges have assembled and taken their seats in a semi-circular building on the other side of the lake, the *baris* (or barque) [2], previously equipped by those whose care it is, is launched under the charge of the ferryman whom the Egyptians

3 name in their language Charon. Hence they claim that Orpheus [3] crossed over in olden times to Egypt, and after beholding this rite, invented the legends about Hades, partly in imitation of what he saw in Egypt,

4 partly out of his own personal invention. About this I shall give a detailed account a little later. So, when the *baris* has been launched on the lake, before the coffin which contains the corpse is placed on board,

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(1) In mummies the heart is always found *in situ*, the kidneys generally.

(2) For a description of the *baris*, see Hdt., ii, 96.

(3) Orpheus : *infra*, 96. 4-9.

obeisance to their kings and honour them as being in reality gods, partly because they believe that it is not without some divine providence that the kings have gained authority over all, partly because they hold that those who have both the desire and the ability to confer the greatest
4 benefits are partakers in the divine nature. If, then, I have expatiated lengthily upon the sacred animals, at all events I have made a thorough investigation of the very astonishing customs of the Egyptians.

XCI Anyone who learns of the Egyptian rites regarding the dead will marvel much at the singularity of their customs. On the death of an Egyptian all his kinsmen and friends daub their heads over with mud and walk through the town lamenting until the body finds burial. They take no baths nor wine nor any food worthy of mention; nor do they wear gay
2 apparel. There are three manners of burial [1],—one very costly, one of medium cost, and one very mean. For the first method, the expense is said to be a talent of silver; for the second, twenty minae; and for the
3 last, quite a trifling sum of money. Now those who attend to the bodies are craftsmen who have inherited their skill from their forefathers. They set before the relatives of the deceased an estimate of the expenses of each manner of burial, and inquire in which way they wish the body to
4 be treated. Having come to an agreement on all points, and having received the corpse, they hand it over to those to whom the customary treatment has been entrusted. First the body is laid on the ground, and the *grammateus*, as he is called (or scribe), outlines upon the left flank the extent of the incision to be made. Next, the *paraschistes*, as they call him (or cutter), takes an Ethiopian stone [2], and having cut through the flesh as the law ordains, forthwith makes off at a run, pursued by the bystanders, who pelt him with stones, and invoke curses upon him as if they were diverting the pollution upon him. For they hold as accursed anyone who inflicts violence upon the body of a fellow-tribes-
5 man, wounding it or at least doing it some mischief. The embalmers,

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[1] Diodorus here gives some details not mentioned by Hdt., ii, 86. See Smith and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*.

[2] Knives of flint (found nowadays in graves along with mummies) were used as ritual implements, although metal tools had been in common use for many centuries.

tedious to go into details. These customs, it is said, have been developed
for the advantage of the nation's life : this is evident to all from the fact
that some men do not partake of many of the food-stuffs of their district.
Some refrain altogether from tasting lentils, others from beans, some
again from cheese, onions, or other food, although these are abundant
in Egypt. The explanation clearly is that they must have been taught to
abstain from useful articles of diet, and that, if all men ate all things, of
5 none of the things consumed would there have been sufficient. Some
allege other reasons, and hold that, in the time of the kings of old, the
common people often conspired in revolt against their rulers. So one of
the kings, showing remarkable wisdom, divided the country into several
regions, and in each of them he instructed the natives to worship a cer-
tain animal or to refrain from eating a certain kind of food, so that, while
each group revered its own object of worship, and despised what the
others held sacred, the Egyptians might never be able to unite as a whole.
6 This (they say) is evident from the results; for all who live in neigh-
bouring regions are at variance with one another, being offended at trans-
gressions of their usages.

XC Others, again, give the following reason for the consecration of ani-
mals. In the beginning when men were leaving the savage life, and were
gathering together, at first they ate one another and waged war, the more
powerful always prevailing over the weaker. Thereafter those of inferior
strength, prompted by self-interest, came together and chose as their
emblem one of the animals afterwards held sacred. The timid spirits
rallied round this emblem, and formed a band not lightly to be despised
2 by the attacking party. As the others followed the same plan, the people
were divided into bands, and the animal that was the cause of safety to
each group obtained divine honours, as having conferred the greatest
benefits. Hence down to the present time the tribes of Egypt in their
separate groups worship the animals originally consecrated among them.
In general, they say, above all other men the Egyptians are gratefully
disposed to any source of benefit, as they consider that the return of
favour to one's benefactors is the strongest bulwark of society. For it is
clear that all men will be eager to confer benefits upon those, above all,
whom they observe likely to treasure up gratitude best towards their
3 benefactors. It is for the same reasons, it seems, that Egyptians do

another in characteristics, and breed in mixed unions. Another reason which Egyptians offer for the worship of this animal is more legendary. They say that of old when Isis, along with her son Horus, was about to do battle with Typhon, Osiris in the outward semblance of a wolf, came back from Hades to aid his wife and son. On the death of Typhon, the victors instituted the worship of the animal whose appearance on the
7 scene was followed by victory. But others say that when the Ethiopians marched against Egypt, packs of wolves which had gathered in great numbers drove the invaders out of the country beyond the town called Elephantine. That is why this nome was called Lycopolite, and why these animals received divine worship.

LXXXIX It remains for me to tell of the deification of crocodiles, about which most writers raise this difficulty : since these beasts devour the flesh of men, how did it come to be ordained by law that worship equal to the
2 gods' should be given to animals which inflict such cruel injuries? They say, then, that the security of the country is maintained, not only by the river, but much more by the crocodiles in it. Thus the freebooters of Arabia and Libya do not venture to swim across the Nile, fearing the multitude of crocodiles. This could never have been the case if the animals had been treated as enemies and had been exterminated by drag-net
3 fishermen. Another account is also current about these beasts. It is said that one of the ancient kings, the king named Menas, was pursued by his own dogs and took refuge in the lake called Moeris; whereupon he was miraculously picked up by a crocodile and carried across to the other side. Wishing to reward the animal for saving him, he founded a city near by, and called it Crocodilopolis [1]. He also instructed the natives to worship these beasts like gods, and dedicated the lake to their maintenance. There too, he constructed his own tomb in the shape of a four-sided pyramid, and built the much admired Labyrinth [2].

4 A similar explanation is given in the other cases also, but it would be

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(1) Crocodilopolis, near the modern Medinet-el-Fayûm : cf. Hdt., ii, 148. Strabo (xvii, 1. 38, p. 811) calls the town Arsinoe (its later name).

(2) This marvellous building Diodorus has already (61. 2) ascribed to Mendes : he has also described it in 66. 3-6 as the tomb of the twelve kings. Manetho rightly attributes it to a king of the 12th dynasty (really Amenemhêt III).

at Thebes a book wound about with a crimson thread and containing a written account of the worship and privileges of the gods. That is why the sacred scribes wear a crimson thread and a hawk's feather on their
9 heads. Again, the eagle is honoured by the Thebans because it is re-
XXXVIII garded as a royal bird, worthy of Zeus. They deify the goat for the same reason as, they say, Priapus is held in honour among the Greeks, because of its organ of generation. For this animal is exceedingly lustful, and its genital organ receives fitting honour, as being the arch-procreator of
2 the species of animals. Moreover, not only Egyptians but also many other nations have consecrated the *phallus* in their rites, as being the cause of the creation of living things. In Egypt the priests who succeed to the ancestral priesthoods are initiated first into the service of this god.
3 For the same reason the Pans and the Satyrs, they say, are honoured among men : hence, in temples their images are generally set up with penis erect, like that of the goat. For this animal is traditionally said to be most active in sexual intercourse. To those deities, then, by this representation, the Egyptians show gratitude for their large families.
4 The sacred bulls, I mean Apis and Mnevis, were honoured like gods at the bidding of Osiris, partly because of their usefulness in agriculture, partly too, because the renown of the discoverers of crops has by their labours been handed down to posterity for all time. The sacrifice of tawny bulls[1] however, was permitted in the belief that Typhon who plotted against Osiris and was punished by Isis for the murder of her
5 husband, was of such a colour. In olden times too, men of the same colour as Typhon were sacrificed[2], they say, by the kings at the tomb of Osiris. Among the Egyptians, moreover, few are found ruddy, whereas the majority of foreigners are of this colour. Hence, about the murder of foreigners by Busiris, the story prevails among the Greeks that it does not refer to the king called Busiris, but to the tomb of Osiris which
6 was so named in Egyptian speech. Wolves are worshipped, they say, owing to their physical resemblance to dogs. They differ little from one

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[1] For the sacrifice of red cattle, see Plut., *Is. et Osir.*, 31, and cf. *O. T. Numbers*, xix, 2.

[2] Herodotus rejects this tradition of human sacrifice : he refers to the story of Busiris as "a very foolish tale".

contribution made by each of them towards the service of society in gene-
2 ral and of mankind. The cow, for instance, produces oxen for hard
work, and herself ploughs light soil : sheep bear lambs twice a year, and
their wool furnishes protection and at the same time preserves decorum;
milk and cheese supply agreeable and abundant nourishment. The dog
is useful in hunting and as a guard : hence the Egyptians represent the
god whom they call Anubis with a dog's head, to symbolise that he acted
3 as body-guard to the followers of Osiris and Isis. Some say that, while
Isis was searching for Osiris, dogs led her on her way, and kept off wild
beasts and people meeting her. In their affection for her, too, they join-
ed in the search, barking as they went. That is why at the festival of Isis,
dogs lead the way in the procession, the originators of this practice testify-
4 ing the ancient feeling of gratitude to the animal. The cat is well-adapted
to cope with deadly asps and other venomous serpents; while the ichneu-
mon [1] watches the crocodile laying eggs, seizes some, and crushes them
to pieces. This task it carries out with care and zeal, although it gains
5 no advantage therefrom. But for this, the number of crocodiles hatched
would make the river impassable. The crocodiles themselves too are
killed by the ichneumon in an extraordinary and altogether incredible
manner. While the crocodiles are lying on dry land sleeping with open
mouths, the ichneumons which are rolling about in the mud, jump
through their mouths into their bodies. Then, by rapidly gnawing a
way through the belly, they escape without danger to themselves; but the
6 crocodiles so treated become corpses straightway. Among birds the ibis [2]
is useful to cope with snakes, locusts, amd caterpillars; the hawk [3], to
cope with scorpions, horned serpents, and the little stinging creatures
7 most deadly to man. Some say that the latter bird is worshipped because
seers use hawks as birds of omen in foretelling the future to the Egypt-
8 ians. Others declare that in ancient times a hawk brought to the priests

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(1) Ichneumon : *supra*, 35. 7. Strabo (XVII, p. 812) also tells how the ichneumon brings death to crocodile and to asp.

(2) Ibis : See Hdt., II, 76; Strabo, XVII, 2. 4, p. 823; Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, I, 36.

(3) Hawk : sacred to the sun, used as an emblem of Osiris, and later as hieroglyph for "god".

members[1] and set them in a wooden cow wrapped round with fine linen (*byssus*), and that therefore the city was named Busiris[2]. Many other tales are told about Apis, but I think it would be tedious to recount them in detail.

LXXXVI All the ceremonies which the Egyptians perform for the animals they worship are strange and incredible, causing great perplexity to those who
2 investigate the origin of the ritual. Their priests possess on this subject a secret doctrine, which I have already mentioned[3] in my account of their religion; but the majority of Egyptians give the three reasons which follow. The first is altogether legendary and suggestive of primitive
3 simplicity. It is said that the gods, created in the beginning, were few in number and overpowered by the multitude and the lawlessness of earthborn men : they therefore assumed the semblance of certain animals, and in some such manner eluded the violence and savagery of their enemies. Afterwards, when they became masters of the whole universe, in gratitude to the authors of their safety in the beginning, they consecrated the species of animals whose forms they had assumed, and taught men to give them costly maintenance while they lived, and obsequies
4 when they died. The second explanation given is that of old the Egyptians, being defeated by their neighbours in many battles through confusion in the army, devised the plan of bearing a standard over each bat-
5 talion. So they fashioned, it is said, images of the animals which are now worshipped, and the leaders bore them fixed upon javelins. In this way each man recognised to which detachment he belonged. As the resulting good order contributed greatly to their victory, they regarded the animals as having been the causes of their safety. Wishing therefore to show gratitude to them, they established it is a custom never to kill any of the animals represented by an image at that time, but to worship
LXXXVII them and assign to them the already described care and honour. The third reason which is offered in the discussion of sacred animals is the

[1] Cf. *supra*, 21. 5.

[2] Busiris really is "bu (pe)-Åsiri" or "town of Osiris" : there were several places of this name. See Hdt., II, 59, 61; Plut., *Is. et Osir.*, 21, p. 359 C. For King Busiris, see *supra*, 45. 4.

[3] *Supra*, 21.

6 general, they take great pains to secure costly food. They never cease giving them warm baths, anointing them with the finest perfumes, and burning fragrant incense of all kinds; and they furnish them with the most costly beds and splendid finery. They take the greatest care that the animal may associate with their kind, and besides they rear along with each animal the most comely females of the same species, which they call mistresses, tending them with the greatest expense and dutiful care.
7 If an animal should die, they mourn for it like parents bereft of beloved children; and in its funeral, instead of keeping within their means, they
8 far outspend the value of their possessions. After the death of Alexander[1], for instance, when Ptolemy, son of Lagus, had just taken possession of Egypt, it happened that Apis died of old age at Memphis. Its keeper spent upon the funeral the whole of the very considerable wealth which had been amassed for its maintenance, and borrowed from Ptolemy fifty talents of silver besides. In our time too, some of the keepers of these animals have spent upon a funeral no less than one hundred talents.

LXXXV I must add to my account the rest of the ceremonies relating to the sacred bull called Apis[2]. When it dies and is buried with splendid obsequies, the priests concerned with these search for a calf bearing on
2 its body marks similar to those on the deceased bull. When they have found one, the people are relieved from their mourning, and those of the priests whose duty it is lead the calf first to Nilopolis[3] where they feed it for forty days; then they set it aboard a state-barge with a gilded chamber, and bring it like a god to the temple of Hephaestus at Memphis.
3 During these forty days it is seen only by women who stand facing it and, lifting up their dresses, expose themselves; but at all other times they
4 are forbidden to come in sight of this god. Some suggest the following reason for the worship of Apis : when Osiris died, his soul passed into this bull, and therefore at every manifestation of Osiris down to the
5 present day, it continues to enter into the bull's descendants. But others say that when Osiris was murdered by Typhon, Isis collected his

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[1] 323 B.C.

[2] For Apis or "Hapi", see HDT., II, 38, 153; III, 27, 28.

[3] Nilopolis : El Lahûn or Illahûn, on the Baḥr Yûsuf.

for their worship, that in the days before King Ptolemy [1] was styled the
friend of Rome, while the common people were taking all possible pains
to do honour to sojourners from Italy and in their fear were anxious to
give no occasion for reproach or war, when a certain Roman killed a cat,
the crowd rushed to the murderer's house; and neither the officials sent
by the king to intercede, nor the universal fear of Rome availed to save
the man from punishment, although he had committed the deed unin-
9 tentionally. And this is no hearsay tale : I was myself an eyewitness of
LXXXIV the occurence during my sojourn in Egypt. If this account appears to
many to be incredible and fabulous, what I am now about to say will
appear much more extraordinary. Once when Egypt was in the grip of
famine, they say that many of the people in their hunger laid hands on
one another, but no one was even accused of having partaken of any one
2 of the sacred animals. Furthermore, all the dwellers in a house in which
a dog has been found dead shave their whole bodies [2] and go into mourn-
ing; and, more astonishing still, if there happens to be wine or grain
or any of the necessaries of life stored in rooms where one of these beasts
3 had died, they cannot bear to make use of the food for any purpose. If
Egyptian soldiers are on service anywhere in a foreign land, they pay
ransom for cats and hawks, and bring them back to Egypt. This they
4 do even at times when provisions are falling short. The ceremonies re-
lating to Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, the he-goat of Mendes [3],
the crocodile in Lake Moeris, the lion kept in the town called Leontopo-
lis [4], and many others, would be easy to describe; but it would be hard
to win credence for one's account from those who have not seen them.
5 These animals are kept in sacred enclosures, and are tended by many of
the notables, who give them the most costly fare. They boil either the
finest wheaten flour or groats in milk, and knead honey-cakes of all
kinds; they take the flesh of geese, and boil one part and roast another :
thus they maintain a never-failing supply of food. For the flesh-eating
animals they catch a large number of birds to throw to them, and in

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[1] Ptolemy XIII, Auletes, 80-51 B.C. : the date of this incident was 59 B.C.

[2] After the natural death of a cat, they shave their eyebrows only (Hdt., II, 66. 5).

[3] Cf. Hdt., II, 46. Mendes lay in the N.-E. part of the Delta.

[4] Leontopolis, not far from Mendes : see Strabo, XVII, p. 802.

2 to give the reasons for this cult, after first describing it briefly. First of all, to each species of animal enjoying worship, land is consecrated, yielding a revenue sufficient for its food and maintenance. The Egyptians also offer prayers to certain gods on behalf of children saved from
3 illness. They shave their heads and weigh the hair against a sum of silver or gold [1] : this money they give to those who tend the sacred animals. The keepers of the hawks, cutting up meat for them and calling in a loud voice, throw it up to them in the air until they catch it : for the cats and ichneumons they set down, with a coaxing sound, bread soaked in milk, or else feed them with raw slices of fish from the Nile. Similarly, in the case of the other animals, they supply each kind with fitting
4 food. As for the public duties relating to this cult, the Egyptians are very far from shirking them, or from being ashamed to be observed by the common people : on the contrary, they take pride in the ceremonies, as if they were conducting the solemn worship of the gods, and with the peculiar symbols they make procession round the towns and in the country. Passers-by, recognising from a distance which animals they have in
5 their care, do obeisance and worship them. When one of these animals dies, they wrap it in fine linen and, beating their breasts amid lamentation, they bear it to be embalmed. Then, when it has been anointed with cedar oil and such substances as can bestow fragrance and preserve
6 the body for a long time, they bury it in a sacred coffin [2]. Whoever deliberately destroys one of these animals, is put to death [3]; and in the case of a cat or the ibis, whoever kills one, whether deliberately or not, is inexorably put to death; for the people rush upon the murderer and
7 subject him to terrible treatment, sometimes without trial. Dreading such a fate, those who catch sight of one of these animals dead, stand at a distance and utter loud cries, lamenting and testifying that they have
8 found it dead. So deeply implanted in the people's breasts is their religious awe of these animals, so unalterable the feelings of each Egyptian

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[1] Cf. Hdt., II, 65. 4.

[2] Sacred coffins are mentioned by Herodotus also (II, 67).

[3] The same punishment for killing a sacred animal with intention is recorded in Hdt., II, 65. 5. According to Cicero (*Insc. Disp.*, V, 27. 78) it was a capital offence to kill an ibis, a snake, a cat, a dog, or a crocodile.

fathers or kinsmen the pursuits pertaining to a particular way of life, as I have already said. Boys are taught letters for a short time, not by all fathers, however, but above all by those who are practising crafts. It is not customary among them to learn wrestling [1] and music [2]. For they hold that from daily exercises in the wrestling school, young men will not gain health, but only a temporary and altogether precarious strength; and they regard music as being not only unprofitable, but actually harmful, on the ground that it effeminates the listener's soul.

LXXXII In prevention of diseases, the Egyptians follow a treatment of clysters, fasting, and emetics [3], sometimes daily, sometimes at intervals of three
2 or four days. For they say that of all the food that is distributed throughout the body, the greater part is superfluous and breeds diseases; and so the above treatment, destroying the beginnings of the disease, would most
3 surely establish health. During military expeditions and sojourns in the country all are treated without any charge to the individual; for doctors are maintained by the state, and the treatment they prescribe is based upon written formulae, composed by many ancient physicians of repute. And if, after following the rules read out of the sacred book, they are unable to save the patient's life, they are acquitted as free from guilt and reproach; but if they do anything contrary to the regulations, they undergo trial for life or death; for the lawgiver considered that few would ever be more intelligent than the eminent practitioners who formulated this treatment which had been observed from ages past.

LXXXIII The ceremonies in regard to the sacred animals [4] of the Egyptians naturally seem to many people extraordinary and worthy of investigation. For in Egypt certain animals are worshipped with excessive reverence not only during their lifetime, but also after their death,—animals such as cats, ichneumons, and dogs, hawks and ibises (as the Egyptians call them), wolves, crocodiles, and many others similar to these. I shall try

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[1] Herodotus (II, 91) mentions a gymnastic contest at Chemmis (now Akhmîm).

[2] For Egyptian music, see HDT., II, 79; PLATO, *Laws*, II, p. 656 f.

[3] For clysters and emetics, cf. HDT., II, 77. 2, and the medical papyri of Ancient Egypt.

[4] On the sacred animals, cf. HDT., II, 65-76, and see SOURDILLE, *Hérodote et la Religion d'Égypte*.

naked, thanks to the fine climate of the country, a parent spends in all no more than twenty drachmae, until his child comes of age. It is for these reasons especially that Egypt comes to be exceptionally populous, and hence it is abundantly provided with great monuments.

LXXXI The priests teach their sons two kinds of writing[1], that called sacred and that relating to more general instruction. They practise more espe-
2 cially geometry[2] and arithmetic. For the Nile every year alters the outline of the land in manifold ways, and causes all manner of disputes between neighbours about boundaries. It is not easy to decide these disputes accurately unless a geometrician attains the truth by his art and
3 experience. Arithmetic too is useful to them in ordinary business and in the theorems of geometry; and besides, it contributes no slight aid to
4 those who practise astronomy[3]. It is indeed in Egypt, if anywhere, that the positions and movements of the stars receive careful observation. For an incredible number of years the Egyptians have preserved records of such details, since this study has been zealously pursued among them from remote times; and they have observed with the most ardent care the movements, orbits, and stations of the planets, and also the influence of each in implanting virtues and vices at the birth of living creatures[4].
5 They are often successful in foretelling future events in the lives of men; and not infrequently, they presage failure of harvests, or, on the other hand, abundant crops, or predict that widespread plagues will fall upon men or cattle; and by observation long before the event, they have foreknowledge of earthquakes, inundations, the appearance of comets, and
6 all that is regarded by most men as impossible of prediction. They claim, too, that the Chaldeans in Babylon are a colony from Egypt, and owe their reputation for astronomy to their lessons from the priests of
7 Egypt. The rest of the people of Egypt learn in boyhood from their

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(1) Two kinds of writing (as in Hdt., ii, 36. 4), the sacred including both hieroglyphic and hieratic, the other being demotic. In iii. 4, Diodorus describes the nature of hieroglyphs.

(2) Geometry, arithmetic : see Plato, *Laws*, vii, p. 819 A; Hdt., ii, 109; Strabo, xvii, p. 787.

(3) Astronomy : *supra*, 50. 1.

(4) For horoscopes, see Hdt., ii, 82. 1.

4 greed of civilians, the common safety of all should be endangered. It seems that Solon brought back to Athens this law also, which he called "disburdenment"[1], acquitting all Athenians of debts lent upon their
5 persons. Some men blame the majority of Greek lawgivers, and not without reason; for they forbade weapons, ploughs, or any other essential implement to be taken as security for a debt, while they consented that those who would use them should be liable to seizure.

LXXX The Egyptian law about thieves, too, was most peculiar. It required that those who wished to exercise this profession should make a declaration to the Arch-Thief, and should agree to report their thefts immediately to him; while the losers were to make a similar declaration in detail
2 of the objects lost, specifying the place, day, and hour of the loss. In this way all objects were readily found, but the loser had to pay a fourth of the value merely to recover what was his own. For, finding it impossible to keep all men from thieving, the lawgiver devised an expedient by which every loss might be retrieved at the expense of a small reward.

3 In Egypt priests marry one wife; other men, as many wives as they choose[2]. Parents are obliged to rear all their offspring in order to increase the population, on the ground that this contributes most to the prosperity of a land and its cities; and they regard no child as illegitimate,
4 even if the mother is a slave bought in the market. In general they hold the belief that the father alone is the cause of the birth, while the mother supplies the babe with food and home. They call fruit-bearing trees male, and those that yield no fruit female trees, the reverse of the Greek
5 usage. They rear their children with wholly incredible ease and economy, supplying them with boiled vegetables, which are cheap and readily procured, such stalks of the *byblus* plant[3] as may be roasted in the embers, and the roots and stems of marsh-plants, some raw, some boiled,
6 others roasted. As the majority of the children grow up barefoot and

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[1] Seisachtheia, "removal of burdens" : see PLUTARCH, *Solon*, 14.

[2] Nevertheless, monogamy seems to have been the rule in Egypt, except for kings and wealthy men. For the marshmen, see HDT., II, 92. 1.

[3] For the *byblus*, or papyrus, see HDT., II, 92. 5; STRABO, XVII, 1.15, p. 799 f. It was once so common in Lower Egypt that it was adopted as the hieroglyphic symbol of that division, but it has now disappeared.

4 punishment, he deterred them from committing any similar crime. Laws about offences against women were also severe in Egypt. The punishment for the violation of a free woman was castration; for the Egyptians considered that the guilty man had in one lawless act committed the three most heinous sins—outrage, defilement, and confusion of children.
5 If a man committed adultery by consent he was sentenced to receive one thousand stripes, while the woman's nose was to be mutilated, the belief being that the woman who tricked herself out for illicit and intemperate pleasure ought to be deprived of the chief aids to beauty.

LXXIX The laws about private agreements are due, they say, to Bocchoris[1]. These enjoin that men who borrow money without a bond, if they repudiate the debt, should be released from it on taking an oath. The first intention of these laws was that men should set high value upon oaths,
2 and thus feel religious awe. For since it is manifest that one who has sworn many oaths will upon occasion renounce his pledge, everyone will hold it of prime importance not to have recourse to an oath, lest he be deprived of credit. Next, the lawgiver conceived that, by making the pledge depend entirely upon honour, he would encourage all men to be virtuous in character, so that they might avoid the reproach of being unworthy of a pledge. He further deemed it unjust that those who were trusted without oath should not gain credence if they took an oath about the same contract. On the other hand, those who lent money under a bond were prevented from making their capital more than double by
3 means of interest. The lawgiver allowed the exaction of a debt only from the property of a debtor : he absolutely forbade the debtor's person to be liable to seizure[2], considering that lands should belong to those who worked them or received them in a gift from the owner, whereas slaves should belong to the cities, so that the fitting duties might be performed both in peace and during war. For it seemed absurd that a soldier, while facing danger on behalf of his country, should upon occasion be arrested for debt by his creditor, and, to satisfy the grasping

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[1] Bocchoris : see *supra,* 65. 1.

[2] Enslavement of debtors for non-payment was the law of Ancient Egypt; and it became the law again in the 6th century B.C. under Amasis, and also later in Ptolemaic Egypt.

8 involving grief and repentance. Upon children who murdered their parents the law imposed an extraordinary punishment. Those convicted of this crime must have their hands and feet lacerated by sharp stakes, and then be roasted alive over thorns. The Egyptians judged it the most heinous of men's sins to take life by violence from those who had given
9 them life. When condemned to death, women, if pregnant, were not executed until they had given birth. Many of the Greeks, too, have adopted this law, considering it utterly unjust that the innocent infant should share the same penalty as the guilty mother, and that because of a single transgression the penalty should be exacted from two; further, that, while the offence was committed in deliberate wickedness, the infant that was not yet sentient should be submitted to the same punishment; and, most weighty of all reasons, that, since the guilt had been imputed to the pregnant mother individually, it was far from fitting that the child
10 begotten in common by father and mother should be destroyed. For judges who save a criminal guilty of murder, and those who destroy an
11 entirely innocent infant should be regarded as equally bad judges. Such then, roughly, were the laws relating to murder which are reputed to have been particularly successful.

LXXVIII Among the other laws, that dealing with soldiers who deserted their ranks in battle or failed to carry out their general's commands, prescribed
2 as a penalty, not death but the utmost degradation. But if they should afterwards by valiant deeds transcend their degradation, the law restored them to their original freedom : for, on the one hand, the lawgiver held degradation to be a severer penalty than death, that so he might accustom all men to reckon dishonour as the greatest of evils; and, on the other hand, he considered that, while those put to death could do no service to society in general, those who were degraded would be the
3 cause of many blessings through their longing to regain freedom. As for those who revealed secrets to the enemy, the law enjoined that their tongues be cut out : those who made counterfeit coins or false measures and weights, or forged seals, scribes who falsified the records or deleted part of their contents, those who proffered false contracts, were all condemned to have both hands cut off. Thus the criminal, punished in that part of the body with which he had transgressed, himself bore until his dying day an irremediable hurt, and, warning all men by his personal

All men would obtain justice on an equal footing; for the litigants would have sufficient time according to law to examine one another's statements, and the judges sufficient time to compare the allegations of both parties.

LXXVII Since mention has been made of legislation, it is not inappropriate, I think, to my present inquiry to set forth as many of the Egyptian laws as are remarkable for their antiquity or have assumed an extraordinary
2 form, or in general may be profitable to the studious reader. In the first place, then, the penalty for perjury in Egypt was death, on the ground that two heinous offences were comprised in it—impiety towards
3 the gods, and violation of the most binding pledge among men. Next, if anyone on a journey in Egypt should see a man being murdered or at any rate violently assaulted, and did not, although he could, rescue the victim, he must be put to death. But if, really and truly, through weakness he was powerless to give aid, he must at all costs inform against the miscreants and punish their lawlessness. He who neglected to do as the law enjoined was to be scourged with a prescribed number of stripes,
4 and be wholly deprived of food for three days. False accusers were liable to the penalty laid down for blackmailers, if they were actually
5 convicted. Further, all Egyptians were enjoined to make a declaration [1] to the government stating the sources of their income, and he who made a false declaration in this matter, or gained his livelihood unjustly, must of necessity be put to death. It is said that this law was brought back to
6 Athens by Solon when he visited Egypt. If anyone should wilfully kill a free man or a slave, the law enjoined that he should perish, partly from the desire to restrain all men from wicked courses by punishment, not according to the varying turns of fortune, but according to the intention of their deeds, partly that, by its care for slaves, it might teach men how much more necessary it was to refrain entirely from offences against free-
7 men. For parents who murdered their children death was not prescribed by law; but for three days and three nights in succession they were obliged to hold the corpse in their embrace under the surveillance of a public guard. For it was not deemed just to deprive of life those who had bestowed life on their children, but rather to deter men from such crimes by a discipline

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[1] For the census in Egypt, cf. Hdt., II, 177. 2, and *supra*, 31. 7. It was an Egyptian practice to take a sort of census of inhabitants and their occupations.

removed by bribery or by favour, men would see confusion arise in the
3 nation's life. Hence by appointing as common judges the best citizens of the most notable towns, they attained their purpose. They selected judges from Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, ten from each; and this council was regarded as in no way inferior to the Council of the Areopagus
4 in Athens or the Senate at Sparta. When the thirty assembled, they chose from their number the one outstanding member, and him they elected as chief judge: then, to take his place, the city sent another judge. To the judges the king furnished allowances of necessaries sufficient to maintain them, the chief judge receiving many times as much as the
5 others. He wore round his neck a gold chain to which was fastened a figure made of precious stones, and they called it Truth. They began
6 their debates whenever the chief judge put on the image of Truth. All the laws were inscribed in eight books, and these lay near the judges: it was the custom for the accuser to write out in detail the substance of his charge, how the offence took place, and the penalty for the wrong or injury; while the defendant, taking the statement made by his adversaries, answered each point in writing, arguing that he did not commit the offence, or that although guilty he had done no wrong, or that although
7 he did wrong, he did not deserve so great a penalty. Next, according to their usage, the accuser replied in writing, and the defendant again made a counter-statement. When both adversaries had twice presented their written pleas to the judges, the thirty had then to find a verdict among themselves, and the chief judge appended the figure of Truth to one of
LXXVI the pleas. This was the way in which the Egyptians conducted all their trials, considering that, if advocates spoke, they would bring much obscurity into justice. For the orator's art, the spell of his delivery, and the tears of those in danger induce many to disregard the rigour of the law
2 and the strictness of truth. At any rate, it is observed that judges who are praised at a trial are often carried away by the power of the advocates, whether through deceit or persuasive charm or the feeling of pity. If, on the other hand, litigants wrote out their pleas, trials would be strictly just, the Egyptians thought, since the bare facts would be examined.
3 By this system above all, men of genius would have no advantage over the duller-witted, nor practised litigants over inexperienced, nor liars and bold rogues over lovers of truth and men of sedate and modest character.

3 vations made by their ancestors, partly from their own experience. The same account holds good of the herdsmen. They receive by law from their fathers like an inheritance the care of animals, and they spend their
4 whole lifetime rearing cattle. From their ancestors they have inherited much lore on the best way of tending and rearing herds, but they discover not a little themselves, through their zealous devotion to this occupation; and, more astonishing still, owing to their extraordinary enthusiasm, the keepers of hens and geese by the scientific skill peculiar to them gather a prodigious number of fowls apart from the natural hatch-
5 ing which satisfies other men. For it is not by means of the mother birds that they hatch the eggs : they themselves with marvellous manipulation [1] match the active force of nature by their wisdom and scientific
6 skill. Moreover, one may observe the arts most highly developed in Egypt and perfected to attain their appropriate end. It is in Egypt alone that no artisan is allowed to take up any other work or any political post except that defined in law and handed down to him by his parents, so that neither envy of a teacher nor political distractions nor anything
7 else should clog his enthusiasm for his craft. In other nations one may observe craftsmen distracted in mind by many interests and, through their greed of gain, not keeping wholly to their own occupation. Some take up agriculture, some engage in trade, others practise two or three crafts at one time. In democratic states, the craftsmen, gathering together in numbers in the assemblies, ruin the constitution, while they claim their reward from the givers of bribes. In Egypt on the other hand, if a craftsman takes part in politics or practises more than one craft, he is liable to severe penalties.

8 Such, then, was the division of the state, and such the ancestral care
LXXV of the individual station among the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. In regard to trials they showed no ordinary zeal, considering that sentences given in courts of justice exercised a very great influence upon social life
2 in two ways. For it was clear that the punishment of transgressors and the protection of the wronged would be the best means of repressing offences. If the fear which trials inspired in transgressors should be

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(1) Artificial incubation is an ancient practice.

performed always by the same priests and in similar fashion; nor should
4 the supreme counsellors be in lack of necessities. For in general these
priests, taking counsel on the most important matters, associate constantly
with the king, acting sometimes as his coadjutors, sometimes as guides
and instructors : by means of astronomy and the inspection of entrails
they foretell the future, and from the records in the sacred books they
5 read aloud in public profitable histories. Not as in Greece, has one man
merely or one woman, assumed the priesthood : in Egypt many devote
their lives to divine sacrifice and worship, and hand down the same pro-
fession to their descendants. These priests are exempt from all taxes,
6 and rank next to the king in reputation and authority. The second region
has been taken over by the kings to furnish revenue : out of this they find
supplies for war and maintain their own splendid state, rewarding brave
deeds with bounties according to desert, and, thanks to their affluence
from this source, not exacting from their subjects such contributions as
7 would plunge them into debt. The last region is held by the class called
warriors, who answer to the duties of military service; the object of this
is that those hazarding their lives should be in the highest degree loyal
to the country because of their ownership of land, and should zealously
8 face the dangers incident to warfare. For it would be absurd to entrust
the safety of all to those who had no serious or worthy share in the coun-
try for which they were to fight. Most important of all, being in affluent
circumstances, they would readily beget children, and thus provide a
large population so that the country would have no need of mercenary
9 troops. Likewise, as they receive their rank in succession to their an-
cestors, these men are spurred on to valour by the valiant deeds of their
fathers, and being from boyhood zealous of warlike achievements, they
come to be invincible in deeds of daring and in the practice of warfare.
LXXIV There are three other classes in the state—the herdsmen, the farmers,
and the artisans. The farmers, who lease for a small rent the fertile
lands belonging to the king, the priests, and the warriors, continue all
their lives to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil. Being trained
from infancy in agricultural pursuits, they far surpass in experience the
2 farmers of all others nations. For they have more accurate knowledge
than all others, of the character of the soil, of irrigation, of seed-time,
harvest, and the in-gathering of crops, having learned partly from obser-

eulogies twice a day, recalling his virtues, while they partook of no food either from living creatures or from wheat, and they abstained from wine
3 and every luxury. No one would have chosen to bathe, or anoint himself, or sleep on soft bedding; nor indeed would anyone have ventured to indulge in sexual intercourse; but just as if a beloved child had died, each one suffered exceedingly and mourned for the stated number of days.
4 During this time they had made splendid preparations for the funeral rites; and on the last day of mourning they placed the coffin containing the body in front of the entrance to the tomb, and according to law they
5 set up a tribunal on the conduct of the departed in his lifetime. Anyone who pleased was allowed to denounce the dead king; but the priests uttered eulogies recounting all his noble deeds, while the common people in their thousands, assembled for the funeral, listened and joined in the praises, if the king had in fact lived a good life; but on the other hand if
6 the reverse was the case, they raised a clamour. Many of the kings were robbed of their lawful public burial through the opposition of the mob : hence it happened that those succeeding to the kingship acted justly, not only for the reasons already mentioned, but also through fear of outrage to their bodies after death and of a name eternally accursed. These then are the most important of the customs relating to the kings of old.

LXXIII Egypt as a whole is divided into several parts, each of which is called in Greek speech a *nome* : and over each is a *nomarch* who has complete
2 oversight and control. Of the three regions into which the whole country is divided, the first is held by the college of priests[1], who enjoy the highest regard among the people because of their attention to religion and because of the very great wisdom which these priests show as a result
3 of their education. Out of their revenues they perform all the sacrifices in Egypt, maintaining their assistants and supplying their own needs. For they deem themselves bound not to alter divine worship, which is

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[1] For the caste system of Ancient Egypt, see Hdt., ii, 164-168; Strabo, xvii, p. 787; Plato, *Tim.*, p. 24; Isocrates, *Busir.*, 15, 16. All give priests and warriors as the first two classes, but differ thereafter. The priesthoods were hereditary (*infra*, 88. 2) : so was the warrior rank (73. 9) and others; but the Greek belief was two much systematized, e.g. members of the same family could belong to different classes.

his life were so harmoniously ordered that it seemed to have been not a law-giver, but the best of physicians who had drawn them up with a view
LXXI to good health. While it appears extraordinary that the king should not have complete freedom to choose his daily food, it was far more surprising that he was not allowed either to judge or to do any ordinary business, or to punish anyone from insolence, anger, or any other unjust cause,
2 but only as the laws dealing with each case enjoined. Although acting thus according to custom, the kings were far from chafing at heart or taking offence : on the contrary, they deemed that theirs was a most blessed
3 life. For they believed that other men, while foolishly indulging their natural passions, performed many acts involving losses or dangers, and ofttimes some, though conscious that they were about to go astray, none the less performed wicked deeds, being constrained by love or hate or some other passion; whereas the kings themselves, having striven after the life that was approved by the wisest men, fell into none but the slight-
4 est errors. As the kings behaved so justly towards their subjects, the common people in their goodwill to their rulers went far beyond the affection of kinsfolk. For not only the college of priests, but all the Egyptians together cared more for the king's safety than for their wives
5 and children and all their possessions. Therefore, for a very long time they maintained the political constitution set up by the kings we speak of; and they continued to enjoy a very happy life, so long as this system of laws lasted, and further they conquered numerous nations and acquired vast stores of wealth, and adorned their provinces with unparalleled monuments and structures, their cities with costly votive offerings of all kinds.

LXXII The ceremonies performed in Egypt after the death of a king gave ample proof of the goodwill of the common people to their rulers. For the honour thus paid out of gratitude to one who could not perceive it,
2 contained genuine evidence of sincerity. When one of their kings departed this life, there was universal mourning among the Egyptians : they rent their raiment, closed their temples, abstained from sacrifice, and held no festivals for seventy-two days. With garments of fine linen girt round beneath their breasts, and their heads daubed over with mud, men and women together walked about in companies of 200 or 300. Keeping time as they sang their dirge, they honoured the departed with

day and night were prescribed, so that at the entirely appropriate times
4 the king did what was enjoined, not what he himself resolved to do. On being awakened early in the morning, he must first take the letters sent to him from all parts, so that he might be able duly to transact all his business and negotiations, with accurate knowledge of all that was happening throughout the kingdom. Then he had a bath; and after donning splendid raiment and decking his person with the insignia of royalty, he
5 made sacrifice to the gods. When the victims had been brought to the altar, it was customary for the chief priest to stand beside the king and pray in a loud voice, in presence of the assembled Egyptians, that health should be granted to the king, with all other blessings, so long as he
6 observed just dealing towards his subjects. It was necessary also for the chief priest to make free and open acknowledgment of the king's virtues in detail, declaring that he showed piety towards the gods and signal clemency towards men : that he was temperate, just, and magnanimous; that he knew no deceit, gave freely of his goods, and in general was superior to all desires; that in punishing an offence he would impose a penalty less than was due, while he rewarded benefactors by making a
7 return greater than the service rendered. After recounting many other virtues similar to these, the officiating priest finally offered prayers for sins of ignorance, exempting the king from blame, and asking that the mischief and the penalty should fall upon the ministers who gave him
8 unworthy counsels. This the priest did, both to guide the king towards religious reverence and piety, and to accustom him to an exemplary manner of living, not through stern admonition, but through agreeable
9 eulogies, tending most directly to virtue. Thereafter, when the king, by inspecting the entrails of a calf, had obtained good omens, the sacred scribe read aloud from the holy books certain profitable counsels and deeds of the most illustrious men, so that he who governed the whole land might be guided to the appointed administration of the parts by pondering in
10 his mind the finest principles of action. For not only was the time prescribed to do business or to judge, but also the time to take a walk, to bathe, and to lie with his wife, and in general the time for all the activi-
11 ties of life. It was the king's custom to eat tender meats : he partook solely of veal and goose, and drank a fixed amount of wine, not enough
12 to cause an untimely surfeit or drunkenness. In general, the details of

those distinguished in education were eager to cross over to Egypt in
order to learn the customs and practices there, which they deemed note-
4 worthy. For although for the above-mentioned reasons the country in
olden times was difficult for foreigners to enter, nevertheless Orpheus
and the poet Homer, among the ancients, were eager to cross over to
Egypt, and, in later times, Pythagoras of Samos, Solon the lawgiver, and
5 many others. Now the Egyptians declare that it was in Egypt that the
discovery of letters was made and the first observation of the stars was
taken; and further that the theorems of geometry and most of the arts
6 were invented there, and the best laws laid down. The strongest proof
of this, they say, is the fact that for more than 4,700 years the kings of
Egypt were for the most part natives of the country, and the land was the
most prosperous in the whole world. This (they argue) could never
have been so, had not the inhabitants followed the best customs and laws
7 and the finest practices in their whole education. So I shall pass by all
the casual inventions of Herodotus [1] and other historians of Egypt, who
instead of keeping to the truth, wilfully preferred to make up tales and
recount marvels for entertainment's sake; and I shall set forth the actual
results of my zealous examination of the records kept among their arch-
ives by the Egyptian priests.

LXX First of all, then, their kings [2] lived differently from all other holders
of monarchical office, who act always according to their own deliberate
choice, and are subject to no scrutiny. Statutes of law regulated ever-
ything for them—not only their official life, but also their private life's
2 daily routine. Among their personal attendants there was no slave either
bought in the market or home-bred : all were sons of the most disting-
uished priests, they were men over twenty years of age, who had been
given the finest education in the country, so that the king, having the best
men to attend to his person and to watch by his side constantly, day and
night, might fall into no bad practices. For no ruler goes to excess in
3 vice, unless he has some who minister to his desires. The hours of both

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[1] Diodorus has praise for Herodotus in 37. 4; but it is only in modern times that the accuracy of Herodotus in many respects has been proved.

[2] This account of the obligations of an Egyptian king is based, as Diodorus claims above, upon Egyptian records.

powerful forces by land and sea, he took Sidon by storm, and won over by intimidation the other cities of Phoenicia. In a great sea-fight he overcame the Phoenicians and the men of Cyprus, and having amassed
2 a store of plunder he returned to Egypt. He afterwards sent a powerful force of his countrymen against Cyrene and Barca, and, by losing the greater part of it, he alienated the survivors. Assuming that he had arranged the expedition with a view to their destruction, so that he might rule more securely over the rest of the Egyptians, they revolted.
3 The king sent to them Amasis, an eminent Egyptian, but he disregarded the king's instructions to bring about a reconciliation : on the contrary, he urged the rebels towards further alienation, joined in their
4 revolt, and was himself appointed king. Not long after, as all the other Egyptians united to attack Apries, the king in his perplexity was obliged to seek refuge among his mercenaries, who were as many as
5 30.000 in number. So a pitched battle was fought near the village of Marea [1], and the Egyptians won the day. Apries was taken captive, carried off, and finally strangled. Amasis ordered the affairs of the kingdom as he deemed expedient, and ruled Egypt according to law,
6 winning great approbation [2]. He also conquered the cities of Cyprus, and adorned many of the temples with notable offerings. After a reign of fifty-five years, his life came to an end at the time when Cambyses, King of Persia, marched against Egypt, in the third year of the 63rd. Olympiad, the winner in the 200 yards foot-race being Parmenides of Camarina.

LXIX Now that I have given an adequate account of the history of the kings of Egypt from the most ancient times to the death of Amasis, I shall post-
2 pone the sequel to the appropriate dates. I shall now deal briefly with the customs of the Egyptians, mentioning the usages that are most striking and most instructive for the reader. For many of the ancient customs which arose in Egypt not only gained approbation from the natives there,
3 but were admired exceedingly by the Greeks. Wherefore the chief among

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(1) Marea, on the Mareotic Lake, was the frontier garrison of Egypt.

(2) The reign of Amasis or Ahmose, 569-526 B.C., i.e., 44 years, not 55 as Diodorus says, was one of the golden ages of Egyptian history ; cf. Hdt., II, 172-182, III, 10. 2.

more than 200,000 in number, revolted[1] and marched off towards
4 Ethiopia, having decided to acquire a land of their own. The king first
of all sent some of his leaders to apologise for the slight; but as the de-
serters would not heed them, the king himself, along with his friends,
5 pursued them in boats. As they were advancing up the Nile and cross-
ing the frontiers of Egypt, he begged them to change their purpose, re-
minding them of their temples and native places, their wives and children.
6 But they all with one accord raised a shout, and beating their shields with
their pikes, exclaimed that, as long as they wielded arms, they would
easily find a country; then, pulling up their tunics and pointing to their
genitals, they cried that, while they had these, they would lack neither
7 wives nor children. In such high spirits, despising what others hold
most valuable, they seized the best part of Ethiopia, and having portioned
8 out a large area, they settled there. Psammetichus was exceedingly vexed
at this; but he set the affairs of Egypt in order, and while looking after
the revenues, he formed an alliance with Athens and some other Greek
9 states. He also conferred benefits upon such foreigners as came of their
own free will to reside in Egypt; and, having an exceptional love of Greece,
he taught his sons Hellenic culture. In general, he was the first of the
kings of Egypt to throw open to other nations the markets[2] throughout
10 the country, and offer ample security to incoming foreigners. Previous
rulers, in fact, kept Egypt inaccessible to strangers, by putting some to
11 death, and enslaving others when they landed. Moreover, the inhospit-
ality of the Egyptians caused the impiety of Busiris[3] to be noised abroad
among the Greeks : yet the tale is not truly told, but exaggerated in le-
gendary form because of the excessive lawlessness of the country.

LXVIII Four generations later than Psammetichus, Apries[4] was king for twenty-two years. Taking the field against Cyprus and Phoenicia with

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[1] Herodotus (II, 30) gives a different reason for the revolt, but tells this same incredible tale : no Egyptian would address royalty thus.

[2] According to HDT., II, 179, Naucratis was the only treaty port in the time of Amasis.

[3] Busiris : see *supra*, 45. 4.

[4] For Apries (Wehebre : Hophra in the *Old Testament*), 588-569 B.C., see HDT., II, 161; and for the expedition against Cyrene, see HDT., IV, 159.

at Memphis pour libation to the god from a vessel of bronze, would be master of all Egypt; and when one of the priests brought twelve [1] golden vessels out of the temple, Psammetichus took off his helmet and poured
11 the libation from it. His colleagues in the kingship, then, although they viewed his act with suspicion, did not wish to put him to death, but sentenced him to be banished forthwith and live in the marshes of the
12 seaboard. Whether the quarrel arose for this reason or because of jealousy, as has been related, the fact remains that Psammetichus summoned mercenaries from Caria and Ionia, and won a pitched battle near the town called Momemphis [2]. Of the kings who confronted him, some were slain in the fight, and the others, being expelled into Libya, had no longer the power to dispute his sovereignty.

LXVII Having gained possession of the undivided kingship, Psammetichus [3] built the eastern outercourt of the temple of the god at Memphis, and the enclosing wall of the shrine, placing there for pillars great statues, twelve cubits high. Besides the payments promised to his mercenaries, he distributed considerable bounties, gave them as dwelling-place The Camps [4], as they were called, and assigned to them as their settlement a large stretch of land a little to the south of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. Many years later, when Amasis became king, he removed them from there, and settled
2 them at Memphis. Having by means of these mercenaries succeeded in seizing the kingship, Psammetichus thereafter entrusted them above all with the charge of his kingdom, and continued to maintain large forces
3 of foreign troops. When he made an expedition into Syria, he preferred his mercenaries for pitched battles and posted them on the right wing : regarding the native troops with less esteem, he assigned to them the left side of the phalanx. Exasperated by the insult, the Egyptians, who were

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(1) Herodotus (II, 151) gives the number as eleven : the helmet served as the twelfth.

(2) Momemphis lay on a canal from the Canopic or western branch of the Nile to the Mareotic Lake.

(3) Psammetichus I. had a long reign, 663-609 B.C. Herodotus (II, 153) attributes the southern outercourt to Psammetichus, the eastern one to Asychis (II, 136).

(4) See Hdt., II, 154. Flinders Petrie excavated one of these camps at Tell Dafana or Daphnae, W. of El Qantara.

powerful leaders swore a covenant with one another. Assembling in
Memphis and drawing up treaties to keep faith and concord with one
2 another, they proclaimed themselves kings [1]. For fifteen years they
ruled in accordance with their oaths and agreements, maintaining harmo-
nious relations with one another; and they formed the design of construct-
ing a common tomb for themselves, so that, just as in life they showed
goodwill to one another and enjoyed equal honours, so too after death
their bodies should lie in one place, and the completed monument should
3 contain a common record of the fame of those buried there. In their
zeal to achieve their design, they strove to surpass in magnitude all pre-
vious monuments. They selected a site in Libya beside the entrance to
Lake Moeris, and built their tomb of the finest stones [2]. They planned
it square in shape, each side being one stade long, and adorned it with
4 sculptures and other works of art, not to be surpassed by posterity. At
the entrance to the enclosure stood a building set round with pillars,
forty on each side. Its roof was a monolith, adorned with sculptured
5 panels and paintings of different kinds. It also contained memorials of
the native places of the kings, and of the rites and sacrifices belonging to
6 each, all artistically portrayed in excellent paintings. Indeed, so costly
and so vast was the plan of the tomb which the kings are said to have
made, that, had they not been deposed before completing their design,
they would have made it impossible for anyone to build a monument
7 surpassing theirs. But after they had ruled Egypt for fifteen years, the
kingship reverted to a single individual, the reasons being as follows.
8 Psammetichus of Sais, one of the twelve kings, the ruler of the seaboard,
supplied merchandise to all traders, especially to Phoenicians and Greeks.
9 In this way, disposing of his own country's produce at a profit and acquir-
ing in exchange commodities from other nations, he not only attained
great affluence, but made friendships with foreign nations and rulers.
10 Because of this, they say, the other kings became jealous and made war
on him. Some of the ancient historians tell a tale that an oracle was
uttered to these leaders, to the effect that whichever of them should first

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[1] For the twelve kings, see HDT., II, 147; but the monuments show no trace of this "dodecarchy".

[2] Cf. HDT., II, 148, and *infra* 89. 3.

14 Amosis, the third by Inaros. Some hold that this last was the tomb of Rhodopis the courtesan [1] : their story is that certain governors of *nomes* who had been her lovers raised the whole structure in common out of the affection they bore her.

LXV After these kings the successor to the throne was Bocchoris [2], utterly contemptible in presence, but far superior to his predecessors in sagacity.
2 Many years later Sabacon [3] became king of Egypt. By race he was an Ethiopian, but he far surpassed the preceding kings in piety and good-
3 ness. In evidence of his humanity one may take the fact that he abolished
4 the severest of legal penalties, I mean the sentence of death. For instead of executing the condemned, he obliged them to perform public duties to their cities while they remained in bondage; and by this means he constructed many mounds, and dug no small number of convenient canals. His purpose was to reduce the rigour of the penalty for those under sentence, and to secure for the cities a notable service instead of useless
5 penalties. How exceedingly pious he was, one may infer from his dream-
6 vision and his abdication from the throne. In his dream it seemed that the god of Thebes declared to him that he could not rule either long or happily over Egypt, unless he should cut all the priests in two, and pass
7 with his retinue between their severed bodies. As this dream was often repeated, he summoned the priests from all parts, and said that he was grieving the god by remaining in the country : otherwise the god would
8 not be laying such injunctions upon him in dreams. He wished, therefore, to depart from Egypt untainted by any pollution, and surrender his life to destiny rather than continue ruling over Egypt, while grieving his lord and staining his own life with impious slaughter. Finally he restored the kingship to the natives of the country, and returned to Ethiopia.

LXVI There was no ruler in Egypt for the next two years; and, as the masses were turning their minds to riots and tribal murders, the twelve most

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(1) Herodotus (II, 134, 135) rejects this story as absurd.

(2) Bocchoris, i.e. Bekenranf, *c.* 718–712 B.C. : see *infra* 79. 1, 94. 5.

(3) Sabacon (in Hdt., II, 137–139, Sabacos), 712–700 B.C. The story of voluntary retirement by the last Ethiopian king is found on the monuments, but in reality the Ethiopians retired before the Assyrians.

6 of their tombs. Hence each of these two kings, at his death, charged
his relatives to bury his body secretly in an unknown place.
Next, Mycerinus[1], whom some call Mencherinus, became king : he
7 was the son of the builder of the first pyramid. He formed the design
of constructing a third pyramid, but died before the whole work was
completed. He laid down each side of the base 300 feet long; and for
fifteen courses he constructed the sloping sides of a dark stone resembling
Theban stone[2], but the remainder he filled up with stones like those in
8 the other pyramids. Though inferior in magnitude to those already
described, this monument far surpasses them in skill of workmanship and
9 costliness of stone. An inscription on its North side records its builder
Mycerinus. Out of hatred for the cruelty of his predecessors, they say,
he strove after a virtuous life of active benefit to his subjects : he was
continually doing deeds by which he could best gain the goodwill of the
common people, and he expended a large sum of money on the administration of justice, giving bounties to such honest men as seemed not
to be faring as well as they deserved in their lawsuits.

10 There are also other three pyramids, with each side 100 feet long; in
construction they are in general similar to the first three, but not in size.
They were built, they say, by the three last-named kings in honour of
11 their wives. It is agreed that the pyramids stand supreme in Egypt not
only for their massiveness of structure and their cost, but also for the
12 skilled technique of the craftsmen. They say, further, that we must
admire the master-builders of the monuments more than the kings who
supplied the finances for the work. For the former brought their plan
to consummation by their own lifeblood and emulous strivings, while the
latter took advantage of their inherited wealth and the hardships of other
13 men. But about the pyramids there is absolutely no agreement either
among the people of the country or among historians. Some say that
the above-mentioned built the pyramids, others name different kings.
For instance, they say the largest was built by Armaeus, the second by

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[1] Mycerinus, i.e. Menkewre or Menkaura : see the poem "Mycerinus" by Matthew Arnold.

[2] Herodotus (II, 134) rightly says that the lower half of the pyramid was cased with "Ethiopian stone", i.e., red granite.

6 preserving the whole monument from decay. It is said that the stone was brought from Arabia, a great distance, and that the construction was carried out by means of mounds of earth, since engines had not yet been
7 invented in those days. The greatest marvel of all is that, although such monuments were constructed in a region altogether sandy, no trace is left either of the mound or of the polishing of the stones, so that it appears that the structure was not reared little by little by the hand of man, but
8 was placed there *en bloc* amid encircling sand as if by some god. Some of the Egyptians try to make marvels of these matters, stating that, as the mounds were made of salt and nitre, the river, being let in upon them, melted and utterly destroyed them without the laborious interfer-
9 ence of human hands. However, the truth is otherwise : the multitude of workers who threw up the mounds, themselves undid the whole of their work. Three hundred and sixty thousand men, they say, toiled steadily upon the monument, and the whole structure was with difficulty completed in twenty years.

LXIV When this king died, his successor in the sovereignty was his brother Kephren[1], who reigned for fifty-six years. Some say, however, that it was not a brother, but a son named Chabryas who succeeded to the throne.
2 But all agree that this successor, emulating the policy of Chemmis, built the second pyramid. This is similar to the first in skilful craftsmanship, but in magnitude it falls far short, each side of the base being one stade
3 long. An inscription[2] on the greater pyramid tells the amount of money expended on it : the writing reveals that more than 1600 talents were
4 spent on vegetables and purges for the workmen. The lesser pyramid is uninscribed, and it has a stairway, cut in one of the sides. Of the two kings who constructed pyramids as their tombs, neither, as it happened,
5 was buried there. For owing to the hardships they endured in building the monuments, and because of the cruelty and oppression of these kings, the common people were angered at the responsible authors, and threatened to rend their bodies asunder and cast them in wanton outrage out

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(1) The monuments record a king Dedfre or Tetfra between Khufu and Khefre or Khafra : Khefre may have been the son of Khufu. Cf. Hdt., II, 127.

(2) This strange "inscription" (Hdt., II, 125. 6) has been explained as a mistranslation of the royal inscription or of a scribbled prayer to Osiris.

5 After the death of Proteus, his son Rhemphis[1] succeeded to the throne, and spent the whole of his life looking after the revenues and heaping up wealth from every source; but his meanness of soul and covetousness would not suffer him to spend anything either on offerings to the gods or
6 on benefactions to men. Thus he lived more like a careful steward than a king; and instead of a name for valour, he left behind him hoards of money—more than any previous king. The tradition runs that he amassed as much as 400,000 talents of silver and gold.

LXIII After his death his successors to the throne for seven generations were kings of utterly sluggish character, making self-indulgence and luxury the mainspring of all their actions. Wherefore in the sacred records no tradition is preserved of any costly monument, nor of any noteworthy deed achieved by them, save only by Nileus, from whom the river in point of fact took the name of Nile, being previously called Aegyptus. This king made numerous convenient canals, and by his many zealous efforts to increase the usefulness of the Nile, he caused the river to receive this name.

2 The eighth king in the succession, Chemmis[2] of Memphis, ruled for fifty years, and constructed the greatest of the three pyramids, which are
3 numbered among the Seven Wonders of the World. They stand towards Libya, at a distance of 120 stades from Memphis, and 45 from the Nile; and the magnitude and skilful craftsmanship of the monuments strike the
4 beholder with amazement and admiration. The largest is square in shape, each side of the base being 700 feet, and its height is more than 600 feet. It contracts little by little up to apex, which is six cubits
5 square. It is wholly built of hard stone, laborious to work but enduring for ever. For, although no fewer than 1000 years, as they say, have elapsed down to our days,—or according to certain writers, more than 3400 years,—the stones still stand firm in their original construction,

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(1) Rhemphis : in HDT., II, 121, Rhampsinitus.

(2) The builder of the Great Pyramid at Giza was Khufu, called by Herodotus (II, 124) Cheops, *c.* 2690 B.C. Instead of mounds of earth (§ 6), "rockers" ("ascenseurs oscillants") may have been used; but for the use of mounds and cross-walls in vertical building, see Somers CLARKE and ENGELBACH, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 93-95.

fly in great numbers from the sea. The birds they caught provided them with ample sustenance.

LXI On the death of Actisanes, Egyptians regained the sovereignty, and
2 appointed a native king, Mendes[1], whom some call Marrus. He performed no warlike deed at all, but as his tomb he constructed the Labyrinth[2], as it is called, which is not so much marvellous for the great toil spent on it, as inimitable in its clever craftsmanship. The person who enters it cannot easily find the way out, unless he has a wholly experienced
3 guide. Some say that Daedalus crossed over to Egypt and, admiring the art of the monument, he constructed for Minos, King of Crete, a labyrinth similar to the one in Egypt, and in it, according to the legend, lived the
4 Minotaur, as it was called. But the Cretan labyrinth has completely disappeared, whether because some king destroyed it utterly or through the ravages of time : the Egyptian labyrinth, however, has preserved its whole structure uninjured down to our own times.

LXII After this king's death, for five generations the land was without a ruler; then an obscure person whom Egyptians call Keten[3] was chosen to be king. Among the Greeks he is reputed to be Proteus, who lived
2 about the time of the Trojan War. Tradition says that he had knowledge of spirits and could transform himself, now into an animal, again into a tree or fire or some other object; and the priests too give an account that
3 agrees with this. From his close and continued association with astronomers (they say), the king gained his knowledge of spirits; while it was from the traditional practice of Egyptian rulers that the story about his
4 transformations arose among the Greeks. For it is the custom of the sovereigns of Egypt to wear on their heads the mask of lions, bulls, and serpents as symbols of authority. Sometimes they have on their heads trees, at other times fire, and again heaps of fragment incense; and these they use, not only for personal adornment, but also to reduce their subjects to terror and superstitious reverence.

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(1) Mendes ; in STRABO, XVII, p. 811 Imandes, p. 813 Ismandes.

(2) For the Labyrinth near Hawâra, see HDT. II, 148, STRABO, XVII, p. 811.

(3) Herodotus (II, 112-120) tells how, in the reign of Proteus, Alexander (i.e. Paris) and Helen came to Egypt.

LX After this king, many who succeeded in turn to the throne performed no exploit worthy of record. Many generations later, Amasis [1] became king and ruled the masses tyranically. He punished many unjustly, and deprived a large number of their property, while he treated all his sub-
2 jects contemptuously and altogether arrogantly. For a time, however, the suffering nation endured, being unable in any way to retaliate upon a stronger power. But when Actisanes, king of the Ethiopians, invaded Egypt, hatred found its opportunity, and the majority of the Egyptians
3 revolted against Amasis. As he was easily subdued, Egypt fell under the sway of the Ethiopians; and Actisanes, using his success with becoming
4 moderation, treated the conquered with kindness. It was then too that he performed a singular act in regard to robbers, neither putting the
5 guilty to death nor letting them go altogether unpunished. From every part of Egypt he gathered together those accused of villainy, and after holding the strictest investigation, he assembled all the condemned, cut off their noses, and settled them at frontiers of the desert in a city he had founded, called Rhinocolura [2] from the hapless plight of the inhabitants.
6 Standing on the boundary between Egypt and Syria not far from the line of the sea-shore, this town is devoid of practically everything that pertains
7 to human life. It is surrounded by a region thick with salt, and in the town itself there is only a little water in wells, and that too tainted and
8 quite bitter in taste. The criminals were settled in this region in order that they might neither continue the practices they had followed all their lives, thereby outraging the innocent, nor be unrecognised and unobserv-
9 ed in their intercourse with other men. Nevertheless, outcasts as they were in a desert place, destitute of practically all resources, they devised a way of living appropriate to their need; for Nature obliged them to try
10 every means of avoiding destitution. They cut reeds in the neighbouring district, and by splitting them, they made extremely long nets. These they spread for many stades along the shore to catch the quails, which

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[1] There seems to be confusion here between Ahmose, 1580-1555 B.C., and Amasis (also Ahmose), 569-526 B.C.

[2] This penitentiary colony, Rhinocolura (STRABO, XVII, p. 759), is now El-Arish, the principal town in the Province of Sinai. For the quails (§ 10), see *O.T. Exodus*, XVI, 13, *Numbers* XI, 31.

deemed him to have rounded off his life in harmony with the grandeur
4 of his achievements. To such a degree did the fame of this king increase and extend that when, many generations afterwards, Egypt fell into the power of Persia, and Darius [1] the father of Xerxes was eager to set up his own statue at Memphis in front of the statue of Sesoosis, the chief priest vetoed the proposal when it was brought forward at an assembly of priests, and pointed out that Darius had not yet surpassed the exploits of Sesoosis. So far from showing any displeasure, Darius was, on the contrary, delighted by this freedom of speech, and said he would strive not to be outdone in any respect by Sesoosis if he lived as long a life. So he invited the high priest to compare their deeds at the same age :
5 this, he added, was the justest criterion of merit. About Sesoosis, then, we shall rest satisfied with the account now given.

LIX Sesoosis was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son, who called himself by his father's name [2]. He performed no martial exploit nor any deed whatsoever, worthy of mention; but a peculiar mischance befell him.
2 He lost his eyesight, whether through natural affinity to his father or, according to one story, because of his impiety towards the river, when, being once tossed on stormy waves, he hurled a spear at the rushing current. Obliged by the misfortune of blindness to have recourse to divine aid, he tried for a considerable time to propitiate the gods by numerous sacrifices and offerings, but he could obtain no satisfaction.
3 In the tenth year an oracle bade him honour the god of Heliopolis, and wash his face with the urine of a woman who had never known a man other than her own husband. He began with his own wife, and then made trial of many others, but found no one uncorrupted except a certain gardener's wife. Her he married when his sight was restored; but the others he burned alive in a certain village, which the Egyptians call
4 "Sacred Clay" after this occurence. In obedience to the oracle and in gratitude to the god of Heliopolis for this service, the king set up two monolithic obelisks, 8 cubits thick and 100 cubits high.

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(1) Herodotus (II, 110) tells the same story, which illustrates well the conciliatory policy of Darius.

(2) With this Chapter, cf. Hdt., II, 111, who calls this king Pheros, i.e. Pharaoh, and the village (§ 3) "Red Clay"— a purely imaginary place.

up monolithic statues[1] of himself and his wife, 30 cubits high, and
6 statues of his sons 20 cubits high. This he did because of the following incident[2]. When Sesoosis had returned to Egypt from his great expedition and was living near Pelusium, his brother, while entertaining him to a feast with his wife and children, formed a plot against him. They had retired to rest after their wine, when the brother took a quantity of dry reeds which he had prepared some time before, and placing these by
7 night around the king's tent, he set them on fire. Flames instantly blazed up; and those appointed to attend the king, being heavy with wine, were coming sluggishly to his aid. But Sesoosis, uplifting both hands, prayed to the gods for the safety of his wife and children, and dashed
8 out through the flames. Being thus miraculously saved, he honoured the gods, as has already been mentioned, with offerings; most of all, Hephaestus, since through him he had found deliverance.

LVIII Of the many great deeds of Sesoosis the most magnificent is reputed to be his treatment of the enemy's leaders on his military expeditions.
2 In the vanquished nations those to whom he had granted the kingships, and others who had succeeded to the highest offices presented themselves in Egypt at appointed times, bearing gifts. Sesoosis, receiving them, honoured them in every way and escorted them with exceptional respect; but whenever he was about to approach a temple or a city, he would unyoke the horses from his chariot and in their place would yoke the kings and leaders four by four, thereby showing to the world, as he believed, that, having vanquished the best men, the most renowned for valour, in other nations, he had no one who could contend with him in
3 rivalry of valour. This king is reputed to have surpassed all who ever held office, both in military achievements and in the greatness and number of the offerings he dedicated, and of the monuments he erected in Egypt. After holding kingship for thirty-three years, he voluntarily departed from life, since his eyesight had failed him. For so doing he was admired, not only by the priests, but also by the Egyptians in general, for they

[1] These statues are mentioned by Herodotus also (II, 110).

[2] The incident (HDT., II, 107) seems to be quite unhistorical: the story may have its origin in the harem conspiracy against Rameses III, in his old age (BREASTED, *History of Egypt*, p. 498 ff.).

by the Nile. Menelaus, in fact, sailing from Ilium with many prisoners of war, crossed over to Egypt. There the Trojans revolted, seized a certain place, and carried on war until they were granted assurance of safety, whereupon they founded a city which they called by the same name as
5 their native place. I am well aware, however, that concerning these cities Ctesias of Cnidus [1] has given a different account, stating that they were founded by some of the followers of Semiramis, who came to Egypt
6 and named their cities after their own native places. In regard to these events, while it is not easy to set forth the exact truth, it is essential to record the divergent accounts of previous historians, so that an unprejudiced judgment of the truth may be left to my readers.

LVII Be that as it may, Sesoosis constructed many great mounds of earth, and removed to them all the cities whose natural sites were not sufficiently elevated. This he did in order that at flood-time both men and cattle
2 might have safe places of refuge. Throughout the whole territory from Memphis to the sea, he made a network of canals connected with the river, so that transport of crops might be easy and expeditious, and through mutual intercourse the people of all districts might enjoy peace and ample abundance of all luxuries. More important still, he made the
3 country strong and inaccessible to an enemy's incursions. Previous to this, the best part of Egypt had been almost wholly suitable for horses and accessible to chariots; but from this time on, because of the number of canals connected with the river, it became most difficult to invade.
4 He also fortified the eastward side of Egypt, from Pelusium through the desert to Heliopolis for a length of 1500 stades, against forays from Syria
5 and Arabia. He likewise built a ship of cedar wood, 280 cubits in length, gilded on its outer surface, and silvered within. This he dedicated to the deity held in highest esteem in Thebes, along with two obelisks of "hard stone", 120 cubits high, on which an inscription told of the greatness of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the number of the vanquished nations. At Memphis in the temple of Hephaestus he set

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(1) Ctesias, a physician of Cnidus at the end of the 5th century B.C., wrote a history of Assyria and Persia. For the invasion of Egypt by Semiramis, see DIODORUS, II, 14. 3.

from this significant feature the character of each nation's spirit would be
9 perfectly obvious to succeeding generations. In some districts also he fashioned an image [1] of himself in stone, armed with spear, bow, and arrows, four cubits and four palms in height, just the stature of Sesoosis
10 himself. He showed kindliness in his treatment of all subject races; and completing his campaign in nine years, he ordered that the tribes should, each year, bring gifts to Egypt according to their means. He himself, having gathered a prodigious array of prisoners and spoils of war, returned to his native land, after achieving greater conquests than any previous
11 king. All the temples in Egypt he adorned with notable memorials and spoils; and those of his soldiers who had done valiant deeds, he rewarded
12 with gifts according to their desert. All in all, the result of this expedition was not merely that the army which had shared in valiant deeds acquired great affluence and returned in triumph; but the whole of Egypt found itself loaded with benefits of all kinds.

LVI After these campaigns, Sesoosis disbanded his hosts, and allowed those who had shared in valiant deeds to live at ease in enjoyment of the wealth they had acquired. He himself, however, being eager for glory and grasping at everlasting renown, erected great monuments, marvellous in conception and costly in execution,—monuments that win immortal fame
2 for himself, and lasting peace and safety for Egypt. Honouring first the gods, he built in every city of Egypt a temple to the divinity held in greatest esteem by the inhabitants. In all this work he employed no Egyptians, completing it by means of prisoners of war alone. Hence upon all the temples he set an inscription to this effect : "No native of
3 Egypt has laboured here". The story runs that the Babylonian prisoners, being unable to bear the hardships of the work, rebelled against the king; and seizing a strong position beside the river, they made war upon the Egyptians, and laid waste the adjoining territory. In the end they were granted an amnesty, and settled in the region, which they named
4 Babylon [2] after their own native place. For similar reasons, they say, the name of Troy was given to the town which still at the present day stands

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(1) Cf. HDT., II, 106. 3.

(2) Babylon, now Old Cairo : STRABO, XVII, p. 807. For Troy, see STRABO, XVII, p. 809. For Menelaus in Egypt, cf. HDT., II, 118, 119.

6 than 1700. To all these men he allotted the best of the land, in order
that, possessing sufficient resources and being in want of nothing, they
LV might practise the arts of war. Having fully equipped his force, he
marched first against the Ethiopians who dwell in the south; and defeat-
ing them in battle, he obliged the race to pay tribute of ebony, gold,
2 and elephants' tusks. Next, he sent an expedition of 400 ships to the
"Red Sea"[1], being the first Egyptian to build warships; and he took
possession of the islands in those parts, and of the mainland he subdued
the seaboard as far as India. He himself, marching on foot with the
3 army, subdued the whole of Asia. Indeed, he not only traversed the
territory afterwards conquered by Alexander of Macedon, but also visited
4 some lands which the Greek king did not reach. Sesoosis, in fact, crossed
the River Ganges[2], and traversed the whole of India right to Ocean, and
the Scythian tribes as far as the River Tanais which is the boundary bet-
ween Europe and Asia. It was then, they say, that a number of Egyptians
were left behind near Lake Maeotis and founded the tribe of Colchians[3].
5 A proof that this race is Egyptian is the fact that circumcision is practised
as in Egypt, for the rite persists in Egyptian colonies, just as also among
6 the Jews. Likewise, Sesoosis brought the rest of Asia wholly into sub-
jection and most of the Cyclades. Crossing over into Europe and travers-
ing the whole of Thrace, he ran the risk of losing his army through lack
7 of provisions and through the rigours of the country. Wherefore, fixing
the limits of his expedition in Thrace, he erected *stelae* (pillars) in many
of the regions which he had conquered. These pillars bore the inscrip-
tion in Egyptian hieroglyphs, as they are called : "This land was subdued
8 in warfare by Sesoosis, king of kings and lord of lords". On the stone,
among warlike tribes he fashioned a man's privy member, among degene-
rate and cowardly tribes a woman's secret parts[4]; for he thought that

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(1) "Red Sea", i.e. Persian Gulf or Indian Ocean, as in *supra* 19. 6.

(2) Doubtless Diodorus exaggerates here in order to make Sesoosis out-rival Alexander the Great by crossing the Ganges and conquering the tribes beyond.

(3) Colchians : see Hdt., II, 104, and *supra* 28. 2.

(4) The addition of sexual emblems to the *stelae* recording conquest must be a Greek invention : it was not an Egyptian custom, but it occurs already in Herodotus (II, 102. 5).

father's death, he succeeded to the throne, and being elated by his pre-
8 vious achievements, he aimed at conquering the world. His own daughter
Athyrtis, it is said, urged him to assume overlordship of the world. Some
declare that, since she was far superior to all others in intellect, she
convinced her father that the campaign would be an easy one : others,
that it was because she employed divination and learned the future befo-
rehand from augury and from sleeping in temples, as well as from omens
9 in the sky. Some have written, too, that at the birth of Sesoosis, his
father dreamed that Hephaestus told him that the child then born would
10 rule the whole world. For this reason, then, his father (they say)
brought his age-fellows together, and gave them the advantage of a royal
upbringing, making preparations beforehand for world-sovereignty; and
Sesoosis, on attaining manhood, believed the god's prediction and was
LIV led to make this expedition. To aid him in this design, first of all he
won the goodwill of all the Egyptians, considering that, if he was to
bring his purpose to fruition, those joining in the expedition must be
ready to die for their leaders, and those left behind in their native land
2 must not be inclined to revolution. So he benefited all his subjects in
every possible way, winning over some by largesses of money, others by
gifts of land, certain ones by remission of penalties, and attaching all to
his side by affable intercourse and the goodness of his character. Indeed,
he absolved all men from charges of high treason, and released from
their obligation those imprisoned for debt, for there was a great multitude
3 in the prisons. Dividing the whole land into thirty-six districts, called
nomes[1] by the Egyptians, he set over each *nome* a governor to take charge
of the royal revenues and the whole administration of his own district.
4 He also selected from among his subjects those of outstanding physical
strength, and organised an army worthy of the greatness of his enter-
prise. In fact, he enrolled 600,000 footsoldiers, and 24,000 horse-
5 men, with 27,000 war chariots. In command of the divisions of this
army he appointed his foster-fellows : they had already borne the brunt
of warfare, they had been from boyhood zealous of valour, and they felt
brotherly love for their king and for each other. Their number was more

[1] *Nomes* : see *infra* 73. 1. Egyptian records sometimes fix the number of the *nomes* at 44, 22 for each part of Egypt.

5 good. The revenue from fishing in the lake he gave to his wife as an allowance for myrrh and other articles of toilet; and the catch yielded a
6 talent of silver every day. There are in the lake, they say, twenty-two kinds of fish, and such a great quantity of fish is caught that, although there is a multitude of men engaged in the task of preserving the fish, they have difficulty in coping with their work. Such is the account that is given of Moeris by the Egyptians.

LIII Seven generations later, they say, Sesoosis [1] became king, and performed achievements greater and more remarkable than those of any previous king. Concerning this king there is disagreement, not only among Greek historians, but also among Egyptian priests and eulogising poets; and I shall therefore endeavour to give the most probable account, that which harmonises best with the memorials still existing in Egypt.
2 After the birth of Sesoosis his father performed a royal and magnificent act. He gathered together from the whole of Egypt the boys who had been born that same day; and appointing nurses and guardians for the boys, he assigned to them all the same upbringing and education. His notion was that those who were reared in closest association and shared the same freedom of speech would be the truest friends and the best
3 comrades in war. He furnished the boys with everything in abundance, and kept them occupied with continuous labours and gymnastic exercises. None of them was allowed to take food without first having run 180
4 stades. So, when they reached manhood, they all proved themselves athletes robust in physique, able to command and to endure, thanks to
5 their training in the best accomplishments. First of all, then, his father sent Sesoosis with a force to Arabia [2], and the expedition included his foster-fellows. Sesoosis engaged energetically in hunting; and after patiently enduring from time to time lack of water and scarcity of food, he conquered the whole race of Arabs, previously unsubdued.
6 Next, being sent into the Western region, he brought the greater part of
7 Libya under Egyptian sway, while he was still quite young. On his

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(1) Sesoösis (in Hdt., ii, 102, Sesostris) is here identified with Rameses II, c. 1292-1225, although the name seems to come from the great conqueror of the 12th Dynasty, Senosret III (Usertesen). See also Strabo, xvi, p. 769, xvii, p. 790.

(2) For the conquest of Arabia by Sesostris, see Strabo, xvi, p. 769.

5 Twelve generations after Aegyptus Moeris[1] came to the throne of Egypt, and constructed the northern forecourt of the temple at Memphis, which far surpasses all others in magnificence. At a distance of 10 *schoeni* (or "ropes")[2] to the south of the city he dug a lake of remarkable
6 usefulness, though at the cost of incredible toil. Its circumference, they say, is 3600 stades, its depth at most points 50 fathoms. Who, then, on estimating the greatness of the construction, would not reasonably ask how many tens of thousands of men must have been employed, and how many years they took to finish their work? No one can adequately commend the king's design, which brings such usefulness and advantage to all the dwellers in Egypt.

LII Since the Nile kept to no definite bounds in its rising, and the fruitfulness of the country depended upon the river's regularity, the king dug the lake to accommodate the superfluous water, so that the river should neither with its strong current flood the land unseasonably and form swamps and fens, nor by rising less than was advantageous, damage the
2 crops by lack of water. Between the river and the lake he constructed a canal 80 stades in length and 300 feet in breadth. Through this canal, at times he admitted the water of the river, at other times he excluded it, thus providing the farmers with water at fitting times by opening the inlet and again closing it scientifically and at great expense. No less than 50 talents had of necessity to be expended by anyone who wished
3 to open or shut this sluice. The lake has continued to serve the needs of the Egyptians down to our own days, and it has its name from its cons-
4 tructor, being still called the Lake of Moeris. Now, the king, in digging this lake, left in the middle of it a site on which he built a tomb and two pyramids, one for himself, the other for his wife, each a stade in height[3]; and upon them he placed seated images of stone, thinking that by means of these monuments he would leave behind him for ever a memory for

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[1] For Moeris see HDT., II, 101—probably Amenemhet III, *c.* 1849–1801 B.C., Herodotus describes the Lake in II, 149, 150.

[2] *Schoenus* : a practical measure of varying length, generally = 60 stades, hence 10 *schoeni* = 75 miles.

[3] Herodotus, who gives the same greatly exaggerated height (II, 149), explains that half the structure stands above, and half below, the water.

whole space that surrounded the city except where he had constructed the
6 mound, gave to the city a position of remarkable strength. So perfectly
did the founder of Memphis divine the suitability of the site that almost
all the kings in succession deserted Thebes and made Memphis their
dwelling-place and the seat of their court. Hence, from this time on,
the fame of Thebes began to wane, while that of Memphis increased,
until the reign of Alexander. He founded by the sea the city called after
him, and his successors on the throne of Egypt all vied with one another
7 in adding to its splendour. Some adorned it with magnificent palaces,
others with dockyards and harbours, others with memorials of different
kinds and noteworthy monuments, to such an extent that it was, in the
judgment of most men, reckoned to be the first or second city in the
world. But I shall describe the city in detail under the appropriate
LI dates[1]. After constructing the mound and the lake, the founder of
Memphis built a palace not inferior to those in other lands, but unworthy
2 of the nobility and love of refinement shown by his predecessors. The
Egyptians deem the span of this life to be altogether of little moment,
but the period after death which virtue will make memorable they regard
as of the highest importance. They call the dwellings of the living
lodging-places, on the ground that we dwell in them for only a short
time, whereas the tombs of the dead they style everlasting homes, for in
Hades we continue to live for all eternity. That is why they think less
of the furnishings of their houses, while with regard to obsequies, they
3 cannot be surpassed in zeal. The city of Memphis, some say, was so
named from the daughter of the king, its founder. The story goes that
the River Nile in the semblance of a bull became enamoured of her, and
begat Aegyptus who was admired by the Egyptians for his merit and from
4 whom the whole land took its name. He, indeed, succeeding to the
throne, proved himself a just and kindly king, in all respects virtuous.
So, being by all men deemed worthy of high regard, he obtained (they
say) because of his benevolence the honour already mentioned.

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[1] For this description of Alexandria, see Book XVII, Ch. 52, where Diodorus says that there were many who reckoned Alexandria as the first city in the world, ranking it even above Rome.

animals of Egypt. A way led through these shrines up to the tomb itself; and on ascending, one found upon the monument a golden circle 365 cubits in circumference and one cubit in thickness. Upon this at intervals of one cubit the days of the year were engraved, and beside these, the natural risings and settings of the stars, and the signs of the seasons based upon them in Egyptian astronomy. This circle, they said, was pillaged by Cambyses and the Persians at the time of his conquest of Egypt.

6 Such is the description they give of the tomb of King Osymandyas which seems to be far superior to all others, not only in respect of the money
L lavished on it, but in the skill of the craftsmen. Now the Thebans claim that they are the most ancient of all men, and that it was among them first that philosophy and exact astronomy were devised, for their climate aided them in discerning more clearly the risings and settings of the stars.
2 The order, too, of their months and years, they say, is peculiar to themselves. Their days, they measure, not by the moon, but by the sun: they make months of thirty days, intercalating five days and a quarter in twelve months and thus they complete the cycle of the year. They insert no additional months, nor do they subtract days, like most of the Greeks. About eclipses of sun and moon they appear to have made accurate observations, and they predict eclipses, foretelling with perfect accuracy all the the details of the phenomena.

3 The eighth descendant of this king, Uchoreus by name, founded Memphis [1], the most famous city in Egypt. He selected the most suitable site in the whole country, where the Nile, dividing into several branches, forms the Delta, as it is called from its shape. So it happened that the city, being favourably situated in a key-position, was mistress of the ships
4 that sail up country. Around the city he built an encircling wall 150 stades in length, remarkably strong and serviceable, constructed in some
5 such way as follows. Since the Nile flows round about the city and causes floods when it rises, he threw out an enormous mound on the South, serving both as a barrier against the flooding of the river, and as a bulwark against an enemy by land. On all the other sides, he dug a great, deep lake, which, by receiving the rushing tide of the river and filling

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(1) The foundation of Memphis is attributed by Herodotus (II, 99) to Min.

wall showed sculptures of all kinds and magnificent paintings, in which the king's sacrifices of oxen were depicted and the triumph won in the
4 war. In the middle of the peristyle an altar open to the sky was built of the finest marble, in excellent craftsmanship and of astonishing size.
5 Against the fourth wall there were two seated statues, each of a single stone 27 cubits high. Beside these, three passages had been provided from the peristyle, leading to a hypostyle hall, constructed like an Odeum[1],
6 each side measuring 200 feet. In this hall stood a number of wooden statues, plainly representing litigants who gazed at their judges. The latter were sculptured on one of the walls, to the number of thirty[2]; and in their midst was the Chief Judge, with eyes closed, Truth fastened to his neck, and a number of books lying by his side. These images symbolise by their attitude that judges should accept no bribe, and that
XLIX the Chief Judge should look to Truth alone. Next to this hall there was a cloister, with many chambers of all kinds, in which all manner of vic-
2 tuals were fashioned, most agreeable to the taste. There one might find sculptures[3]—the king depicted in bright colours as offering to the god gold and silver, the annual revenue of all the gold and silver mines in Egypt. An inscription beneath gave the amount, which, reckoned up in
3 silver, came to 32 millions of minae. Next to this was the sacred Library, which bore the inscription "Healing-place of the Soul"[4]. Adjoining the Library were the images of all the gods of Egypt, while the king, as before, offered to each his due, as though calling to witness Osiris and his assessors in the lower world that he had spent his life in piety and
4 just dealing towards gods and men. Contiguous with the Library, an exceptionally fine chamber was built, with twenty couches, containing images of Zeus and Hera, as well as of the king : here the king's body
5 was believed to have been buried. Round about this chamber a number of little rooms were built, with remarkable paintings of all the sacred

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[1] Odeum : a Music or Concert Hall, or small Theatre.

[2] Thirty judges, i. e., ten from each of the three cities, Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, as Diodorus explains *infra*, 75. 3.

[3] The Greek text here is uncertain.

[4] Cf. Epictetus, iii, 23. 30 : "a philosopher's school is a healing-place" (or surgery).

16 cubits high, fashioned after the ancient style. The whole ceiling,
12 feet broad, was monolithic and bespangled with stars on a background
of *kyanos* (azure). Next to this peristyle there came a second entrance
and gateway, in most respects similar to the first, but more elaborately
3 wrought with sculptures of all kinds. Beside the entrance stood three
statues, each made of a single black stone from Syene [1].. One of these,
a seated figure, was the greatest of all statues in Egypt: the foot exceeded
7 cubits in length. The other two, standing beside the knees to right
and left, were statues of daughter and mother, falling short of the first
4 statue in size. Not only was this monument noteworthy for its stature,
but it was also of marvellous craftsmanship in stone of unique character;
for throughout its huge bulk there was not a fissure nor a blemish to be
seen. The inscription upon it ran: "I am Osymandyas, king of kings.
If anyone will know my greatness and the place where I lie, let him sur-
5 pass aught of my achievements". There was also another statue of his
mother separately, a monolith of 20 cubits, with three diadems on her
head, signifying that she had been daughter, wife, and mother of kings.
6 Next to the second gateway came another peristyle more memorable than
the first: in it were sculptures of all kinds representing the war which
this king had waged with the rebels in Bactria. He had taken the field
against them with 400,000 footsoldiers and 20,000 horsemen, his whole
army being divided into four, each division commanded by one of the
XLVIII king's sons. On the first wall of the peristyle the king was portrayed
besieging a fortress girdled by a river, and fighting against his adversaries
in the forefront of the battle, aided by a lion which struck terror every-
where. Some of those who interpreted these sculptures said that this
was really a tame lion, bred by the king, sharing his danger in combat,
and thus putting the enemy to rout by its strength. Others explained
that this king, being excessively valiant and wishing to make a vulgar
eulogy of himself, depicted the character of his spirit in the semblance of
2 a lion. On the second wall the prisoners of war taken by the king were
represented, castrated and maimed of their hands: this seems to signify
3 their lack of manliness and their inactivity in times of peril. The third

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[1] Syene is Assuan, where there were many quarries of the ancient Egyptians.

thirteen stades, a height of forty-five cubits, and the thickness of its walls
3 is twenty-four feet. In keeping with this magnificence were the decorated
monuments within : these were remarkable in costliness, and exquisitely
4 finished in craftsmanship. The buildings indeed have lasted down to quite
modern times, but the gold and silver and the costly work in ivory and
precious stones were pillaged by the Persians at the time when Cambyses
burned the temples of Egypt. It is said that the Persians then trans-
ported this wealth to Asia, and brought craftsmen from Egypt to erect
5 their renowned palaces at Persepolis and Susa and in Media. It is stated
that the amount of treasure in Egypt was so great at that time that, after
the remains from the pillaging had been consumed by fire, what was
gradually gathered together was found to be more than 300 talents of
6 gold and no less than 2300 talents of silver. At Thebes, too, they say,
there are marvellous tombs of the ancient kings, which have left men of
7 after time no chance of surpassing them in rivalry of magnificence. From
the records the priests declared that there were forty-seven royal tombs[1];
in the reign of Ptolemy, son of Lagus[2], only seventeen, they say, were
extant, and of these the greater number had been destroyed by the time
8 I visited those parts in the 180th Olympiad. Not only the Egyptian
priests from investigation of the records, but also many of the Greeks
(Hecataeus[3] among them), who visited Thebes in the reign of Ptolemy son
of Lagus and compiled histories of Egypt, agree with the account I have
XLVII given. At a distance of ten stades from the first tombs in which tradition
says the concubines of Zeus are buried, there stood, he declares, a monu-
ment of the king called Osymandyas[4]. At its entrance was a gateway
2 of variegated marble, 200 feet long and 45 cubits high. On passing
this, one came to a square marble peristyle, each side measuring 400
feet. This was supported, not by columns, but by monolithic animals

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(1) Strabo (xvii, p. 816) mentions "about 40" royal tombs.

(2) Ptolemy, son of Lagus : Ptolemy I (Soter), 323-285 B.C. 180th Olympiad : 60-56 B.C.

(3) Hecataeus of Teos or Abdera (3rd century B.C.), from whose account of Egypt Diodorus borrowed very extensively.

(4) See Shelley's sonnet, "Ozymandias". The monument is probably to be identified with the Ramesseum at Thebes.

change of food, drink, and couch that he recorded his curse in hieroglyphs in the temple of Zeus at Thebes. This seems indeed to be the chief reason
3 why the fame and praises of Menas did not persist to later times. Next to this king, they say, his descendants, fifty-two in all, ruled for more than 1400 years : in their reigns nothing happened worthy of record.
4 Thereafter Busiris[1] was appointed king, succeeded by his eight descendants, the last of whom, they say, also named Busiris, founded the city which is called by the Egyptians Diospolis the Great, by the Greeks Thebes. He planned its circumference to be in itself 140 stades[2], and adorned it marvellously with great buildings, magnificent temples, and other monu-
5 ments. He also built private houses of four and five storeys, and in general he made the city the finest, not only in Egypt, but in the whole
6 world. Owing to its surpassing affluence and power, its renown spread abroad everywhere, and the poet (Homer) makes mention of it in these lines[3] : "Nor all the wealth of Egyptian Thebes where the treasure-houses are fullest stored—Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally
7 forth through each two hundred warriors with horses and chariots". But some hold that the city had, not one hundred gates, but many great propylaea in its temples, whence it was named hundred-gated in the sense of many-gated. In truth, 20,000 chariots did come forth from it to war; for, along the river bank from Memphis to Libyan Thebes, there were a hundred stables, each with room for two hundred horses. The foundations of these stables are pointed out to this day.

XLVI Not only this king, according to tradition, but also many of his successors showed especial zeal for the aggrandisement of the city. No city under the sun has been so adorned with numerous great monuments of silver, gold, and ivory, with a multitude of colossal statues, as well as
2 with a series of monolithic obelisks. Of the four temples which were built, the oldest is remarkable for its beauty and size : it has a perimeter of

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(1) Busiris : see *infra,* 67. 11, 88. 5, and IV, 27. 3. Strabo (XVII, p. 802) says that there never was a king of this name.

(2) 140 stades = $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles (1 stade = 1 furlong). For Diospolis the Great, cf. *supra,* 15, and STRABO, XVII, p. 815*f.* These was another Diospolis, called the Less, 75 miles down the Nile from Luxor : see STRABO, XVII, p. 814.

(3) HOMER, *Iliad,* IX, 381-384.

2 styled the young Dionysus. The majority of these kings were native Egyptians, but a few were Ethiopians, Persians, and Macedonians. There were four Ethiopian rulers [1], not in succession to one another, but at
3 intervals, their combined reigns being little short of 36 years. After King Cambyses [2] had conquered Egypt by arms, Persians ruled for 135 years, including the periods when the Egyptians were in revolt, being unable to bear the harshness of the yoke of the Persians and their impiety
4 towards the gods of the country. The last of the foreign rulers were Macedonians and their descendants, reigning for 276 years. All the remaining time was occupied by native rulers, numbering 470 kings and 5 queens. About all these rulers the priests had records in the sacred books, handed down from ancient times to each succeeding generation, telling of the greatness of each ruler, his physical characteristics, and the
5 events of each reign. But it would be tedious and superfluous for me to write in detail about each one, for the greater part of these records is worthless. I shall therefore try to relate briefly the events most worthy of record.

XLV After the gods, then, the first king of Egypt, they say, was Menas [3], who showed the people how to worship the gods and perform sacrifices. He also introduced tables, beds, and the use of costly coverlets—in short,
2 luxury and an extravagant way of living. It is said that the father of Bocchoris the sage, Tnephachthus [4], who reigned many generations later, made an expedition into Arabia, and when provisions failed in the inhospitable desert, he was obliged in his need to be content for one day with quite plain fare in the company of certain ordinary people : the king, highly delighted with this, renounced luxury and cursed that king who had first led the way in extravagance. So much to his liking was the

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(1) Herodotus (II, 100) gives the number of Ethiopian Kings as 18. Ethiopians ruled Egypt in the 25th Dynasty, 712-663 B.C.

(2) Cambyses the Persian conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. : the Macedonian rule began with Alexander the Great, 332 B.C. Instead of 194 years of Persian rule Diodorus gives about 60 less.

(3) Menas or Menes, Min (in HERODOTUS), Minaeus (in JOSEPHUS), Egyptian MNA, is variously dated as *c.* 3400 or *c.* 3200 B.C.

(4) Tnephachthus or Tefnakhte, father of Bocchoris, *c.* 730 B.C. For Bocchoris, see *infra*, 94.5.

the herb called *agrostis* (1), a plant of extraordinary sweetness which offers
2 ample nourishment to men. It is also observed to be beneficial to cattle, as it quickly increases their bulk. Remembering the boon bestowed in this herb, the Egyptians even at the present day, when they approach the gods, hold a piece of it in their hand as they pray. For they believe that man is a creature of swamps and marshes, judging by the smoothness of his skin and other physical qualities, and also from the fact that
3 he needs moist, rather than dry, food. As a second type of diet, the Egyptians, they say, ate fish which were furnished in abundance by the river, especially at the time when it was sinking and drying up after the
4 inundation. Similarly, too, they ate the flesh of certain of their fatted beasts, and clothed themselves in the hides of the animals they ate. They built houses out of reeds. The traces of this practice still persist among the herdsmen of Egypt: down to the present day, it is said, they all know no other type of house than that made of reeds, and they are content to
5 make this serve. After having for many ages lived on this diet, they turned at last to edible fruits of the earth, among which was bread made from lotus (2). The discovery of these fruits is ascribed by some to Isis,
6 by others to an ancient king named Menas. According to the priests' legends Hermes (3) was the inventor of arts and crafts, while the kings discovered what is necessary to support life. Hence in olden times the kingship was not hereditary, but was given to those who bestowed the most and greatest benefits upon the people, whether because the Egyptians challenged their kings to common service, or because they had, in truth, found it so ordained in the sacred records.

XLIV According to some of their legends, Egypt was first ruled by gods and heroes for a period little short of 18,000 years, and the last of the gods to be king was Horus, son of Isis. The land was then ruled, they say, by men for a period little short of 5,000 years down to the 180th Olympiad (4), in which I crossed over to Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy,

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(1) *Agrostis* : dog's-tooth grass.

(2) For these loaves of lotus, see *supra* 34.6.

(3) Hermes : see *supra* 16.

(4) 180th Olympiad : 60–56 B.C. Ptolemy XIII. Neos Dionysus, popularly called Auletes ("the Flute-player"), reigned from 80 to 51 B.C.

AN ACCOUNT OF EGYPT

BY DIODORUS THE SICILIAN,

BEING THE

FIRST BOOK OF HIS UNIVERSAL HISTORY

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

W. G. WADDELL.

PART II[1]

XLII The first of the Books of Diodorus having, on account of its bulk, been divided into two, the first of these sections contains a preface to the whole treatise, the Egyptian traditions of the creation of the world and the primal formation of the universe; further, of all the gods who founded in Egypt cities called after their names, of the first race of men and life in the most ancient times, of the worship of the immortal gods and the building of temples; next, of the topography of the land of Egypt and the marvels that are told of the River Nile, the causes of its rising and the explanations given by historians and philosophers, as well as the refuta-
2 tion of each of these theories. In the second section I shall continue in detail the account already begun. I begin with the first kings who reigned in Egypt, and I shall relate the deeds of each in turn down to the reign of King Amasis, after having previously summarized the most ancient way of life in Egypt.

XLIII In the most ancient times the Egyptians are said to have lived on herbs, and the stems and roots of plants that grow in the marshes, making trial of each through its taste. Then first and chiefly they added to their diet

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[1] The first part of this translation appeared in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts :* Vol. I, Part I.

Toutefois il ne faut pas oublier que l'exemple présumé de pessimisme à l'époque de la IVe dynastie, que nous venons de signaler, présente actuellement un cas unique dans son genre, et en outre qu'il repose sur une certaine interprétation d'une forme verbale [1]. Nous ferons donc bien de terminer notre article en disant, qu'en ce qui concerne le côté philosophique du poème de Ménès, nous sommes pour le moment en présence d'une intéressante hypothèse demandant une double confirmation, à savoir, 1° du point de vue de la grammaire et 2° du point de vue de l'histoire de la psychologie égyptienne.

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[1] Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que la traduction de l'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès, telle que nous l'avons formulée, ne présente qu'une certaine *possibilité*, sans être absolument obligatoire, la phrase en question [hiéroglyphes] pouvant être traduite aussi d'une autre manière : «Je n'ai jamais fait rien (de mauvais) contre lui».

Le fragment du Musée Britannique, renfermant la forme *n sḏm·n·f* pourra donc être traduit ainsi :

> J'ai institué ceci en pain et en bière.
> Celui qui fera quelque chose (de mauvais) contre ceci,
> Notamment, le crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau,
> Notamment, le serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre,
> *Je ne pourrai rien faire de mauvais contre lui...*

D'accord avec la traduction de la dernière ligne de ce fragment, reproduite en italiques, je suis tenté d'interpréter l'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès, à savoir, la phrase *n sp ỉr·ỉ ḫt ỉr·f*, également comme ayant trait à une action ne pouvant pas se produire dans l'avenir et de la rendre par les mots suivants : «Jamais *je ne pourrai* rien faire contre lui».

L'élément d'impuissance dans un vieux texte est une chose assez inattendue et forme un contraste frappant avec l'attitude énergique que se donnent les morts dans l'ancienne Égypte, en portant à la connaissance de ceux qui attaqueraient leur sépulture, qu'ils tomberaient sur eux comme des oiseaux sauvages, sans compter qu'ils les traduiraient par devant le tribunal du «Bon Dieu».

Cette note de *vouloir* et de *pouvoir* défendre soi-même sa demeure éternelle contre n'importe quelle attaque, semble donc être inconnue à Ménès. Il tombe dans la résignation. Il ne lui reste que l'espoir suprême «C'est Dieu qui sera son juge» (i. e. le juge de l'agresseur présumé). C'est du pessimisme encore voilé, mais, tout de même, c'est là du pessimisme.

L'apparition d'un petit poème de ce genre, précisément à l'époque de la IVe dynastie, qui a vu la création des œuvres colossales de Gîza, ne doit pas nous étonner. Le mal ne se produit pas tout d'un coup, et souvent le premier malaise se fait sentir au milieu du triomphe. Pour le moment l'esprit de résignation, dont ce Ménès semble avoir fait preuve, pouvait passer inaperçu. Ce n'est que beaucoup plus tard, à l'époque du Moyen Empire, que nous voyons les idées pessimistes en pleine floraison. Mais alors elles n'émanaient pas seulement des pauvres hères, comme notre «grand du hall», et elles ne se cachaient pas au fond des sépultures. Elles étaient proclamées ouvertement par le souverain lui-même[1].

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[1] Voir les «Instructions d'Amenemhat» (*Pap. Millingen*, *Ä. Z.*, 1896, p. 35-49).

Un heureux hasard nous a conservé une variante du poème de Ménès. Elle se trouve gravée sur la fausse porte d'un inconnu, conservée actuellement au Musée Britannique. Je le donne ici *in extenso* [1].

	ỉr·n·ỉ nw ḥr tꜣ ḥr ḥḳt
	ỉr·ty·fy ẖt r nw.
	ḥms r/ [ỉmy mw]
	[ḫfꜣ] ỉ[r][f] ḥry tꜣ
sic	*n ỉr·n·ỉ ẖt ḏw r ṯ(= r·f? [r] rmṯ?)* [2]

Dans cette variante, on retrouve toutes les lignes que l'on connaît déjà d'après le poème de Ménès. Elles sont incomplètes, mal disposées et leur compréhension ne devient possible que lorsque nous les comparons avec ce dernier. Mais cela ne nous importe point ici. Ce qui est essentiel, c'est que le fragment anonyme renferme une ligne qui semble projeter une certaine lumière sur l'interprétation de la phrase qui nous concerne. Notamment, au lieu de la phrase [hiéroglyphes] nous y trouvons [hiéroglyphes] (à lire [hiéroglyphes] ?). On voit donc que l'auteur de l'inscription anonyme du Musée Britannique avait employé dans le cas semblable, au lieu de la forme *n sp sḏm·f* la forme *n sḏm·n·f.* Or les deux formes ont ceci de commun qu'elles expriment — la première par exception et la seconde d'une manière très fréquente — *l'impossibilité* d'une certaine action, censée se produire, soit dans le présent, soit dans l'avenir, Ainsi l'exemple cité par M. A. Gardiner, *n sp mꜣ·k* (*ỉw pn ḫpr m nwy*) (*Naufragé,* l. 153-154) et que nous avons reproduit plus haut, a clairement ce sens et, à notre avis, doit être traduit comme suit : « *tu ne pourras* jamais revoir (cette île, parce qu'elle va se transformer en eau) » [3].

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(1) *Urk.*, I, 226.

(2) K. Sethe (*l. l.*) suggère une telle traduction : « nicht giebt es einen dem ich schlechtes getan habe ».

(3) A. Gardiner lui-même cite l'exemple que voici : [hiéroglyphes] *n ỉn·tw ḏrw ḥmt* qu'il traduit ainsi « the limit of art cannot be attained ». Il mentionne encore *Pap. Ermitage 1116* A, l. 93 : *n... ḳn·tw·f.* Toutefois dans les deux cas il se demande, si ce n'est pas là en réalité la forme *n sdm·n·tw·f* (*op. cit.*, § 455, 4).

Dans sa grammaire M. A. Gardiner a reservé un paragraphe spécial à la forme *n sp sḏm·f*[1]. Se basant sur l'idée que le mot *sp* doit être considéré plutôt comme un verbe «avoir lieu» et non pas comme un substantif «occurence», il en propose une nouvelle interprétation. D'après M. A. Gardiner la forme en question devrait être traduite textuellement comme suit : «It did not occur that he should hear». En appliquant son interprétation à la phrase nous serions obligés de la traduire ainsi : «Il n'est pas arrivé que je fasse une (mauvaise) action contre lui».

On pourrait objecter que la forme du verbe «faire» demandée par la construction *n sp sḏm·f* n'est pas celle que nous trouvons dans le poème de Ménès, mais bien *iry·i*, tandis que *ir·i*, qui est employée, convient à la forme *n sḏm·f*, sans le mot *sp*. A comparer les exemples suivants :

n sp iry·i ḫt ḏw r ḫt nt rmṯ nb

«je n'ai jamais fait rien de mauvais contre la propriété de n'importe quels gens»[2].

n sp iry·i ḫt nb m wsr /r/ rmṯ

«je n'ai jamais rien fait par violence contre les hommes»[3].

Mais il ne serait pas prudent d'insister davantage sur ce point. On pourrait facilement l'expliquer par une simple omission de la terminaison *y*. En effet, nous trouvons d'autres exemples, exactement du même genre, où cette dernière fait défaut. A comparer :

n sp ir·i šnnt rmṯ nb

«je n'ai jamais rien fait qui pourrait importuner les gens»[4].

En traitant la forme verbale *n sp sḏm·f* M. A. Gardiner n'a pas manqué de noter qu'il existe des cas, extrêmement rares il est vrai, où celle-ci a un sens futur. A l'appui de cette thèse, il cite l'exemple suivant *n sp mȝ·k* qu'il traduit «never shalt thou see»[5].

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(1) A. Gardiner, *Grammar,* § 456. — (2) *Urk.*, I, 49. — (3) *Ibid.*, I, 50. — (4) *Ibid.*, I, 46. — (5) *Op. cit.*, § 455, 3.

seul instant que le scribe avait vraiment dans l'esprit l'image d'un reptile dangereux. Ce n'est que la combinaison de trois sons *ḥ-f-ꜣ* qui l'intéressait. Voilà comment il a obtenu la ligne dont le mot « serpent » fait partie. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, *ḥry tꜣ* était produit par le mot *ḥryty* (*nṯr*). La particule adverbiale *irf* n'était qu'une simple répétition du même mot à la ligne précédente. Ces deux mots se suivaient ainsi : *ɪɴꜰ ḥry tꜣ*. En lisant les petites capitales en commençant par la fin, le scribe a obtenu le mot qui lui manquait *ḥꜰɴi* (1). Celui-ci en réalité n'existant pas, il lui a substitué son équivalent au point de vue de l'allitération *-ḥfꜣ!*

Quand on regarde tant d'artifices de rhétorique, on peut se demander si l'auteur pouvait faire preuve d'un vrai sentiment. Cependant gardons-nous bien de répondre trop vite par la négative. N'oublions pas que c'est de la poésie et, au surplus, de la poésie de l'ancienne Égypte. Tout au plus pourrions-nous dire que le sentiment de détresse dont nous avons cru pouvoir signaler l'expression, sous toutes réserves, dans l'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès — nous en parlerons tout à l'heure — que ce sentiment serait trop calculé, trop rationnel. En cela, l'ancienne poésie de la vallée du Nil ne diffère en rien des portraits égyptiens, avec leur « sourire de sphinx » de stylisation pure. On se demande toujours, si c'est vraiment un mouvement de l'âme qui se reflète dans telle ou telle œuvre, soit poétique, soit plastique, ou si ce n'est qu'une apparence, un masque de sentiment, habilement modelé d'après des règles séculaires par des scribes et des sculpteurs impassibles.

L'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès, notamment la phrase [hieroglyphs], demande une attention toute spéciale. Cette phrase exprimant la négation de n'importe quelle action nuisible envers ses proches, combien de fois se rencontre-t-elle dans les inscriptions funéraires! Presque toujours dans tous ces cas, elle ne représente qu'une constatation banale de bonne conduite, et doit être traduite par le passé. Nous tâcherons de démontrer que l'auteur du poème de Ménès semble avoir voulu donner à la phrase en question une signification absolument différente en l'orientant vers l'avenir et en lui appliquant le cachet d'impuissance.

(1) Pour pouvoir comprendre ce procédé, il faut se souvenir de la facilité avec laquelle les anciens Égyptiens se servaient d'allitérations symétriques, telles que *wp rꜣ-irpw*, etc.

pour l'entretien de son culte... Ceci est bien possible, mais, comme il arrive souvent dans de pareils cas, il ne faut pas insister sur le sens de la métaphore, celle-ci s'expliquant bel et bien par des jeux de mots.

Un pareil jeu de mots se trouve par exemple dans l'œuvre pessimiste, mentionnée à la fin de cet article. Là nous avons (*Pap. Millingen,* XII) les jeux de mots suivants : *mꜣyw - wꜣwꜣyw*   *msḥw - mḏꜣyw*   *sṯtyw - ṯsmw* (avec métathèse)[1] qui sont uniquement responsables du choix des métaphores[2].

Dans le poème de Ménès on retrouve un jeu de mots semblable, seulement ici leur genèse est plus compliquée. Ainsi 1° le mot *ḥmwty* a suggéré le mot *ḥms* (= *msḥ* avec métathèse)[3] et en même temps *m ḥmwty* a suggéré l'expression *imy mw;* 2° le mot *ḫryty,* avec omission du mot suivant (*nṯr*), a suggéré l'expression *ḥry tꜣ,* qui, à son tour, a eu comme sujet le mot *ḥfꜣ*[4].

Ainsi l'auteur d'abord va du sujet à l'attribut adverbial, et ensuite il revient de l'attribut au sujet.

Comme dans le cas précédent (*Millingen,* XII), les jeux de mots sont la seule raison d'être des deux adversaires de Ménès, ou plutôt les agresseurs contre son *wakf,* à savoir, le *crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau* et le *serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre.*

On pourrait s'étonner jusqu'à quel point l'auteur du poème avait poussé les procédés de rhétorique, si nous ne savions par ailleurs que ceci était bien dans les habitudes des scribes égyptiens. Ainsi nous voyons qu'à côté du crocodile est nommé le serpent. Il ne faut pas croire un

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(1) Les sons *m* et *w* peuvent s'interchanger (voir K. Sethe, *Verbum,* I, XVII). Il peut également exister une allitération entre *s* et *ḏ*.

(2) M. M. Malinine a tout dernièrement attiré l'attention sur le fait que les animaux en question n'étaient que des métaphores et que par conséquent on ne pouvait pas parler de chasses du pharaon Amenemhat au sens exact du mot (Voir *B. I. F. A. O.,* XXXIV, p. 63-74). Seulement il me semble qu'il ne faut pas prendre au sérieux les métaphores en question et en tirer des conclusions autres que d'ordre purement littéraire. Alors on verra que le parallélisme dans *Millingen,* XII, s'exprime non pas par la formule A : D = B : C, mais bien par la formule A : C = B : D.

(3) Nous retrouvons encore la métathèse du *ḥ* final dans le mot *ḥsꜥ* = *sꜥḥ* (voir S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza,* 1929-1930, p. 18), *ḥsꜣ* = *sꜣḥ* (Fl. Petrie, *Medum,* pl. XIII) et autres.

(4) Les allitérations *s-t, ḥ-ḫ, ꜣ-i,* etc. sont bien connues.

Dans les vers 2 et 9 nous n'avons même plus qu'une allitération, à savoir, une repétition textuelle des mots *n sp*. On trouve au milieu les sons analogues *š(p)t* et *ḫt*[1]. En outre le vers 9 donne une paraphrase du vers précédent[2].

Un point fort intéressant est celui des mots mis en opposition. L'auteur mentionne deux groupes de personnages bienfaisants, dans la première strophe, et deux groupes (?) d'animaux nuisibles, dans la deuxième. On comprend bien que les artisans et les carriers sont des gens utiles; mais on se demande pour quelle raison le sieur Ménès en veut aux serpents et aux crocodiles. Il n'est pas question d'attaques de reptiles contre Ménès lui-même. Le défunt ne devait pas non plus craindre une agression de leur part dirigée contre sa tombe. Les crocodiles pouvaient-ils vraiment s'aventurer jusqu'aux côtes escarpées du désert? Cependant les reptiles étaient en état de nuire au *wakf* que le sieur Ménès devait avoir institué

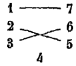
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(1) La parenté de *š* et *ḫ* est trop connue pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'en parler ici davantage. Il suffit de se reférer à = «chose»; voir *Untersuchungen*, X, 187.

(2) Les allitérations initiales, que nous venons de signaler, présentent un type parfait de constructions symétriques. Dans les constructions littéraires de l'ancienne Égypte, celles-ci étaient d'un usage très fréquent. En guise de comparaison, en voici un autre exemple qui date de la même époque (voir *Urk.*, I, 9) :

nb imꜣḫ ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ	Le maître de respectabilité auprès du Grand Dieu,
irw·n·f sꜣ·f nw	Celui auquel son fils a fait ceci,
sk sw m 'Imntt	Tandis que lui se trouve dans l'Amenti,
'Iḫi ḏd·f	Ikhi dit :
ir·n·i nw n it·i	J'ai fait ceci à mon père,
sk sw ḥp r 'Imntt ḥr wꜣwt nfrt	Tandis que lui se dirige vers l'Amenti par les belles routes,
ḥppt imꜣḫww ḥr·sn	Par lesquelles les respectables ont l'habitude de se diriger.

On prendra soin de noter que cet exemple diffère quelque peu de celui dont il est question dans cet article. Notamment la correspondance des vers y est comme suit :



La phrase *ḥr wꜣwt nfrt*, représentant une extension forcée de la ligne 6, ne doit pas être prise ici en considération.

phes, comme cela est d'usage pour des phrases introductives de ce genre, mais elle est placée entre ces dernières[1]. En dehors de cette différence, la construction est nettement symétrique, et les deux strophes se trouvent en pleine correspondance, ce qui fait ressortir tout de suite les mots mis en opposition.

L'auteur montre une préférence marquée pour le groupe *ỉr* et le son *r* qui se repètent plusieurs fois, dans sept lignes sur dix. Le groupe *ỉr*(*r*) est placé, tantôt au commencement du vers (l. 1 et 3), tantôt au milieu (l. 6-10). On retrouvera sans difficulté d'autres allitérations, d'usage moins général. Ce qui est intéressant, c'est qu'elles se rencontrent non seulement au milieu des vers, mais encore d'une manière suivie au commencement et à la fin. Dans ce cas elles prennent l'apparence de rimes, initiales et finales, et il se peut qu'elles doivent être considérées comme telles. On trouvera la liste des allitérations initiales à la fin de cet article. Celles qui se trouvent à la fin des vers sont comme suit :

N(*w*) t·*f* *N*(*ṯr*) *sw* d·*f*
Mw tꜣ *Nw* *rf* ḏꜣ(·*f*)

D'abord, guidé par les lettres en caractères identiques, on fera attention aux rimes dans chaque strophe séparément. Ensuite on notera, ligne par ligne, les correspondances existant entre les sons finaux des deux strophes. Pour faciliter la tâche, ces derniers ont été superposés. Enfin on remarquera que le son *w* et son équivalent *f* figurent huit fois sur dix comme sons finaux des lignes.

Si nous portons notre attention sur les sons initiaux, nous verrons qu'en tant qu'allitérations ces derniers se divisent en deux parties égales, disposées d'une manière parfaitement symétrique, que voici :

L. 5............	*smsm* (*smsw*)	L. 6....	(*ḥ*)*ms* (avec métathèse)
4............	(*s*)*ḥ*(*t*)*p*	7....	*ḥf*(ꜣ)
3............	*ỉr*	8....	*ỉr*(*ty·fy*)
2............	*n-sp*	9....	*n-sp*
1............	*ỉr rmṯ*	10....	*ỉn nṯr* (avec métathèse)[2].

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[1] Voir p. 154, ann. 2.

[2] Pour l'allitération *m-n* il suffit de se rappeler le jeu des mots bien connu dans *Sinuhe : Sꜣ-nht* et *Sꜣ-mḥyt*, ou des allitérations symétriques telles que *Rnn-wtt mr·s ṯw* (*Pyr.*, 454 *c*), où *rnn* est l'inverse de *mr* et *wtt* est l'inverse de *ṯw*, etc.

ḥms irf imy mw
ḥfꜣ irf ḥry tꜣ
ir·ty·fy ḫt ir nw
n sp ir·i ḫt ir·f
in nṯr wḏ·f [1]

Quiconque a fait ceci [2] pour moi,
Jamais ne sera mécontent.
Qu'il soit artisan ou carrier,
Je l'ai récompensé.

Le «grand du hall» Ménès, il dit :

Mais le crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau,
Mais le serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre,
Qui fera quelque chose contre ceci, [3]
Jamais je ne pourrai rien faire contre lui... [4]
C'est Dieu qui sera son juge!

Considérons tout d'abord l'aspect littéraire :

Le poème se compose de deux strophes contenant respectivement quatre et cinq vers. La différence du nombre des vers est provoquée par le dédoublement du premier vers de la deuxième strophe (i. e. «Mais le crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau» — «Mais le serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre»), la ligne correspondante du premier verset étant unique («Quiconque a fait ceci pour moi»). Les deux versets dépendent de la phrase «Le 'grand du hall' Ménès, il dit». Celle-ci ne se trouve pas en tête des deux stro-

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(1) Toutes les phrases constituant ce petit poème se retrouvent bien des fois dans d'autres textes gravés dans des tombeaux. A comparer, par exemple, ce texte : *ir is pn sḥtp·n·i ḥmwtyw nb ir n·i kꜣt im·f* «en ce qui concerne cette tombe, j'ai récompensé tous les artisans qui ont fait pour moi du travail là» (voir *Urk.*, I, 271, l. 10). Ce qui nous intéresse actuellement, c'est *la manière dont ces phrases ont été combinées* par l'auteur, ou plutôt par le compilateur, de notre poème.

(2) I. e. la tombe.

(3) Cette fois-ci le mot *nw* signifie non seulement la tombe, mais encore le *wakf*. A comparer l'exemple à la page 158, l. 1.

(4) Voir p. 160, ann. 1.

LE POÈME DE MÉNÈS

PAR

VLADIMIR VIKENTIEV.

C'est un bien petit poème dont l'auteur ne doit être confondu, ni avec son illustre homonyme, le créateur de l'Égypte pharaonique, ni avec d'autres personnages portant le même nom. Le sieur Ménès possédait le titre de *smsw hꜣyt* « grand du hall » et on peut supposer qu'il vivait sous la IV[e] dynastie. Son poème ne compte que dix lignes; mais il présente un certain intérêt du point de vue littéraire. Il est construit d'après les règles. Le style en est nettement enflé et fleuri. Il est riche en allitérations. Il est orné de métaphores, empruntées au règne animal et constituant des jeux de mots. Mais l'intérêt principal de ce poème de Ménès est ailleurs : il permet des aperçus nouveaux sur la question des r i m e s, qui, jusqu'à présent, n'a été que légèrement effleurée [(1)].

Il y a peut-être encore une autre raison de nous attacher à ce petit poème. Ce serait une raison d'ordre psychologique. Malheureusement, l'interprétation de la forme verbale, sur laquelle se fonde notre observation, ne saurait être considérée comme définitive. Force nous est donc de nous contenter de poser la question. Nous reviendrons sur ce point dans la seconde partie de notre article.

Voici le poème [(2)] :

ỉr rmṯ nb ỉr n·ỉ nw

(*sic*) *n sp špt·f* (*sic*)

(*sic*) *ỉr m ḥmwty m ẖryty-nṯr* (*sic*)

sḥtp·n·ỉ sw

(*sic*) *smsw hꜣyt M n ỉ ỉḏd·f*

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(1) Voir K. SETHE, *Ein altägyptischer Fingerzählreim*, *Ä. Z.*, 54, 16-39.

(2) *Urk.*, I, 23.

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